A GENERAL

HISTORY of the WORLD,

FROM THE

CREATION to the preſent Time.

VOL. III.

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INCLUDING

All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVOLUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS, CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARNING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE and TRADE;

Together with

Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq;
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And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

——————— cui lecta potenter erit res
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo. HOR.

VOLUME III.

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A

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

BOOK VII.

The GRECIAN History.

CHAP. IX.

The History of the Grecian *states in* Asia Minor; *namely,* IONIA, ÆOLIS, *and* DORIS.

IONIA, so called from the *Ionians* its inhabitants, was bounded on the north by *Æolia*, on the west by the *Egean* and *Icarian* seas, on the south by *Caria*, and on the east by *Lydia* and part of *Caria*. It lies between 37 and 40 degrees of north latitude; but its longitude cannot be determined, there being great disagreement among authors as to the boundaries of the inland country. The boundaries of *Ionia*.

Among the chief cities of *Ionia* was *Phocæa*, situated on the sea-coast between *Cuma* and *Smyrna*, not far from the *Hermus*. It was, in former times, one of the most wealthy and powerful cities in all *Asia*; but is now a poor beggarly village, tho' the see of a bishop. The *Phocæans* were, as *Herodotus* informs us, expert mariners, and the first among the *Greeks* that undertook long voyages, which they performed in gallies of 50 oars. They are said to have founded pretty early several cities on the coasts and in the islands of *Europe*, namely, *Velia* in *Italy*, *Alalia*, or rather *Aleria*, in *Corsica*, *Marseilles* in *France*, &c. Neither were they unacquainted with *Spain*, where some of them arriving in the time of *Cyrus* the Great, were treated with great kindness Cities of *Ionia*. *Phocæa*.

by *Arganthonius* king of the country about *Cadiz*, who invited them to ſettle in his kingdom.

The *Phocæans* retire to *Corſica.*

Not long after, *Harpagus*, one of the generals of *Cyrus*, beſieging their city, and reducing them to great extremities, they put their wives, children, and all their moſt valuable effects, on board ſeveral veſſels, and conveyed them ſafe to the iſland of *Chios*. Their deſign was to purchaſe the *Oeneſſian* iſlands from the *Chians*; but they not caring to have them ſo near, leſt they ſhould engroſs all the trade to themſelves, they put to ſea again, and having retaken *Phocæa* by ſurprize, put all the *Perſians* they found in it to the ſword.

As they expected the *Perſians* would reſent ſuch inhuman proceedings, they reimbarked with all expedition, uttering moſt dreadful imprecations againſt ſuch as ſhould ſtay behind, and binding themſelves by a ſolemn oath never to return, they proceeded to *Corſica*. However, the *Perſians* offering a general pardon to ſuch as had been concerned in the maſſacre, above one half of the fleet broke thro' all their engagements, and returned to *Phocæa*. The remaining part ſettling at *Corſica*, infeſted the neighbouring ſeas with pyracies, and ravaged the coaſts of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Carthage* for ſeveral years. The *Carthaginians* and *Tyrrhenians*, with an united fleet of 120 ſail, reſolved to drive them from *Corſica*; but the *Phocæans*, engaging them in the ſea of *Sardinia*, put them to flight. As their victory had coſt them very dear, 40 of their ſhips being ſunk, and moſt of the reſt diſabled, they abandoned the iſland, and retired with their wives and children to *Rhegium*. Soon after they left that place and ſettled in *OEnotria*, now *Ponza*, a ſmall iſland in the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, over-againſt *Velia*. Thoſe who returned home lived in ſubjection either to the *Perſians* or tyrants of their own.

They retire to *Rhegium.*

Various fate of *Phocæa.*

In the *Roman* times the city of *Phocæa* ſided with *Antiochus* the Great; whereupon it was beſieged, taken, and plundered by the *Roman* general, but allowed to be governed by its own laws. They alſo aſſiſted *Ariſtonicus*, brother to *Attalus*, againſt the *Romans*; which ſo diſpleaſed the ſenate, that they commanded the town to be demoliſhed, and the whole race of the *Phocæans* utterly rooted out. The *Marſilians*, a *Phocæan* colony, interpoſing, with much difficulty aſſwaged the anger of the ſenate. *Pompey* declared *Phocæa* a free city, and reſtored the inhabitants to all the privileges they had ever enjoyed; whence under the firſt emperors it was reckoned one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of all *Aſia Minor* *.

Smyrna.

Smyrna, by the *Turks* called *Iſmyr*, is ſituated on the *Iſthmus* of the *Ionian* peninſula, at the bottom of a bay to which it gives name, and is at preſent one of the largeſt and richeſt cities of the *Levant*. In proceſs of time *Smyrna* was united to

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* Strab. l. xiv. Pauſan. l. vii. Mela. l. i. Plin. l. v. Herod. l. i. & iv. Marcellin. l. xv. Juſtin. l. xliii. & xxxvii. Liv. dec. 4. l. vii.

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the famous *Ionian* league by means of the *Ephesians*. *Herodotus* and *Valerius Paterculus* reckon it among the cities of *Æolis*. The *Ionians*, afterwards destroying it, claimed the ground on which it stood, and all the neighbouring country. It must have been soon after rebuilt, for it is said to have been a famous empory in the time of *Homer*, whither merchants resorted from all parts. The city having been destroyed by the *Lydians*, the *Smyrnæans* lived for about 400 years in villages. *Antigonus* at length began to rebuild the city, and *Lysimachus* put the last hand to the work. This new city, which according to *Strabo* was built about twenty furlongs distance from the place where the old city had stood, became in a short time one of the most populous and wealthy of all *Asia*, as is plain from several inscriptions, in which it is stiled, *The metropolis, the first and chief city of* Asia, *the ornament of* Ionia, &c. There are still to be seen many vestiges of the antient grandeur of *Smyrna*, namely, of a marble theatre, which was reckoned the finest in *Asia*, of a circus, of baths, temples, *&c.* a description of which our readers will find in *Le Brun*, *Tournefort*, *Spon* and other modern travellers. The walls of *Smyrna* were washed by the *Meles*, a river of great note; for *Homer* is said to have been born near its banks, whence he was called *Melesigena*. *Smyrna* was at the height of its grandeur under the *Roman* emperors, who distinguished it with titles, exemptions, and privileges above all the cities in *Asia*, *Ephesus* alone excepted. The *Smyrnæans*, on the other hand, continued ever faithful to the *Romans*, and are said to have been the first in *Asia* thāt honoured *Rome* under the title of *Rome the goddess*, with a temple, priests, and sacrifices, which they did while *Carthage* was at the highest pitch of its glory. *Smyrna*, tho' often destroyed by earthquakes, is still one of the richest and most populous cities of the east; its convenient harbour and situation having saved it from undergoing the same fate, which most of the famous cities of *Asia* have suffered. It was one of the seven churches mentioned in the *Revelations*; and is the only one that still remains in any reputation. *Smyrna*, as we have said, belonged first to the *Æolians*, but it was taken from them by the *Ionians* in the following manner. While the *Smyrnæans* were performing certain religious ceremonies in honour of *Bacchus* without the walls, some refugees from *Colophon*, an *Ionian* city, who had been kindly received by them, shut the gates and seized on the city. The *Æolians* being all alarmed, hastened to the assistance of their countrymen; but the *Colophonians* being supported by the other cities of *Ionia*, an accommodation was agreed to, whereby it was stipulated, that the *Ionians* should restore to the *Smyrnæans* all their effects, and the *Æolians*, on their part, should quit their claim to the city; which was thenceforth reckoned among the twelve *Ionian* cities, the *Smyrnæans* being distributed among the other eleven, and allowed to enjoy the same privileges as the *Ionians*. It was afterwards taken by *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, and *Harpagus*, one of the generals of *Cyrus*,

brought it and the other cities of *Ionia* under the *Perſian* yoke. The *Smyrnæans* are ſaid to have followed their pleaſures, and lived in great luxury; but, what ſeldom happens, were at the ſame time brave and courageous *.

Clazomenæ. *Clazomenæ*, now *Vourla*, as is commonly believed, was one of the twelve *Ionian* cities, and of great note in the flouriſhing times of *Greece*. The antient city, as *Pauſanias* informs us, ſtood on the continent; but the inhabitants were ſo terrified after the defeat of *Cræſus*, and ſurrender of *Sardis*, that they abandoned it, and withdrew with all their effects to one of the neighbouring iſlands, where they built another city of the ſame name, which *Alexander* the Great joined to the continent by a cauſway 250 paces long. The *Romans* always treated the inhabitants with great kindneſs, and often quarreled with the princes of *Aſia* on their account. *Auguſtus*, on ſome medals, is ſtiled the founder of *Clazomenæ*, becauſe he repaired and embelliſhed the city; but it was without doubt founded by the *Ionians*. The *Clazomenians* held out againſt the *Lydians*, but became ſubject to the *Perſians* in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*. *Alexander* reinſtated them in their antient liberty and privileges, which were enlarged by the *Romans*, whom they aſſiſted on all occaſions with great fidelity.

Erythræ. *Erythræ*, one of the twelve *Ionian* cities, was ſeated, according to *Strabo*, on a peninſula over againſt the iſlands called by the antients *Hippi*. It had a ſpacious harbour called *Cyſſus*, and a temple of *Hercules*, which was reckoned one of the moſt ſtately edifices in all *Aſia*.

Teos. *Teos* was likewiſe another of the twelve cities, and was ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the *Ionian* peninſula. It was the native city of *Anacreon* the poet, and *Hecatæus* the hiſtorian. The inhabitants, being grievouſly oppreſſed by the *Perſians*, abandoned their native country and ſettled in the city of *Abdera* in *Thrace*, which *Timſius* of *Clazomenæ* had founded. Some of them returned afterwards to their antient habitation; for in the *Roman* times the city of *Teos* was of ſome note, and well peopled. The *Teians* enjoyed a large territory, extending from their city to the neighbourhood of *Lebedus*.

Lebedus. *Lebedus*, another of the conſiderable cities, ſtood on the iſthmus of the *Ionian* peninſula, over-againſt *Smyrna*. *Lyſimachus* utterly ruined the city, and transferred the inhabitants to *Epheſus*; but upon his death they returned and rebuilt their city, which however never afterwards made any figure.

Colophon. *Colophon*, now *Altoboſco*, or as others will have it, *Belvedere*, was one of the chief cities of the *Ionian* league, and was ſeated on the coaſt. *Lyſimachus* deſtroyed it; but after his death it was rebuilt in a more convenient ſituation. It was one of the ſeven cities that claimed the honour of the birth of *Homer*,

* Strabo. l. xiv. Vell. Paterc. l. i. Herodot. l. i. Plin. l. v. Pauſan. Achaic. c. 5. Ariſtid. in Smyrnæ encomio.

who

who lived there ſome time. The ſmall town of *Notium*, often mentioned by *Livy*, belonged to the *Colophonians*, and was by the *Romans* allowed to enjoy the ſame privileges as *Colophon* itſelf.

Epheſus, called by the preſent inhabitants *Aiaſalone*, was in former times the metropolis of all *Aſia*. *Pliny* ſtiles it the ornament of *Aſia*, and *Strabo*, the greateſt and moſt frequented empory of that continent; but at preſent it is only a ſorry village, inhabited by 30 or 40 *Greek* families. The antient city ſtood about 50 miles ſouth of *Smyrna*, near the mouth of the river *Cayſter*. It was in antient times known by the names of *Alopes*, *Ortygia*, *Morges*, *Smyrna*, *Trachæa*, *Samornion*, and *Ptela*. It was called *Epheſus*, according to *Heraclides*, from the *Greek* word *epheſus*, ſignifying permiſſion, becauſe *Hercules*, he ſays, permitted the *Amazons* to live and build a city in that place. What we know for certain is, that the city, which in the *Roman* times was the metropolis of all *Aſia*, acknowleged *Lyſimachus* for its founder; for that prince having cauſed the antient city to be demoliſhed, rebuilt, at a vaſt expence, a new one in a place more convenient. This new *Epheſus* was greatly damaged by an earthquake in the reign of *Tiberius*, but by that emperor repaired and adorned with ſeveral ſtately buildings. The *Cayſter* was formerly navigable, and afforded a ſafe ſtation for ſhips, but is now almoſt choaked up with ſand. *Epheſus.*

The chief ornament of *Epheſus* was the famous temple of *Diana*, built at the common charge of all the ſtates in *Aſia*; and for its ſtructure, ſize, and furniture, accounted among the wonders of the world. This great edifice was ſituate at the foot of a mountain, and at the head of a marſh. *Philo Byzantius* tells us, that in making drains or vaults for carrying off the water that came down the hill, they uſed ſuch a quantity of ſtone, as almoſt emptied all the quarries in the country. Above theſe conduits or ſewers was built the temple; and to ſecure the foundation, they laid beds of charcoal well rammed, and upon them others of wool. Two hundred and twenty years, or according to *Pliny* 400, were ſpent in building this wonderful temple by all *Aſia*. It was 425 feet in length, and 200 in breadth, ſupported by 127 marble pillars 70 feet high, of which 27 were moſt curiouſly carved, and the reſt poliſhed. Theſe pillars were the works of ſo many kings, and the moſt eminent architects and ſculptors of antiquity were employed in the building. The temple enjoyed the privilege of an aſylum, which at firſt extended to a furlong, tho' doubled afterwards; but *Tiberius*, to put a ſtop to the many abuſes and diſorders that attend privileges of this kind, revoked them all, and declared, that no man guilty of any wicked or diſhoneſt action ſhould eſcape juſtice, tho' he fled to the altar itſelf. The prieſts who officiated in this temple were held in great eſteem, and truſted with the care of the ſacred virgins or prieſteſſes, but not till they were made eunuchs. All the *Ionians* reſorted yearly to *Epheſus* with their wives and children, where they ſolemnized The temple of *Diana.*

the feſtival of *Diana* with great pomp and magnificence, making, on that occaſion, rich offerings to the goddeſs and her prieſts. *The great* Diana *of the* Epheſians, as ſhe was ſtiled by her blind adorers, was, according to *Pliny*, (l. xix.) a ſmall ſtatue of ebony, made by one *Canitia*, tho' commonly believed to have been ſent down from Heaven by *Jupiter*. This ſtatue was firſt placed in a niche, which 'tis ſaid the *Amazons* cauſed to be made in the trunk of an elm. The firſt temple was burnt by *Eroſtratus* on the ſame day that *Alexander* was born; and the ſecond is ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed in conſequence of an edict of *Conſtantine*.

Diana of the *Epheſians.*

Tyrants of *Epheſus.*

The *Ionians* firſt ſettled under the conduct of *Androclus* at *Epheſus*, having driven out the antient inhabitants. It was at firſt governed by *Androclus* and his deſcendants, who aſſumed the royal title, and exerciſed the regal authority over the new colony; whence his poſterity, even in *Strabo*'s time, were ſtiled kings, and allowed to wear a ſcarlet robe, with a ſceptre. When the kingly government was changed into an ariſtocracy, cannot be aſcertained; but this laſt government continued till the time of *Pythagoras*, who lived before *Cyrus* the Great, and was a moſt cruel and inhuman tyrant. Having driven out the ſenate, and uſurped the ſupreme power, he filled the city with blood, not ſparing even thoſe who fled to the temple of *Diana* for ſhelter. *Cræſus* king of *Lydia* made himſelf maſter of the city during the government of *Pindarus* the ſucceſſor of *Pythagoras*, and nephew to *Cræſus*; but in regard of the goddeſs he treated the *Epheſians* with great kindneſs, and reſtored them to their former liberty. The other tyrants of *Epheſus* mentioned in hiſtory, are *Athenagoras*, *Comas*, *Ariſtarchus* and *Hegeſias*, which laſt was driven out by *Alexander*. In the war between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*, they ſided with the former, and maſſacred all the *Romans* that reſided in their city; for which they were ſeverely puniſhed by *Sylla*, who afterwards, however, treated them kindly, and ſuffered them to live according to their own laws. They were mightily given to ſuperſtition, ſorcery, and curious arts, as the Scripture ſtiles them; whence came the proverb, *Ephefian* letters, ſignifying all ſorts of ſpells or charms.

Priene.

Priene was one of the antient cities of *Ionia*, and the birthplace of *Bias*, one of the ſeven wiſe men. It is reckoned by all geographers, except *Ptolemy*, a maritime city.

Miletus.

Miletus, now *Palataſchia*, was formerly a city of great note, and ſtood on the ſouth ſide of the river *Mæander*, near the ſeacoaſt. *Pliny* mentions the antient and new *Miletus*; the former being built by the inhabitants of *Crete*, and the latter, according to *Strabo*, by *Neleus*, the ſon of *Codrus* king of *Athens*.

Many colonies founded by the *Mileſians.*

The *Mileſians* applied themſelves very early to navigation, having founded, according to *Pliny*, 80, according to *Seneca*, 380 colonies in different parts of the world. The city was famous for a temple and oracle of *Apollo*, ſurnamed *Didymæus*. This temple being burnt by *Xerxes*, the *Mileſians* rebuilt it to ſuch

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an immenſe ſize, that it was accounted the greateſt in the world, being equal in compaſs, as *Strabo* atteſts, to a village. It therefore remained uncovered; but was ſurrounded by a thick grove, in which the prieſts dwelt who ſerved the temple. Large ruins of the temple are ſtill to be ſeen, but the town is reduced to a few ſhepherds cottages.

In the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, *Miletus* was accounted the ornament of *Ionia*, tho' it had been ſtrongly afflicted with domeſtic troubles for two generations before. The different factions chuſing the *Parians* for arbitrators, they ſurveyed the whole country of the *Mileſians*, which was in great part uncultivated; and wrote down the names of thoſe few whoſe lands they obſerved were well kept. Then calling an aſſembly of the *Mileſians*, they put the government into the hands of thoſe whoſe lands they had found in good condition, judging that they would adminiſter the public affairs with the ſame care as they had beſtowed on their own.

Domeſtic troubles in *Miletus*.

In he time of *Pſammitichus* king of *Egypt*, the *Mileſians* ſettled a colony in that country. The flouriſhing condition of *Miletus*, in thoſe days, may be judged from the long and expenſive wars which they maintained againſt *Gyges*, *Ardyes*, *Sadyattes*, and *Alyattes*, kings of *Lydia*, without being aſſiſted by any of the *Ionians* except the *Chians*. After the defeat of *Cræſus*, *Cyrus* the Great admitted the *Mileſians* alone of all the *Ionians*, to an alliance with him on the terms of their former agreement with the *Lydians*. By this indulgence *Miletus* flouriſhed above all the cities of *Ionia*, till it fell into the hands of *Hyſtiæus* and *Ariſtagoras*, who by their revolt brought ruin not only on their own country, but on all *Ionia*; for the *Perſians* having laid *Miletus* in aſhes, transferred the inhabitants firſt to *Suſa*, and then to *Ambæ*, a city near the mouth of the *Tigris*. The *Perſians* reſerved to themſelves the land round the ruined city, but beſtowed the hilly and leſs fruitful parts on the *Carians* of *Pedicis*. However, the *Mileſians*, being ſuffered afterwards to return, rebuilt their city; but they never afterwards recovered their former power. Eight years before the *Peloponneſian* war, having a diſpute with the *Samians* about the ſovereignty of *Priene*, they received aſſiſtance from the *Athenians*; in return for which ſervice they declared for them in the *Peloponneſian* war, till they were perſuaded by *Alcibiades*, then in baniſhment, to join the *Lacedæmonians*.

Miletus ruined by the *Perſians*.

The *Mileſians* rebuild their city.

When *Cyrus* the Younger revolted againſt his brother *Artaxerxes*, they declared for the young prince; but *Tiſſaphernes*, governor of that province, having timely notice of ther deſign, reduced their city to a miſerable ſtate of ſlavery. *Alexander*, tho' they did not ſubmit to him till reduced to the laſt extremities, neverthleſs reſtored them to their antient liberties. By the *Romans* they were treated very kindly, and ſuffered to enjoy their freedom, eſpecially under the emperors. The *Mileſians*, like the other ſtates of *Ionia*, were often reduced to a

Tyrants of miſerable ſlavery by tyrants of their own. *Thoas* and *Damaſe-*
Miletus. *nor*, who firſt uſurped this power over their fellow-citizens, filled the city with blood and ſlaughter. Their ſucceſſor *Thraſybulus*, tho' of a tyrannical diſpoſition, was ſo famous for his prudence in the adminiſtration of public affairs, that moſt of the petty tyrants of *Greece* courted his friendſhip, and governed themſelves by his advice. Upon the death of *Thraſybulus*, ſeveral other tyrants roſe up, the chief of whom were *Hyſtiæus* and *Ariſtagoras*. In the time of *Antiochus* II. king of *Syria*, we read of one *Timarchus* reigning in *Miletus*, and practiſing great cruelties on the citizens, till he was driven out by that prince, whom the *Mileſians*, on that account, honoured with the name of *Theos* or *God*.

The boundaries of *Æolis*, On the north of *Ionia* lay *Æolis*, ſo called from the *Æolians* who ſettled in this part of *Aſia*. According to *Strabo*, this country extended from the promontory *Lectus* to the river *Hermus*, and contained the following cities, *Cyme*, *Lariſſa*, *Neontichus*, *Tenus*, *Cylla*, *Notium*, *Ægiroeſſo*, *Pitane*, *Ægea*, *Myrina*, and in more antient times *Smyrna*. *Cyme* ſtood on the ſea-coaſt, and was the laſt of the maritime cities of *Æolis* towards *Ionia*. *Lariſſa*, which *Strabo* places between *Achæum* and *Colon*, belonged properly to *Troas*, which province in former times was comprehended in *Æolis*. *Neontichus* lay near the ſea-coaſt, among thoſe *Æolians* who were called *Apodoti*. *Tenus*, or *Temnos*, is placed by all geographers, except *Pliny*, in the inland parts of *Æolis*. *Cylla* was a colony of the *Æolians* on the ſea-coaſt of *Myſia*. *Notium* ſtood on the ſea-ſide, about two miles from *Colophon*. *Pitane* ſtood near the mouth of the river *Caicus*. *Ægæa* was an inland city; and *Myrina*, the moſt antient city of all *Æolis*, ſtood on the coaſt, and had a very ſafe and capacious harbour. To theſe *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Mela*, add *Grinium*, famous for a temple and grove of *Apollo*, and *Elæa*, which was the port of *Pergamus*, and the birth-place of *Zeno* the philoſopher.

Deſcription of *Doris*. *Doris*, properly ſo called, was that large promontory of *Caria*, which runs into the ſea over againſt the iſland of *Telos*. The capital city of this country was *Halicarnaſſus*, famous for the magnificent tomb built by *Artemiſia* in honour of her huſband *Mauſolus*, and for being the native city of the celebrated hiſtorians *Herodotus* and *Dionyſius*, and of the poets *Heraclitus* and *Callimachus*. It was reckoned one of the ſtrongeſt cities of *Aſia*, but is now an heap of ruins. *Cnidus*, *Lindus*, *Jabyſus*, and *Camirus*, were likewiſe cities of the *Dorians*.

The firſt migration of the *Greeks* into theſe provinces of *Aſia*, is ſaid by all chronologers, except *Euſebius*, to have happened 140 years after the taking of *Troy*. The *Æolic* migration preceded the *Ionic* about 52 years, and that of the *Dorians* was near 70 years later than the *Ionic*.

The government of the *Aſiatic Greeks*. The *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Dorians*, were at firſt governed by kings, and divided into many petty kingdoms; but the actions and very names of their kings are buried in oblivion. Monarchy gave way to a republican government, which was

ſettled

ſettled in almoſt all the *Greek* cities of *Aſia Minor*, each of them being independant of the other, and governed ſolely by its own laws. However, in moſt of theſe ſtates, ſome private citizens advanced themſelves to the ſupreme power, by cabal, treachery, and violence; ſacrificing to their own ſecurity all whom merit, rank, or zeal for public liberty, rendered obnoxious to them. The *Ionians*, while they inhabited the *Peloponneſe*, being divided into twelve cantons, ſtill kept up the ſame diviſions when they came into *Aſia*. To their cities, which we have already mentioned, *Thycydides* adds the cities of the iſlands of *Lemnos* and *Imbros*; and *Velleius*, thoſe of *Delos*, *Paros*, *Andros*, and *Tenos*, which, he ſays, were all peopled by the *Ionians*. As they brought no women with them out of *Greece*, they forced thoſe of *Caria* away from their parents, putting to death ſuch of their relations who oppoſed them. In revenge of this cruelty, the *Carian* women bound themſelves by an oath, which they tranſmitted as ſacred to their daughters, never to take any repaſt with their huſbands, or call them by their names. The *Ionians* having eſtabliſhed themſelves in *Aſia*, were ſoon joined by new adventurers from *Greece*. The *Abantes* came hither from *Eubæa*, and the *Mynian Orchomenians*, the *Cadmeans*, *Dryopians*, and *Moloſſians*, with the *Pelaſgians* of *Arcadia*, the *Dorians*, *Epidaurians*, and ſeveral others were, as *Herodotus* informs us, intermixed with the *Athenians*, who were ſent by the *Prytanæan* council.

The *Dorians*, on their arrival in *Aſia*, formed themſelves into ſix independant ſtates, which were confined within the narrow bounds of the ſix following cities, *Lindus*, *Jalyſus*, *Camirus*, *Cos*, *Cnidus*, and *Halicarnaſſus*. There were other cities in their territory; but the inhabitants of theſe alone, as true and genuine *Dorians*, were admitted into their temple at *Triope*, where they exhibited ſolemn games in honour of *Apollo Triopius*.

The *Æolian* confederacy was alſo formed of ſeveral ſmall independant ſtates or cantons. They poſſeſſed at firſt twelve cities, but *Smyrna*, as we have related, was taken from them by the *Ionians*. The *Æolians*, beſides the cities which belonged to them on the continent, poſſeſſed five in the iſland of *Leſbos*, one in *Tenedos*, and another in the 100 iſlands.

Their religion, laws, &c.

The religion and laws of the *Greek* colonies in *Aſia*, were much the ſame with thoſe of *Greece*. Their principal deities were *Ceres*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, and *Neptune*. The *Ionians*, who came from *Athens*, celebrated every fifth year the myſteries of *Ceres Eleuſina*; and the *Mileſians* worſhiped *Apollo Didymæus* as their tutelary god. An annual feaſt was celebrated by the *Ionians* in honour of *Diana Triclaria*; to appeaſe whoſe wrath for an inceſt committed in her temple, men and women uſed to walk barefooted to it.

Their trade.

The trade of the *Aſiatic Greeks* was doubtleſs very extenſive, as they had a ſafe coaſt, convenient harbours, and their country was ſtocked with many uſeful commodities, abounding alſo in all things neceſſary for life. We know that they were very

powerful

powerful by sea, maintained great fleets, and planted colonies not only in the neighbouring islands, but even in *Gaul* and beyond the pillars of *Hercules*. They soon degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, and became a most superstitious, effeminate, and voluptuous people. They are said to have been the first who introduced the use of perfumes and garlands at banquets, and also of sweet-meats or deserts. The *Æolians* and *Dorians* being planted in a less fruitful country, were not so soon debauched as the *Ionians*, and were accounted no way inferior to the *European Greeks* till they were subdued by the *Persians*, when they gave themselves up to sloth, and in a short time became no less effeminate than the other *Asiatics*.

Their character.

Their history. They submit to *Cræsus*.

The *Greek* colonies in *Asia* were first subdued by *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, to whom they paid a yearly tribute, furnishing him also with ships and mariners in time of war, and with land-forces when required. Having enjoyed a profound tranquility under his mild government, they therefore refused the advantageous proposals made them by *Cyrus* when he first invaded *Lydia*; but *Cræsus* being defeated, and *Sardis* taken, they sent ambassadors to the conqueror, with offers of submission on the terms they had enjoyed under *Cræsus*. *Cyrus* answered them by the following fable: "A piper seeing many sholes of fish in "the sea, and imagining he might entice them on shore by his "music, began to play; but finding his hopes disappointed, he "threw a net into the water, and drew a great many of them "to the land. When he saw the fish leaping on the ground, "he said, since you would not dance to my pipe before, you "may now forbear dancing at all." The ambassadors returning with this answer, the *Greeks* immediately repaired the fortifications of their cities, and sent to solicite succours from the *Lacedemonians*. The *Spartans* could not be prevailed on to lend them any assistance, but sent some of their chief men to *Asia* to interpose their good offices with *Cyrus*. The chief of this embassy repairing to *Sardis*, told *Cyrus*, that if he committed any hostilities against the *Grecian* cities, the republic of *Lacedemon* would resent them as offered to herself. *Cyrus*, enquiring of those about him who the *Lacedemonians* were, and what number of men they could bring into the field, answered the deputy, that he was no way afraid of a people who, in the midst of their cities, had a place of public resort, (meaning their market-places) where they met to impose on each other by mutual deceits; and that if the gods preserved his life, they should have sufficient cause to be concerned for their own calamities, instead of troubling themselves about those of the *Asiatics*. Returning soon after to *Persia*, he charged *Mazares*, one of his lieutenants, with the reduction of *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*. *Mazares* dying after he had reduced some places, was succeeded in the command by *Harpagus*, who obliged the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians* to submit. The *Phocæans* and *Teians*, indeed, chose rather to abandon their country; and the *Milesians*, by a voluntary submission, obtained the same terms from

Are conquered by *Cyrus*.

Cyrus

Cyrus as had formerly been granted them by *Cræſus*. The *Greeks* in the *Aſiatic* iſlands, ſtruck with the rapidity of the *Perſian* conqueſts, all ſubmitted of their own accord, and were reduced to a ſtate of greater dependancy and ſubjection than they had ever felt before. In the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes* they made an attempt towards the recovery of their antient liberty; but after a ſix years war, were again brought under ſubjection, and puniſhed with great ſeverity.

When *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, the *Ionians* aſſiſted him with 100 ſhips; but *Themiſtocles*, the *Athenian* commander, conjecturing that the *Ionians* ſerved in the expedition againſt their will, left inſcriptions on the rocks on the ſhores of *Eubœa*, to the following purpoſe: "Men of *Ionia*, you are guilty of a "heinous crime, in fighting againſt your fathers: reſolve, "therefore, to come over to us; or, if you cannot do that, "withdraw your forces from the enemy: but if both of theſe "are impracticable, favour us at leaſt when we come to an en-"gagement." The *Ionians* having read theſe inſcriptions, reſolved to comply with them; and accordingly when the two fleets engaged at *Salamis*, inſtead of falling upon the *Athenians*, they tacked about and made to ſea, which contributed not a little to the defeat of the *Perſians*. The ſame ſtratagem was uſed by *Leotychides*, the commander of the *Greek* fleet, before the battle of *Mycale*; in conſequence of which he gained a ſignal victory over the *Perſians*, who, in the heat of the engagement, were deſerted by their *Greek* auxiliaries, and even attacked by them.

They join *Xerxes* in his expedition againſt *Greece*.

The *Aſiatic Greeks* having thus a ſecond time openly revolted from the *Perſians*, the *Lacedemonians* were for tranſplanting them out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, to which they themſelves ſeemed inclined, well knowing that the *Perſians* would not eaſily forgive their proceedings. The *Athenians*, however, perſuaded them to remain in *Aſia*, promiſing faithfully to aſſiſt them on all occaſions to the utmoſt of their power. Several years after, upon the concluſion of the peace between the *Greeks* and *Perſians*, one of the articles ſworn to by both parties was, that all the *Greek* ſtates of *Aſia* ſhould be made free.

They revolt from the *Perſians*.

The *Ionians* then entered into an alliance with the *Athenians*, who came by degrees to treat them as ſubjects rather than allies, obliging them to contribute to all the charge of the *Peloponneſian* war. In the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, we find them again ſubject to the *Perſians*, and governed by *Tiſſaphernes*, from whom they revolted to *Cyrus* the Younger. *Cyrus* being ſlain at the battle of *Cunaxa*, and *Tiſſaphernes* about to return to his government, they implored the aſſiſtance and protection of the *Lacedemonians*, who, laying hold of this opportunity of breaking with the *Perſians*, firſt ſent *Thimbro*, after him *Dercyllidas*, and laſtly *Ageſilaus* their king, to invade the *Perſian* provinces in *Aſia*. *Darius*, being unable to oppoſe the arms of the *Lacedemonians* in *Aſia*, rekindled the war in *Greece*, which obliged the *Spartans* to recal their king, and conclude a peace with the *Perſians*,

The *Athenians* treat them as a conquered people.

Their various fate in later times.

Perſians, equally diſadvantageous and diſhonourable to the *Grecian* name; for all the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, with the iſlands of *Cyprus* and *Clazomenæ*, were then declared ſubject to the *Perſians*. Several years after, they were delivered from the *Perſian* yoke by *Alexander* the Great, who reſtored them to their antient liberties.

After the death of *Alexander*, they fell under the power of the kings of *Syria*, and continued ſubject to them, till the *Romans* obliged *Antiochus* the Great to grant the *Aſiatic Greeks* the ſame liberty which they had procured for the *Greek* ſtates in *Europe*. Many years afterwards, finding the *Romans* to be very burdenſome and oppreſſive friends, they joined *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* againſt them, and at his deſire maſſacred all the *Romans* and *Italians* in their country. Being ſoon weary of his tyrannical government, upon *Sylla*'s arrival in *Aſia*, almoſt all of them declared for the *Romans*; upon which the king, to prevent a general defection, pronounced them all free, granting freedom even to the ſlaves. *Sylla*, having ſoon reduced all the *Leſſer Aſia*, revenged on the *Aſiatics* the death of ſo many thouſand *Romans*, whom they had inhumanly murdered. He deprived them of their liberty, and obliged them to pay, as a fine, no leſs than 3,875,000 *l.* ſterling; for the raiſing of which they were forced to ſell not only their moveables, but even a great part of their lands *. The *Aſiatic Greeks* never after this recovered their antient ſplendor, notwithſtanding the favour ſhewn them by many of the emperors.

APPENDIX to the GRECIAN Hiſtory;

Giving an account of the famous retreat of the 10,000 GREEKS, *under the conduct of the great* XENOPHON.

The *Greeks* propoſe to return to *Ionia*.

THE day after the battle fought at *Cunaxa* near *Babylon*, the *Greek* auxiliaries, who had marched thither in the army of *Cyrus*, hearing that he was ſlain in the engagement, ſent deputies to *Ariæus*, the general of the barbarians, to offer him, as victors, the crown of *Perſia*, in the room of *Cyrus*. *Ariæus* declining their offer, and declaring that he intended to march immediately back into *Ionia*, the *Greeks* joined him, under the command of *Clearchus*; and ſwearing an alliance with him, he promiſed to conduct the army without fraud. *Ariæus* did not think proper to return by the ſame route they came; becauſe having found nothing for their ſubſiſtence

* Appian. in Mithridat. & Plut. in Syl.

the

A CHART of the EXPEDITION of CYRUS the Younger, and the Return of the 10000 GREEKS, according to XENOPHON.

EUXIN

MEDITERR-

-ANEAN

45 50 55 60

40 35

Longitude from Ferro

Persian Lieques. 5 10 20 30 40 50

French Lieques of 2500 Toise 5 10 20 30 40 50

English Lieques. 5 10 20 30 40 50

J. Gibson Sculp.

the laſt ſeventeen days of their march, they muſt have ſuffered much more, had they taken the ſame way back again. Having exhorted them to make long marches at firſt, in order to evade the king's purſuit, he ſet out on his return; but towards evening, when they were about to halt, the enemy appeared in view. The *Greeks* next morning by day-break drew up in order of battle to oppoſe the *Perſians*, who ſeeing their formidable appearance, ſent heralds to them, to propoſe peace and a treaty. *Clearchus*, after making the heralds wait a little, advanced to them with the moſt ſhewy of his officers, and having heard their propoſals, made anſwer, that they muſt begin with giving battle; becauſe the army being in want of proviſions, had no time to loſe. The heralds, ſoon returning, told him, that they had orders to conduct his troops to villages where they would find proviſions in abundance; and conducted them thither accordingly. Meanwhile *Tiſſaphernes*, accompanied with ſeveral *Perſian* grandees, came to their camp, and told the generals, that he had uſed his good offices with the king for leave to reconduct them to their own country, being convinced that neither they themſelves, nor their cities, would ever be unmindful of that favour. On the third day after he came again to the camp, and having told them, that he had at length obtained the king's grace for them, he concluded a treaty with them, on the following conditions: *That the* Greeks *ſhould meet with no obſtacle on their return, and ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions, or ſuffered to buy them: that they ſhould not commit any diſorders on their march, and ſhould only take what was neceſſary.* He then withdrew to diſpoſe his affairs, promiſing to return as ſoon as poſſible. The *Greeks* waited for him above twenty days; and *Ariæus*, who in the mean time was frequently viſited by his relations, beginning to cool in his affection towards the *Greek* officers, they began to be alarmed, and urged *Clearchus* to march off without delay. *Clearchus* anſwered them, that to depart without conſulting the king, was to break with him, and to declare war, by violating the treaty; that they would be abandoned by *Ariæus*, and would be without a conductor in a ſtrange country, where no body would ſupply them with proviſions.

Tiſſaphernes, however, arriving at laſt with ſome troops, they ſet out on their return, *Ariæus* encamping with the barbarians, and the *Greeks* ſeparately, at ſome diſtance, which kept up a continual diſtruſt among them. After three days march, they arrived at the wall of *Media*, which was 100 feet high, twenty broad, and twenty leagues in extent, all built of bricks cemented with bitumen. When they had paſſed it, they marched eight leagues in two days, and after having croſſed two of the canals of the *Tigris*, cut for watering the country, they paſſed that river upon a bridge of twenty-ſeven boats near *Sittace*, a very great and populous city. After four days march, they arrived at another very powerful city, called *Opis*; and from thence, having paſſed the deſarts of *Media*, they came, after a march

Are oppoſed by the Perſians.

Tiſſaphernes concludes a treaty with them.

They are doubtful of his fidelity.

They march thro' the wall of Media, being conducted by Tiſſaphernes.

march of six days, to a place called *the lands of Paryſatis*, the revenues of which belonged to that princeſs. *Tiſſaphernes*, to inſult the memory of her ſon *Cyrus*, gave the villages to be plundered by the *Greeks*. Continuing their march along the eaſt ſide of the *Tigris* thro' the deſart, they arrived at *Cœnæ*, a very great and rich city, and from thence they proceeded to the river *Zabates*.

Jealouſy between the two camps.

The occaſions of diſtruſt increaſing every day between the *Greeks* and barbarians, *Clearchus* thought it incumbent on him to come to an explanation, once for all, with *Tiſſaphernes*, who ſeemed willing, in the moſt ſincere manner, to ſatisfy him; and declared, that if he would bring his officers to his camp, he would ſhew him thoſe who had been the inſtruments of the diſguſt. *Clearchus* having ſupped with *Tiſſaphernes*, next day propoſed to the aſſembly to wait upon him with his officers. Some objected that it did not conſiſt with prudence to rely implicitly upon the profeſſions of a barbarian; but *Clearchus* inſiſting upon what he had moved, it was agreed that he and four generals, with twenty captains, ſhould go to the *Perſian* camp, and that 200 ſoldiers ſhould go with them, under pretence of buying proviſions. The five commanders, when they arrived at the tent of *Tiſſaphernes*, were ſuffered to enter; but the captains remained without at the door, and upon a ſignal given, were put to the ſword. The generals within were ſeized and ſent to the king, who cauſed their heads to be ſtruck off.

The *Greek* generals treacherouſly cut off by *Tiſſaphernes*.

The army encouraged by *Xenophon*,

The *Greek* troops, upon hearing of the perfidy of the *Perſians*, who, beſides baſely murdering their officers, had intercepted and cut off ſome of their ſtragglers, were in the utmoſt conſternation. They ſaw themſelves without a general, five or ſix hundred leagues from *Greece*, ſurrounded with enemies and great rivers, without any ſupplies of proviſions. In this extreme difficulty, *Xenophon*, by his ſingular eloquence, not only inſpired the deſponding *Greeks* with freſh courage, but perſuaded them to form the reſolution of forcing their retreat. What enhances his merit on this occaſion is, that he had till then ſerved only as a volunteer, and without any commiſſion or command, and was, as is commonly ſuppoſed, under 30 years of age. Having urged the officers immediately to nominate new generals, he and four others were accordingly choſen to that dignity.

who, with four others, are declared generals.

Theſe new generals, having aſſembled the army about daybreak, made ſpeeches to animate the troops; and *Xenophon* among the reſt. "Fellow-ſoldiers (ſaid he) the loſs "of ſo many brave men, by vile treachery, is very deplorable; "but we muſt not ſink under our misfortunes, and, if we cannot conquer, let us chuſe rather to periſh glorioufly than to "fall into the hands of barbarians. Let us call to mind the "late battle of *Cunaxa*, and the glorious victories of *Platæa*, "*Marathon*, and *Salamis*, with many others gained by our anceſtors, over the numerous armies of the *Perſians*. The "gods, the avengers of perjury, and witneſſes of the enemy's

"breach

" breach of faith, will be favourable to us. Let us conſider " in what manner we may march with the greateſt ſecurity, " and, if neceſſary, fight with the greateſt advantage. Firſt of " all, I think we ought to burn all our uſeleſs baggage, and " keep only what is abſolutely neceſſary in our march. One " ſucceſsful victory will indemnify us: for both the conquered " and what belongs to them will be ours of courſe. That the " loſs of our able generals may be ſupplied, it will be abſo- " lutely neceſſary that the preſent commanders be more cautious " and vigilant, and the ſoldiers be more obedient and ſubmiſ- " ſive, and that you ſhould all agree to aſſiſt the officers to pu- " niſh the ſtubborn and diſobedient." The ſoldiers lifting up their hands to ſignify their conſent to all that had been ſaid, *Xenophon* concluded his ſpeech with regulating the order of their march.

They reſolve to force their retreat.

The ſoldiers having burnt their carriages, tents, and ſuperfluous baggage, ſat down to dinner before they ſhould begin their march. Meanwhile, *Mithridates*, who had ſerved in the army of *Cyrus*, came from the *Perſian* camp, and, pretending great friendſhip for the *Greeks*, aſked their deſign, and told them, that if they were upon any ſalutary expedient, he would join them with all his men. Being informed that they propoſed a retreat into their own country, he endeavoured to perſuade them, that ſuch an enterprize would be impracticable: but his arguments having no weight with them, he retired, having inveigled an *Arcadian* captain, with twenty of his men, to deſert to the *Perſians*. The *Greeks*, therefore, reſolved that they would never admit of any farther treaty or parley with the *Perſians*, till they were got out of their dominions. As ſoon as they had dined, they began their march, in the form of a great hollow ſquare, with the baggage in the centre. *Cheiriſophus* the *Lacedemonian* had the vanguard, the two eldeſt generals the right and left, and *Timaſion* with *Xenophon* had the charge of the rear, as the youngeſt officers.

In the firſt day's march they were ſo greatly haraſſed by the enemy, that they only advanced 25 ſtades. As the *Grecian* bows did not carry ſo far as thoſe of the *Perſians*, who attacked them, *Xenophon* made a ſally from the main body, upon which the enemy retired. *Cheiriſophus*, however, when they halted, took the liberty of reproving him, for venturing to leave the main body. *Xenophon* confeſſed that he had acted imprudently; but added, that they had reaſon to thank the gods, that the enemy, inſtead of doing them any harm, had only ſhewed them what they ſtill wanted, to ſecure their retreat. He then propoſed to pick ſome horſes from among their baggage, and form them into a body of cavalry, and alſo to arm the *Rhodians* who were among them, and ſome others, with ſlings. Two hundred accordingly liſted themſelves among the ſlingers, and 50 of them were mounted and provided with cuiraſſes; ſo that next day when *Mithridates*, at the head of 1000 horſe and 400 archers, attempted to haraſs their rear, they were unexpect-

They are haraſſed by the *Perſians*, who are repulſed by *Xenophon*.

edly

edly attacked and put to flight. In the purſuit the *Perſians* loſt many of their foot, and about 18 of their horſe; and the *Greeks*, to create the greater horror in the enemy, mangled the bodies of the ſlain.

Having thus put the enemy to flight, they continued their march, and came, in the evening, to the banks of the *Tigris*, where ſtood a large uninhabited city called *Lariſſa*, two leagues in circuit. The next day, after a march of ſix leagues, they came to an old uninhabited caſtle, which ſtood near the town of *Meſpila*, formerly inhabited by the *Medes*. On the next day they marched four paraſangs, during which *Mithridates* appeared at the head of his own cavalry, with a great number of other forces, ſome of which he diſpoſed againſt the *Grecian* rear, and others againſt their flanks. Theſe troops contenting themſelves with making a diſcharge of their darts and ſtones, the *Rhodians* and *Cretans*, who were much more expert at their bows and ſlings, let fly whole vollies at them with ſuch ſucceſs, that the *Perſians* were glad to retire out of their reach, and allow them to purſue their march without diſturbance. The *Greeks* having halted two days to ſupply themſelves with proviſions, and with lead and bow-ſtrings, all which they happily found in the villages where they were ſtationed, on the third day continued their march; but having found the inconveniency of retreating in the form of a hollow ſquare in the face of an enemy, from the unevenneſs of the ground, hedges, and other obſtacles, they altered their diſpoſition, and draughted off a body of troops, who formed a column behind the main body.

The *Perſians* ſtill continue to annoy them.

They made four marches according to this diſpoſition, without meeting with any thing worth notice; but on the fifth day, as they marched over ſeveral hills, they were greatly annoyed by the archers and ſlingers of the enemy, whilſt thoſe of the *Greeks*, not having room to extend themſelves, were prevented from acting. The *Perſian* ſatraps, according to their uſual diſcipline, drove their troops on towards the enemy, and if the *Greeks* offered to advance towards them, they immediately retreated out of their reach, and as ſoon as thoſe had rejoined their main body, they ſet upon them afreſh. The *Greeks* having marched over three of the hills, encamped at a village where the governor of the province kept his magazines of proviſions. Here they halted three days, not only to get themſelves a freſh ſupply, but likewiſe to take care of their wounded, of whom many, being ſo maimed as not to be able to march, were carried by their companions. On the fourth day, as they deſcended into the next plain, being overtaken by *Tiſſaphernes*, they encamped at the firſt village they came to, and quickly repulſed the *Perſians*, who not daring to attack them in their poſts retired, and fixed their ſtation at the uſual diſtance of 60 ſtades from their camp, for fear of being ſurpriſed by them in the dead of the night.

Four

Four days after, the *Perſians* again appeared on an eminence which commanded the road, thro' which the *Greeks* muſt paſs. *Xenophon* then coming to the front, and obſerving that there was a paſſage to the top of the hill above the enemy's poſt, offered to *Cheiriſophus* to go himſelf and diſlodge them. Having formed a body of targeteers, he immediately attempted the aſcent with ſuch ſwiftneſs, that both armies began to ſhout, each endeavouring to gain the top before the other. While *Xenophon* was encouraging his men, a *Sicyonian* peeviſhly told him, that he ſpoke at his eaſe being on horſeback, while he was quite foundered with lugging his ſhield. *Xenophon* immediately leaped from his horſe, and taking the ſhield in his hand, moved with double ſpeed up the hill; which ſo exaſperated the others againſt the *Sicyonian*, that they loaded him with ill language, and made him take up his ſhield again. The *Greeks* had no ſooner gained the top, than they beheld the cowardly *Tiſſaphernes* and *Ariæus* turning out of the road, and marching off with the utmoſt ſpeed. *Cheiriſophus*, at the ſame time, led his army down into the plain, where he found plenty of all things; but ſome of his troops venturing too far after plunder, were killed by the *Perſians*.

The *Perſians* driven from a ſtrong poſt by *Xenophon*.

The *Greeks* arriving at length at the *Tigris*, conſulted whether it was practicable to paſs over the river. Being ſoon convinced that it would be impoſſible for them to execute that deſign, they reſolved to take a quite contrary road from that they had come, and to burn all the villages they left behind, to diſcourage the enemy from purſuing them. The priſoners, whom they examined, told them, that the ſouth road, thro' which they had come, led to *Media* and *Babylon*; that the eaſt road led to *Suſa* and *Ecbatan*; that the weſtern, which lay over the *Tygris*, led to *Lydia* and *Ionia*; and the northern, which was over high mountains, led to the country of the *Carduchi*, a warlike and unconquered people, which had once defeated a *Perſian* army of 120,000 men. The priſoners added, that having got over thoſe barbarous countries, they would enter *Armenia*, where they might either ford the *Tygris*, or march round its ſpring-head, and from thence continue their route which way they pleaſed. They determined to take the northern road; and that they might gain the neighbouring mountains before the enemy could ſeize them, they began their march in the night, *Xenophon* bringing up the rear with the heavy armed troops, as there was then little danger on that ſide.

The *Greeks* uncertain how to ſteer their courſe.

They take the northern road.

The *Carduchi* no ſooner perceived the *Greeks* than they betook themſelves to flight, and gave them a fair opportunity of ſupplying themſelves with proviſions. The *Greeks* flattering themſelves that they would obtain a friendly paſſage thro' their country, as both were enemies to the *Perſians*, called after them, and by the tone of their voice and geſtures, endeavoured to bring them to a friendly parley. Finding them, however, deaf to all their invitations and motions, they encamped in

The *Carduchi* fly from them.

ſome of their villages, but took only ſuch things as they needed. Towards evening, ſome looſe bands of the *Carduchi* began to aſſault their rear, which after ſuſtaining ſome loſs, arrived at the camp. The *Carduchi* made fires all round them upon the mountains, and both ſides ſpent the night in watching each other.

The *Greeks* afterwards haraſſed by them.

The officers of the *Greeks* beginning to find what a dangerous taſk it would be to open themſelves a way thro' a country ſo craggy and mountainous, and a people ſo ſtout and fierce, reſolved, in a council of war, to leave behind them all their ſuperfluous baggage, horſes, ſlaves and priſoners, which only ſerved to clog and retard their march. This regulation was executed without delay, and they continued their march, ſometimes fighting and ſometimes halting. The *Carduchi* did as much excell the *Greeks* in the uſe and ſtrength of their bows, as theſe did the *Perſians*. As they knew the paſſes of the country, and no ſhield was proof againſt their arrows, they terribly annoyed the *Greeks*, particularly the rear guard under *Xenophon*, who was one day abandoned by *Cheiriſophus*, and loſt two of his braveſt officers. It being neceſſary to ſeize a craggy eminence which was held by the enemy, 2000 volunteers undertook the enterprize; and being conducted by a priſoner, they ſurprized the enemy, and drove them down the precipices. Having then given a ſignal to their friends, the light armed troops removed towards them by different ways, ſome of which were ſo craggy and ſteep, that thoſe who were above were forced to draw the reſt up with their pikes. *Xenophon* and his heavy armed rear and ſumpter horſes, were obliged to take a greater circuit, which greatly expoſed them to the enemy, who rolled down great ſtones upon them. Next day the *Greeks*, with much difficulty, gained three other eminences which were abandoned by the barbarians, who now reſolved to haraſs their rear. In the attack that enſued, many brave *Greek* officers loſt their lives in defence of their poſt; and the enemy having afterwards ſtationed themſelves on an oppoſite eminence, *Xenophon* then treated with them by an interpreter, and demanded his dead from them; to which they conſented, on condition that that he would not burn their villages. The *Greeks* at length, after a fatiguing and dangerous march of ſeven days thro' the moſt dreadful rocks, hills and dales, and haraſſed all that time by the barbarians, arrived at a moſt delightful plain, where they found many fine houſes to quarter in, and ſuch a great plenty of proviſions, eſpecially of wine, that the inhabitants had filled their ciſterns with it. Tho' they were now in view of the *Armenian* plains, yet their march thither was interrupted by the river *Centrites*, which is 200 feet wide, and falls into a lake of a vaſt extent. However, after they arrived at its banks, they halted to refreſh themſelves, thinking their dangers at an end; but next morning they were alarmed at the ſight of an army of horſe and foot drawn up on the other ſide of the river to oppoſe their paſſage. They nevertheleſs

Xenophon's rear ſuffer by them.

The *Greeks* arrive at a delightful plain.

attempted

attempted to ford the river, but found it impracticable, many of them being carried down by the current. The troops being again ſeized with deſpondency, *Xenophon* encouraged them by the interpretation of a dream which he had dreamed the night before. About the ſame time two young ſoldiers coming to him, told him, that while they had gone a little way to gather ſome firing, they had ventured to try the depth of the river, and had paſſed it, the water not riſing above their middle. The army accordingly croſſed the river at this ford, where the banks were inacceſſable to the enemy's horſe. The *Carduchi* made an attempt to cut off the rear under the command of *Xenophon*; but ſome of the troops that had paſſed firſt again entering the river, and diſcharging a ſhower of arrows and leaden bullets upon them, they retired. The *Greeks*, after paſſing the river, marched five paraſangs, or more than four leagues, and halted at a town where was a ſtately palace belonging to a ſatrap, moſt of the other houſes being adorned with turrets. In five days more, having marched 25 paraſangs, and got above the head of the *Tigris*, they came to the river *Teleboas*, which tho' not large, had many handſome villages along its banks, where they found plenty of proviſions. This country was called the weſtern *Armenia*, and was governed by *Tiribazus*, a ſatrap in ſuch favour with the king, that, when preſent, he was the only perſon allowed to help him to mount his horſe. He offered to let the army paſs, and to ſuffer the ſoldiers to take all they wanted, upon condition they ſhould commit no ravages; which propoſal being accepted, was ſolemnly ratified by both parties.

They enter *Armenia*.

The three following days, having marched 15 paraſangs, they were incommoded by a deep ſnow, and were informed, that *Tiribazus* and the *Perſians* intended to attack them at a certain paſs of the mountains. On this intelligence they reſolved to encamp cloſe together; but ſo great a quantity of ſnow had fallen in the night, that the ſoldiers and ſumpter horſes were ſo benumbed with cold, that they could hardly be got upon their feet. *Xenophon* took a hatchet, and being imitated by the reſt, they cut down large boughs from the trees, and having made many fires, anointed themſelves with ſuch oils and drugs as they could get. Their vigour being reſtored, they advanced againſt the *Perſians*, who intended to ſecure the paſs, and having routed them, proceeded over the mountain thro' very deep ſnows, which did not a little obſtruct their march. Having paſſed the defile, they made three days marches thro' a deſart, and came near the head of the *Euphrates*, which they forded with eaſe, advancing afterwards 15 paraſangs thro' deep ſnows. During this march, they ſuffered greatly from a north wind, which blew in their faces, and prevented reſpiration; ſo that it was thought neceſſary to ſacrifice to the north wind, upon which it ſeemed to abate. As they marched in ſnow a fathom deep, and the cold was extremely intenſe, many of their ſlaves and horſes died, beſides 30 ſoldiers, and many others,

They are incommoded by a deep ſnow.

Men and beaſts benumbed.

others, thro' weakneſs and want of ſpirits, dropped down on the ground; but by the care of *Xenophon*, who brought them refreſhments, they recovered. While *Cheiriſophus*, who led the van, quartered his troops in a village, *Xenophon*, who could not come up with him, was obliged to encamp in the open air, without fire or victuals; ſo that many of his men died with hunger and cold, and the reſt were quite exhauſted and ſpiritleſs. Some of them loſt their ſight by the glaring of the ſnow, and others their hands and feet by the coldneſs of it. But the greateſt of all their evils, was their being dejected and quite ſpiritleſs, inſomuch that ſeveral of them laid themſelves down by the ſide of a fountain, where the ſnow was melted round, and proteſted that they would ſtir no farther but die there. *Xenophon* earneſtly entreated them to follow the army, and told them, that the enemy was juſt at hand, a detachment of whom had actually ſurprized ſome of their horſes and baggage; but all they anſwered was, that their lives were at his diſpoſal, and that he might kill them if he pleaſed; for they were not able to go on.

The army in great diſtreſs, but at length relieved.

Having ſucceſsfully repulſed the barbarians, he returned again to the ſick men, and promiſed that they ſhould have ſome relief by the next morning. Before he had moved half a mile forward, he found other ſick men in the ſame diſmal plight, lying on the ſnow ſtarved with cold and hunger, and without any guard. He aſſiſted theſe; and as the vanguard did not move forward, the next day he ſent ſome troops from thence, who brought up the ſick, then very numerous, and by that means reunited the whole army; which ſoon after arrived at ſeveral villages, where they found plenty of all proviſions, and ſpent ſeven whole days in ſuch feaſting and jollity, as they thought made them ample amends for all their fatigues and hardſhips. The houſes were built under ground, with an opening at the top like a well, thro' which the deſcent was by a ladder; but there was another entrance for cattle. They found in thoſe villages ſheep, goats, cows, poultry, with wheat, barley, and pulſe. For drink, there was beer, which was very ſtrong, when not mixed with water. *Xenophon*, having by his ſingular moderation and generoſity, gained the affection of the bailiff of the village, that officer not only diſcovered to him a large reſerve of wine hid under ground, but preſented ſome very fine horſes to the officers, and engaged likewiſe to be their guide till they arrived at another nation. After he had conducted them three days thro' an uninhabited plain, *Cheiriſophus* ſtruck him for not leading them to ſome villages; whereupon he diſappeared that very night. This ill treatment of the bailiff, cauſed a great difference between *Cheiriſophus* and *Xenophon*; tho' probably the only one they had during their march. Their late guide taught them to faſten hurdles to their horſes feet to prevent their ſinking in the ſnow, as before they had been almoſt up to their girth at every ſtep.

A difference betwixt *Cheiriſophus* and *Xenophon*.

After a route of ſeven days, in which they marched 35 paraſangs, they croſſed the *Phaſis*, which is generally ſuppoſed to be the *Araxes*, and proceeding ten paraſangs, they perceived an high mountain before them, the paſſage over which was guarded by troops, whom they found afterwards to be *Chalybians*, *Taochians*, and *Phaſians*. A council of war being aſſembled, it was reſolved, by *Xenophon*'s advice, not to attempt to force the enemy; but to endeavour, by ſtealing a march, to paſs the mountain in ſome other part. A detachment of their troops accordingly ſeized an eminence above the place where the enemy was ſtationed; but they reſolving, nevertheleſs, to oppoſe the *Greeks*, an engagement enſued, in which the barbarians were defeated.

The *Greeks* having paſſed the mountains, entered the coun- The
try of the *Toachians*, who to defend themſelves, retired with *Greeks* en-
their effects to rocks and precipices. One of theſe, with much ter the
difficulty, the *Greeks* made themſelves maſters of. The bar- country of
barians then flung themſelves down headlong with ſuch fury, the *Toa-*
that one *Æneas*, ſhocked at the dreadful ſpectacle, and endea- *chians.*
vouring to ſtop one of theſe furious creatures from following the reſt, was dragged himſelf down the precipice and daſhed in pieces. The *Greeks* having carried off a great number of ſheep, oxen, and aſſes, entered the country of the *Chalybians*, and in ſeven days marched upwards of 47 leagues. This people were the moſt fierce and warlike of all the barbarians; and being equally able to engage the *Greeks* on the plains as on the mountains, they followed them cloſe, and terribly annoyed them in their march. At the end of ſeven days, the troops paſſed the river *Harpagus*, which was 400 feet wide; and four days after they arrived at ſome villages, where they got ſome proviſions. In a few days more, having reached a large and well-inhabited city called *Gymnias*, from thence they were conducted by the governor of the country thro' the territories of his enemies, which at his deſire they laid waſte with fire and ſword. On the fifth day they arrived at a high mountain Come in
called *Teches*, where as ſoon as the vanguard had gained the top, view of
and had got in full view of the ſea, they ſet up ſuch ſhouts, the ſea.
as made *Xenophon* and his rear-guard conclude that they had been attacked by the enemy. As *Xenophon* and his troops advanced with the deſign of ſuccouring their companions, they heard them diſtinctly crying out, *the ſea! the ſea!* which quickly filled them with joy and gaiety. When they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confuſed noiſe of the whole army crying out together, *the ſea! the ſea!* whilſt they could not refrain from tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers. Then without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of ſtones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms. Having diſmiſſed their guide with conſiderable preſents, they advanced into the country of the *Macronians*, who were perſuaded to enter into a treaty with them, and conducted them in three days to the *Cholchian* mountains. The

They arrive at the *Cholchian* mountains.

Cholchians had poſted themſelves on a mountain to oppoſe the *Greeks*; but being vigorouſly attacked by them, were ſoon driven from their ſtation and diſperſed; which gave the troops an opportunity of encamping in ſeveral villages full of all ſorts of proviſions.

A ſtrange effect of honey.

A very ſtrange accident happened here to the army, which put them into great conſternation. The ſoldiers finding great plenty of honey of exquiſite taſte and flavour, eat of it in ſuch quantities, that they were all ſeized with a ſtrange giddineſs. Some who had eaten only a little of it, wallowed on the ground like drunken men; while others who had eaten more largely, were ſeized with a kind of phrenzy, inſomuch that the ground round their camp ſeemed like a field of battle covered with dying men; every ſymptom appearing mortal to thoſe who beheld them. In about 24 hours, however, they recovered their ſenſes, the dangerous ſymptoms generally venting themſelves in a violent vomiting and purging; which weakened them ſo much, that for ſeveral days they could hardly ſtand upon their feet. Having at length recovered their ſtrength, they arrived,

They arrive at *Trebiſond*.

after a march of three days, at *Trebiſond*, on the ſouth coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea, and found themſelves at length in a place of ſafety, after their long and glorious march. Here the *Greek* chiefs made it one of their firſt cares to pay their thanks and vows to the gods, to whom they aſcribed all their ſurpriſing ſucceſs. The gymnic games which ſucceeded their ſacrifices, augmented the joy as well as magnificence of the ſolemnity.

They propoſe to continue their route by ſea.

The diverſions and feaſtings being over, the chiefs called a general aſſembly, in order to deliberate which way they ſhould ſteer next; when an old ſoldier ſtood up, and told them, that he earneſtly wiſhed to take the advantage of the ſea and to ſail home. This propoſal being univerſally approved, *Cheiriſophus* next offered to go to his friend *Anaxibius*, the *Spartan* admiral, and to prevail with him to ſend them back with a ſufficient number of tranſports. They all applauded him, and accepted his offer; and as ſoon as he was gone, by *Xenophon*'s advice, they made ſeveral inroads into the neighbouring countries, in order to ſupply the army with neceſſaries till his return. *Xenophon* regulated the manner in which theſe incurſions ſhould be made, and alſo adviſed them to ſecure all the ſhips that ſhould arrive at *Trebiſond*, that in caſe the tranſports brought by *Cheiriſophus* ſhould not be ſufficient, they might be ſupplied with others. He, at the ſame time, ſent orders to the maritime cities that lay on the ſouthern ſhore, that the *Greek* army would ſhortly march through their territories, and that if the roads proved good, they would the ſooner leave their country. This precaution he took, leſt the army ſhould be obliged at length to return by land. Soon after, one half of the army marched under the command of *Xenophon* againſt the *Drillians*. This incurſion proved very unſucceſsful; for tho' with great difficulty the *Greeks* made themſelves maſters of one of their chief cities, yet finding it an impregnable citadel, they were obliged to retire,

tire, and were greatly haraſſed by the enemy in their retreat, returning to their camp with very little booty, and ſome loſs of men.

Cheiriſophus not returning, and the ſhips they had ſecured not being ſufficient to tranſport them, they put on board the veſſels all the ſoldiers and women that were ſick and wounded, and the remainder took their march along the ſea-coaſt. After three days march, arriving at *Ceraſus*, a colony of the *Sinopians*, they diſpoſed of their ſlaves, and made a diſtribution of the money to the men; after deducting a tenth part for an offering to the *Delphic Apollo* and the *Epheſian Diana*. Their little fleet alſo ſtopping here, they reviewed the remainder of their army, and found, that of between 10 or 11,000 men, of which it conſiſted when they accompanied *Cyrus*, they had ſtill 8000 left, after all the diſaſters that had befallen them, and all the fatigues they had undergone.

They divide their army.

After a ſtay of ten days, they again proceeded, one part by ſea and the other by land. The army arriving at length at the confines of the *Moſynæcians*, a very fierce and warlike people, entered into a treaty with them; and as they were then at war with ſome of their neighbours, aſſiſted them in taking a ſtrong city from the enemy, in which they found great plenty of proviſions. Having well refreſhed themſelves, they delivered the city to the *Moſynæcians*, and proceeded on their march, finding moſt of the other towns abandoned or ready to ſurrender. Theſe ſtood at the diſtance of about two miles from each other; yet ſo hollow and mountainous was the country, that they could call from one to the other and be heard. The *Greeks*, after eight days march thro' this country, the inhabitants of which were very ſavage and brutal, came into the territories of the *Chalybians*. From thence, croſſing the country of the *Tibarenians*, who in token of hoſpitality met them with preſents, they arrived at the city of *Cotyora*, where they ſtaid no leſs than forty days. They had now travelled in their retreat from the field of battle at *Cunaxa* to this city in 122 marches, 620 paraſangs, or 1800 ſtades, in about eight months.

They arrive at *Cotyora*.

The *Cotyorans* at firſt refuſed admittance to their ſick, or to furniſh their army with proviſions. The *Greeks*, however, ſeizing one of the gates, conducted their ſick into the place, and made no ſcruple to ravage their territories. This produced an angry embaſſy from the *Sinopians*, who threatned to revenge the injury done to their colony at *Cotyora*; but *Xenophon* repreſenting that the *Cotyorans*, by their inhoſpitality, had drawn the hoſtilities on themſelves, and ſhewing that it was in his power even to injure the *Sinopians* by joining the *Paphlagonians* againſt them, the ambaſſadors changed their tone, and entered into an alliance with him. Soon after, at his requeſt, they promiſed to furniſh the army with ſhips for their paſſage to *Heraclea* by ſea.

The *Sinopians* complain againſt them, but are reconciled to them.

During the abſence of the deputies, who were ſent with this propoſal to *Sinope*, *Xenophon* formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing a

Greek colony on the *Euxine* coaſt of his targeteers, archers and ſlingers. He, in the firſt place, deſired the augur *Silanus* to conſult the gods about his deſign; but he, who made a ſordid trade of his office, and was in haſte to return with the wealth he had acquired to *Greece*, inſtead of conſulting the gods, betrayed the whole ſecret to the *Greek* army. This diſcovery occaſioned no ſmall diſturbance among the troops; but *Xenophon*, by his reaſoning and eloquence, juſtified himſelf, and reſtored a mutual harmony among them.

Not long after, the promiſed veſſels from *Heraclea* and *Sinope* arriving, the troops embarked, and ſet ſail with a favourable wind. Anchoring next day at *Harmene*, not far from *Sinope*, they received from the inhabitants a preſent of wine and 3000 meaſures of flour, and were joined by *Cheiriſophus*, who brought only a few gallies.

Diſſenſions in the army.

The ſoldiers, now finding themſelves not far from *Greece*, deſired to return home with ſome more booty than they had with them; and with this view reſolved to nominate a general with full authority. They accordingly offered that dignity to *Xenophon*; but he, being afraid leſt any thing ſhould happen that might ſully all his former glory, modeſtly refuſed it, and adviſed them to chuſe a *Lacedemonian* for their general, that the *Spartan* ſtate, which then ruled in *Greece*, might be diſpoſed to ſupport them. This reaſon was not reliſhed, and they preſſed him again to accept of the command; when he was obliged to tell them, that having conſulted the gods, upon the offer they had made him, it appeared that they did not approve of their choice. They then proceeded to elect *Cheiriſophus* for their general, who gladly accepted of the command. Having again ſet ſail, they paſſed the mouths of the rivers *Thermodon*, *Halys*, *Parthenius*, &c. and landed in the peninſula called *Acheruſia*, near the city of *Heraclea*. Being now very eager after plunder, and alſo very headſtrong and ungovernable, they ſent four ſubalterns, contrary to all the remonſtrances of *Cheiriſophus*, to demand 10,000 cyzicens, or about 9000 *l.* ſterling, from the *Heracleans*; who outwitted the deputies, and inſtantly put their city in a ſtate of defence. Upon the return of the ſubalterns, the army was filled with mutiny and uproar, and treated all their chiefs with the bittereſt invectives, *Xenophon* particularly, as the main obſtructors of their wealth and glory.

The *Achæans* and *Arcadians* depart by themſelves,

and are terribly harraſſed.

The *Achæans* and *Arcadians* preſently after abandoning *Cheiriſophus*, choſe ten chiefs of their own nation, and embarked by themſelves, to the number of about 4500 men; and landing at *Calpe*, between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium*, began to plunder the *Aſiatic Thrace*. The *Thracians* ſoon aſſembling in great numbers, ſurrounded them on all ſides, and in frequent ſkirmiſhes cut off great numbers of them, ſo that the reſt were obliged to ſue for an accommodation, which was even refuſed them. The remaining part of the army had alſo divided, one part marching by land under *Cheiriſophus*, and others embarking with *Xenophon*, who landing on the confines of *Thrace*, was informed by

by ſome priſoners of the diſtreſs of the *Arcadians*. He immediately marched to their relief; but before he arrived at the place where they were beſieged, the *Thracians*, who had notice of his approach, fled, and the *Arcadians* had returned towards *Calpe*. *Xenophon* immediately marched thither, and arrived ſoon after them, *Cheiriſophus* not long after joining him with 2000 men. The army being thus happily reunited, nothing was ſeen for a while but the moſt hearty congratulations on all hands; and the next day it was unanimouſly agreed, that whoever, for the future, propoſed to divide the army, ſhould be put to death. *Cheiriſophus* dying by a medicine he took in a fever, *Neon* the *Aſinean* was choſen to ſucceed him.

They are relieved by *Xenophon*.

Some diviſions ſoon aroſe again among the troops, one party propoſing, tho' contrary to the admonitions of the diviners, to make incurſions in ſearch of proviſions, and another arguing ſtrenuouſly for obeying the admonitions of the gods. *Neon*, the new general, favoured the former, and cauſed proclamation to be made, that thoſe who had a mind might go in queſt of proviſions. Two thouſand men accordingly went out of the camp with a guide; but a detachment of horſe being ſent againſt them by *Pharnabazus* governor of *Phrygia*, 500 of them were ſlain, and the reſt driven to a hill. *Xenophon* hearing of their misfortune, marched to their relief, and had the good fortune to bring them back to the camp, which at night was alarmed by the *Bythinians*, who killed ſeveral of the out-guards. The *Greeks*, next morning, choſe another camp, which they fortified with paliſadoes and a trench, and two days after *Xenophon* marched out with almoſt all the troops againſt the enemy, whom, tho' very numerous, and joined by a body of *Perſian* cavalry, he routed and diſperſed. Having buried thoſe who were ſlain a few days before, the *Greeks* erected a trophy, and returned to their camp, which was about nine miles diſtance. The barbarians now not venturing to make any oppoſition, the *Greeks* plundered the country, and conveyed an immenſe booty and plenty of proviſions to their camp. As they had been informed that *Cleander*, governor of *Byzantium*, had promiſed to come with a fleet to carry them off, they waited impatiently for his arrival. When he came, they were greatly diſappointed; for he brought with him only two gallies, and had in his company one *Dexippus*, a public pyrate, who had lately carried off a fifty oared galley from *Trebiſond*. *Cleander* committed the plunder to his charge, which ſoon occaſioned new diſturbances in the army; ſo that at laſt the ſoldiers began to vent their rage againſt *Dexippus*, by throwing ſtones at him, and calling him many opprobrious names. *Xenophon* did his utmoſt to appeaſe the tumult; but foreſeeing the ill conſequence of exaſperating *Cleander*, who, as governor of *Byzantium*, took upon him the whole cognizance of the affair, he ſummoned the army together, and in a ſpeech ſet before them the danger of letting him depart in anger, ſeeing the *Lacedemonians*, who now were maſters of all *Greece*, had it in their power to ſhut up all the

New diviſions among the troops.

The are attacked by the *Phrygians* and *Perſians*.

Freſh diſturbances in the army.

Grecian

Grecian cities againſt them. *Agaſias*, and ſome others who had been concerned in affronting *Dexippus*, accordingly went and ſubmitted themſelves to the deciſion of *Cleander*, who at firſt aſſumed an air of reſentment; but being ſoftened by the interceſſion of *Xenophon*, he releaſed them, and offered ſacrifices for the happy return of the army to *Greece*, aſſuring them, that when they arrived at *Byzantium*, he would treat them with the utmoſt hoſpitality. After his departure, the army, in a few days arrived at *Chryſopolis*, a ſmall city on the eaſt ſide of the *Thracian Boſphorus*, where they ſtaid ſeven days to ſell the booty which they had got in *Bythinia*.

They arrive at *Byzantium*.

Having paſſed the *Boſphorus*, they were with difficulty admitted into *Byzantium*, *Pharnabazus*, before their arrival, having prejudiced the *Lacedemonians* againſt them, and urged them to ſend them off directly to *Greece*. The *Lacedemonians* had even promiſed to take them into their pay; yet they perſuaded them, under a pretence of reviewing them, to march out of their city, and then ſhut the gates againſt them, adviſing them to proceed to *Greece*. The army immediately reſented this inſult, and re-entering the city by force, threw the inhabitants into the utmoſt conſternation, they expecting to be treated as enemies. *Xenophon* dreading the conſequences of their plundering that metropolis, aſſembled the ſoldiers with the utmoſt diligence, and by an elegant and pathetic diſcourſe, diſſuaded them from their intention. By his advice they deputed proper officers to the *Spartan* admiral, to declare that they did not intend any hoſtilities, but expected only the fulfilling of his promiſes. He anſwered, that they ſhould have no cauſe to repent their ſubmiſſion; and the affair being accommodated, they left *Byzantium*, *Anaxibius* ordering proclamation to be made, that if any ſoldier ſhould be found tarrying in the city, he ſhould be ſold for a ſlave.

Shut out of the city by the *Byzantines*.

The army ſeparates, and *Xenophon* enters into the ſervice of the king of *Thrace*.

The army, ſoon after their departure from *Byzantium*, ſeparated, ſome embarking in merchant veſſels, and arriving ſafe at their reſpective homes, whilſt others entered themſelves into foreign ſervice. Of theſe laſt was *Xenophon*, who entered into the ſervice of *Seuthes* king of *Thrace*, with as many of his men as were willing to follow him. This prince, inſtead of fulfilling the promiſes he had made to him, even wanted to rob him and his troops of all the ſpoils they had brought from *Perſia*. *Xenophon* warmly reproached him with his breach of faith; and paſſing over to *Lampſacus* with his troops, who amounted to near 6000 men, he joined *Thimbro* the *Lacedemonian*, who was ſent againſt *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*. On his arrival at *Lampſacus*, *Xenophon* was congratulated on his ſafe return by the *Phliaſian* prieſt *Euclides*, who took the liberty to aſk him, how much gold he had brought with him? *Xenophon* readily anſwered him with an oath, that he had not enough

His poverty.

left to carry him home, unleſs he ſold his horſe and equipage; and he was ſoon after obliged to ſell his horſe for 50 *Darics*.

The

The troops from *Lampſacus* proceeded to *Pergamus*, a city in *Myſia*, and from thence to *Parthenium*, where *Xenophon*, with a detachment of 600 men, took a rich *Perſian* ſatrap priſoner, with his wife, children, horſes, and all his riches. By this booty, he not only enriched himſelf, but his troops; and *Thimbro* ſoon after arriving, he left the army with a deſign to ſpend the remainder of his days in ſolitude and privacy. As the city of *Athens* had baniſhed him for ſerving under *Cyrus*, he followed, for ſome time, the famed *Ageſilaus* king of *Sparta*, and was treated by him with all the marks of eſteem and friendſhip. Having ſerved ſome campaigns under him, he retired to the city *Sciluns*, where he wrote his hiſtory and philoſophical works. Thus ended this noble expedition, which our author concludes in the following words: "The whole of the way, both of the "expedition and retreat, conſiſted of 215 days march, of 1155 "paraſangs, and of 34,650 ſtades; and the whole time employ-"ed in both was a year and three months *." Retires to a private life.

BOOK VIII.

The Hiſtory of SICILY.

CHAP. I.

The hiſtory of the iſland of SICILY, *till it was reduced by the* Romans.

THIS large and fruitful iſland was antiently called *Sicania* and *Sicilia*, from the *Sicani* and *Siculi*; and *Trinacria*, or *Triquetra*, from its triangular figure, formed by three famous promontories, *Pælorum*, *Pachynum*, and *Lilybæum*. The firſt, now called by the natives *Capo di Faro*, faces *Italy*, from which it is divided by the ſtraits of *Meſſina*. Theſe ſtraits are, according to *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and other geographers, between 12 and 15 miles in the broadeſt place, and in the narroweſt about a mile and a half. From this nar- The name of *Sicily*.

* Xenop. Anabas. Hutchins. & Spelman. not. in Xenoph. Forſter, &c.

rowneſs,

rowneſs, ſome of the antients concluded, that *Sicily* was originally joined to the continent of *Italy* by an iſthmus, which in proceſs of time was worn away by the fury of the waves and the violence of earthquakes; tho' others treat this account as a fabulous tradition*. The famous *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, ſo much celebrated by the poets, are at the north entrance into the ſtraits. The former is a rock on the coaſt of *Italy*, and the latter a whirlpool on the ſide of *Sicily*. In antient times, the paſſage between theſe two was very dangerous, on account of the rapidity of the tides, which are very irregular, and ſometimes ruſh in with ſuch violence, that ſhips riding at anchor are in danger. The promontory *Pachynum*, now known by the name of *Capo Paſſaro*, faces *Greece*; and *Lilybæum*, now called *Capo di Marſella*, or *Capo di Boeo*, lies over-againſt *Afric*. *Ælian*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Valerius Maximus* tell us, that one named *Strabo* had ſuch an extraordinary ſight, that from a watch-tower at *Lilybæum* he diſcovered a fleet ſailing out of the port of *Carthage*, and remarked their bigneſs and number; tho' *Carthage* is diſtant from the coaſt of *Sicily* 180 miles.

Situation, &c.

Sicily extends from 35 deg. 40 min. to the 38 deg. 30 min. of north latitude. Its greateſt length is 200 miles, and its greateſt breadth 180. It has been always greatly noted for its fertility, and was antiently called the granary of *Rome*. One of the moſt remarkable cities on the eaſtern coaſt is *Meſſana*, ſituated on the ſtraits. Its antient name was *Zancle*, and it is ſaid to have been founded 530 years before the ſiege of *Troy*, and 964 before *Romulus* laid the foundation of *Rome*. The *Meſſenians*, from the *Peloponneſe*, having afterwards ſettled in this city, changed its name to *Meſſene*, or *Meſſana*. According to *Strabo* and *Thucydides*, theſe *Meſſenians* came to the aſſiſtance of the *Zancleans*, and were received by them as friends; but according to *Pauſanias*, they, in conjunction with the inhabitants of *Rhegium*, took poſſeſſion of the city by force. The *Mamertini* afterwards ſeizing the city, and making it their capital, it became very rich and powerful.

Cities.

Meſſana.

Tauromi-nium.

About 35 miles ſouth from *Meſſana* ſtood *Taurominium*, ſo called from the river *Taurominius*, which watered the city. It is now called *Taormina*, and is ſtill a place of ſome conſideration.

Catana.

Further ſouthward ſtood *Catana*, on the gulf of the *Ionian* ſea. It was built and peopled by the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, and continued in great ſplendor for many ages; but at laſt it underwent the ſame fate as moſt of the other cities in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*, having been in great part conſumed by the eruptions of that mountain. About the 76th Olympiad, according to *Strabo*, the city was rebuilt by *Hiero*, who expelled the antient inhabitants, and named the place *Ætna*; but upon his death, the exiles again recovered the poſſeſſion of it.

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* Mela, l. i. c. 2. Strab. l. v. Plin. l. iv. c. 6.

Leontini

Leontini ſtood about 5 miles diſtance from the coaſt, 10 from *Catana*, and 20 from *Syracuſe*. It was built by the *Chalcidians* under the conduct of *Theocles* the *Athenian*, in the firſt year of the 13th Olympiad. At a ſmall diſtance from this city was a lake about 20 miles in compaſs, and abounding in fiſh. The air was deemed very unwholeſome, owing to the vapours ariſing from the marches overflowed by the lake; but the fields were ſo fruitful, that, according to *Pliny*, they yielded 100 fold; and the wines it produced were thought the moſt delicious of the whole iſland. *Leontini.*

The *Sicani* built the city of *Hybla*, but were expelled by a colony of *Greeks* from *Megara*, who called the place by the name of their native city. There were two other cities named *Hybla* in the inland parts of *Sicily*. *Megaris*, or *Hybla.*

About twenty miles ſouth from *Hybla* ſtood *Syracuſe*, once the metropolis of all *Sicily*, and a moſt flouriſhing commonwealth. It was built, according to *Thucydides* and *Strabo*, by *Archias*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, who came into *Sicily* in the ſecond year of the 11th Olympiad. Its walls were 18 miles in compaſs, and encloſed four very conſiderable cities united into one. Theſe were *Acradina*, *Tyche*, *Neapolis*, and the iſland of *Ortygia*. In *Acradina*, the largeſt of the four, there was a vaſt ſquare ſurrounded with porticoes, a magnificent temple dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*, and ſeveral other buildings which were reckoned maſter-pieces of architecture. The chief ornaments of *Tyche* were a ſpacious and beautiful gymnaſium, and ſeveral temples, particularly that of *Fortune*, by the *Greeks* called *Tyche*, greatly admired for their inimitable ſtructure. The third quarter, called the iſland, was joined to *Acradina*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis* by a bridge; and in this part were the palace of *Hiero*, and two magnificent temples. The chief ornaments of *Neapolis*, or the *new city*, were a ſpacious amphitheatre, two beautiful temples, and a ſtatue of *Apollo Temnites*, afterwards carried to *Rome*. *Syracuſe.*

Of theſe four cities, *Ortygia* alone is now remaining. The ruins ſtill left of the other three, are deſcribed at length by *Fazellus*. Near the city ſtood a ſteep hill called *Epipolæ*, in which was the famous priſon called *Latomiæ*, or the Quarries. This dreadful priſon was a cave 125 paces long, and 20 foot broad, cut out of the rock to an incredible depth. It was the work of *Dionyſius* the tyrant, who cauſed thoſe to be ſhut up in it who had the misfortune to incur his diſpleaſure *. The whole city was encloſed with a treble wall, ſo flanked with towers and caſtles at proper diſtances, that it was deemed impregnable. It had two harbours, ſeparated only by the iſland. The great harbour was above 3000 paces in circumference, and the entrance of it 500 paces wide. *Dionyſius* the Younger, who governed this city, kept in conſtant pay 100,000 foot and

* Cicer. Act. vi. in Verr.

10,000 horſe, beſide a fleet of 400 ſail. It is ſtill a very conſiderable place, and well peopled.

Camarina. *Camarina*, on the ſouthern coaſt, was another conſiderable city of *Sicily*, tho' nothing now remains of it but ſome ruins.

Gela. Next to *Camarina* ſtood *Gela*, a city once of great note, ſaid by *Thucydides* to have been founded by a body of *Rhodians*, who were afterwards expelled by ſome *Cretans*. This city is commonly thought to have ſtood at the mouth of the *Gela*, where *Terra Nova* now ſtands.

Agrigentum. *Agrigentum*, or *Agragas*, was once a city of great note, and no leſs famous for its buildings than *Syracuſe* itſelf. It ſtood between the rivers *Agragas* and *Ilypſa*, and is ſaid by *Thucydides* to have been founded about the 50th Olympiad by the inhabitants of *Gela*. Its walls, *Polybius* tells us, were built upon an inacceſſible rock; and it was covered on both ſides by two rivers, being defended on the eaſt by a fortreſs built on a precipice. Among other remarkable buildings in it there were three temples, greatly commended by the antients *.

Heraclea Minoa. About twenty miles weſt from *Agrigentum* ſtood *Heraclea Minoa*, ſo called, according to *Diodorus*, becauſe built by *Minos* king of *Crete*. Some relate, that the city was built before the *Cretans* arrived in *Sicily*, and was called *Macara*. The *Cretans* were driven out by the *Selinuntii*, and theſe by a colony of the *Lacedemonians* under the command of one of the *Heraclidæ*, from whom it borrowed the name *Heraclea*.

Selinus. *Selinus* is ranked by the antients among the chief cities of *Sicily*. *Strabo* tells us, that it was built by the inhabitants of *Megara* in *Sicily*, about 100 years after the foundation of their own city. The city borrowed its name from the river *Selinus*, and the river from the great quantity of ſmallage, called in the *Greek Selinon*, which grew on its banks.

Lilybæum. The firſt city that lay on the coaſt oppoſite to *Italy*, was *Lilybæum*, which gave name to the cape, and was, according to *Tully*, one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable cities of *Sicily*. Tho' it was ſtanding in *Strabo*'s time, there is nothing now remaining of it but the ruins of ſome aqueducts and temples. The city *Marſella*, whence the cape is now calle *Capo di Marſella*, is ſuppoſed to have been built out of its ruins.

Drepanum. *Drepanum*, now *Trapani*, was ſo called from the *Greek* word *Drepanos*, a ſcythe, ſuch being the ſhape of the ſhore on which it ſtood. It was antiently a famous mart, with a ſafe harbour, and was fortified by *Hamilcar* the father of *Hannibal*, who made it the ſeat of war againſt the *Romans*.

Eryx. *Eryx* ſtood on the top of an hill of the ſame name, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea, and was generally noted for a famous temple of *Venus*, whoſe ſon *Eryx* is ſaid to have been killed there by *Hercules*.

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* Thucyd. l. vi. Polyb. l. vii. Diod. l. xiii.

Not

Not far from mount *Eryx* ſtood *Segeſta*, called alſo *Egeſta*; and ſometimes *Aceſta*. According to an antient tradition it was built by *Æneas*, when he was driven by a ſtorm on the coaſt of *Sicily*. Some ſay it was built by *Egeſtus*, or, as *Virgil* calls him, *Aceſtes*, before *Æneas* came into *Italy*; and others are of opinion, that it was founded by one *Elymus* a *Trojan*. It was watered by two rivers, named by the *Trojans Scamander* and *Simois*, in memory of thoſe in their native country. *Segeſta.*

Panormus, now *Palermo*, and the capital of *Sicily*, was built by the *Phœnicians* ſome time before the arrival of any *Greeks* in the iſland. In the neighbourhood of this city ſtood antiently a ſtrong fortreſs, called *Erƈta*, which was alſo the name of the hill now called *Monte Pelegrino*. *Panormus.*

About 20 miles eaſt from *Panormus* ſtood *Himera*, founded by the inhabitants of *Meſſina*, and utterly ruined by the *Carthaginians*. It was afterwards rebuilt by the *Romans*; and *Tully* ſpeaks of it as one of the moſt conſiderably cities in *Sicily*. In the reign of *Auguſtus* it was made a *Roman* colony, as appears from ſome medals. *Himera.*

Further eaſt on this coaſt ſtood *Alæſa* and *Agathyrna*, both conſiderable cities, but now deſtroyed. The firſt, it is ſuppoſed, ſtood near the preſent city *Caronia*, on the river *Alæſus*, and the other at a ſmall diſtance from the promontory, which the *Sicilians* call *Capo d'Orlando*. Among the inland cities the following are the moſt remarkable. *Alæſa* and *Agathyrna.*

Adranum, now *Aderno*, at the foot of mount *Ætna*, built, according to *Diodorus*, by *Dionyſius* the Elder. It was famous for the temple of *Adranus*, the tutelary god of the *Siculi*, whither the inhabitants of the iſland and foreigners flocked at ſtated times of the year to make their offerings. *Ælian* tells us, that 1000 large maſtiffs were conſtantly kept here, and that they fawned on thoſe who brought preſents to the temple, and conducted drunken perſons home in the night, while they fell furiouſly on thieves and tore them in pieces. *Adranum.*

Enna ſtood on an eminence in the middle of *Sicily*, whence it was called the navel of *Sicily*. It was one of the ſtrongeſt places in the iſland, and remarkable for its beautiful plains, fruitful ſoil, and many lakes and ſprings which watered its territory. *Ceres*, it is ſaid, was born in this diſtrict, and firſt taught the inhabitants of *Enna* the art of agriculture. The rape of *Proſerpine* by *Pluto*, *Diodorus* ſays, alſo happened near *Enna*, while the young goddeſs was gathering flowers among the meadows. This opinion prevailing among the *Enneans*, they ſhewed a large cavern which, they believed, opened itſelf to make the god a way to his infernal kingdom. The *Sicilians*, on this account, worſhiped theſe two divinities, and *Gelo* erected a magnificent temple to *Ceres* in this city. *Enna.*

Engyum was, according to *Cicero*, one of the moſt conſiderable cities of *Sicily*. It ſtood near mount *Maurus*, now *Mandonia*, was founded by the *Cretans*, and was famous for a temple dedicated to *Ceres*; in which were lodged javelins and brazen helmets that had been conſecrated by *Meriones* and *Ulyſſes* *Engyum.*

to certain goddeſſes called *Mothers*, who are ſaid to have appeared from time to time.

Mountains. *Ætna.*

The moſt remarkable mountain in *Sicily* is *Ætna*, now *Mongibello*. It is the higheſt in *Sicily*, and famous for its frequent and dreadful eruptions, which have often deſtroyed the country to a great diſtance. The lower parts are very fruitful, the middle ſhaded with woods, and the top covered with ſnow great part of the year, notwithſtanding the flames and hot cinders it frequently throws up. The antients ſuppoſed that this mountain was the priſon of the giants who rebelled againſt *Jupiter*; and alſo, that *Vulcan* and the *Cyclops* here employed themſelves in forging thunderbolts. On this laſt account they erected on the hill a temple to *Vulcan*, in which was kept, as *Ælian* informs us, a perpetual fire. Next to *Ætna* in height and compaſs is mount *Eryx*.

Rivers.

The principal rivers were the *Terius*, now *La Tavetta*; the *Himera*, now called the *Salſo*, on account of the brakiſh taſte of its waters; the *Halycus*, now *Il Platara*, &c.

The *Æolian* iſlands.

Off the north coaſt of *Sicily*, about 40 miles diſtance, lay the *Æolian* iſlands, ſo called from *Æolus*, who is ſuppoſed to have reigned there. They were alſo called the *Vulcanian* iſlands, and by the *Greeks Hephæſtiades*, becauſe ſome of them vomited out flames like mount *Ætna*. The antients reckon ſeven of them; namely, *Lipara*, *Hiera*, *Strongylæ*, *Euonymos*, *Didyme*, *Ericuſa*, and *Phœnicuſæ*. *Lipara*, or *Lipari*, the largeſt of theſe iſlands, is 18 miles in compaſs, and is the beſt peopled. It abounds with alum, ſulphur, and bitumen, and has a fruitful ſoil, and many medicinal baths, which formerly were much frequented. *Strongylæ*, now *Strombolo*, is about 10 miles in compaſs, and very fruitful; but is frequently waſted by the flames from a burning mountain. The other iſlands are no ways conſiderable, moſt of them being uninhabited, and mere rocks.

The iſlands *Ægates.*

The iſlands called *Ægates*, or *Ægades*, lie north of cape *Lilybæum*, and are three in number; namely, *Phorbantia* or *Bucina*, *Ægusa* or *Capraria*, and *Hiera* or *Maritima*. Their modern names are *Levenzo*, *Favigana*, and *Maretano*.

The different inhabitants of the iſland.

The firſt inhabitants of *Sicily* are ſaid to have been the *Cyclopes* and *Læſtrigones*; but from whence they came, is uncertain. According to the poets, they were huge giants who fed on human fleſh; and ſome moderns have endeavoured to prove their large ſtature from the remains of ſome dead bodies of a gigantic ſize which have been found in ſeveral parts of this iſland *.

The moſt antient inhabitants after the *Cyclopes* were the *Sicani*, who, according to ſeveral antient authors, came from a country in *Spain*, watered by the river *Sicanus* †. *Diodorus*, upon the authority of *Timæus*, who wrote the hiſtory of *Sicily*

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* Fazel. D. i. l. i. Marian Valguarrera de primis inc. Sicil.

† Thucyd. l. vi. Dion. Hal. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. v. Solin. c. 10.

from

from the earlieſt ages, affirms, that the *Sicani* were the original inhabitants of *Sicily*. In the time of *Thucydides* they ſtill inhabited the weſtern parts of the iſland, ſome *Trojans* having ſettled among them, and built the cities of *Eryx* and *Egeſta*; ſome *Phocenſes* alſo joined them on their return from the ſiege of *Troy*. The people called *Siculi*, long after came over from *Auſonia* in *Italy*, and ſettled in that part of the iſland which the *Sicani* had forſaken on account of the eruptions of mount *Ætna*. They ſoon began to encroach upon their neighbours; and having defeated the *Sicani* in a pitched battle, confined them to a corner of the iſland. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, on the authority of *Philiſtus*, ſays, that the *Siculi* were originally *Ligures*, and being conquered by *Hercules* in his return from *Spain*, and incorporated into his army, were ſettled by him in *Sicily*. The *Phœnicians* alſo made ſome ſettlements in the iſland, for the conveniency of trade.

About 300 years after the arrival of the *Siculi*, the iſland began to be known to the *Greeks*, who, as we have already related, planted colonies on its coaſts *. According to *Diodorus*, indeed, a colony of *Cretans* ſettled in the iſland long before any other *Greeks*. *Strabo* relates, that part of the iſland near *Mongantium*, was peopled by the *Morgetes*, who were driven out of *Italy* by the *Oenotrians*. The *Campani*, who aſſumed the name of *Mamertini*, that is, *invincible warriors*, and the *Carthaginians*, who ſettled very early in *Sicily*, may likewiſe be counted among the antient inhabitants of the iſland.

The hiſtory of the *Sicani* and *Siculi*.

As the works of the original authors, who have expreſsly treated of the affairs of *Sicily*, have not reached our times, the *Sicilian* hiſtory is very obſcure and imperfect (A). Of the *Leſtrigones* and *Cyclopes*, nothing is known but the fabulous relations of the poets. Some, indeed, not without good grounds, have imagined, that the *Leſtrigones* and the *Sicani* were one and the ſame people †. The *Sicani* had at firſt as many kings as cities; but were in proceſs of time brought under ſubjection to one prince. Of all their kings, we find only two mentioned in hiſtory; namely, *Cocalus* and *Teutus*. In the reign of *Cocalus*, *Minos* king of *Crete* invaded the iſland, and required the king to deliver up *Dædalus*, who had fled hither. *Cocalus* ſeeming to comply with the requeſt of *Minos*, invited him to his palace, where he cauſed him to be ſtifled in a hot bath. In the reign of *Teutus*, the *Sicani* being at variance among themſelves, were ſubdued by *Phalaris*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, who took their king priſoner. The *Sicani*, in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war, ſided with the *Lacedæmonians*, and afterwards they joined *Dio-*

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* Thucyd. l. vi.

† Reineccii hiſt. Jul. v. ii.

(A) Theſe authors were Timæus, Philiſtus, Antiochus of Syracuſe, Hipys, and Theopompus; and their works are frequently cited by Diodorus and Thucydides.

nyſius, tyrant of *Syracuſe*, againſt the *Carthaginians*; but were at laſt intirely ſubdued by the latter. Upon the concluſion of the firſt *Punic* war, they became in a manner ſubject to the *Romans*.

According to *Diodorus* and *Juſtin*, *Æolus* was the firſt king of all the *Siculi*; and his ſucceſſors were *Butes* and *Eryx*. The moſt renowned of their princes was *Ducetius*, who governed with great wiſdom. He built the city *Palicon*, ſo called from a temple dedicated to the gods *Palici*, which was held very ſacred, the violation of oaths taken there being, as it is ſaid, always attended with ſudden and exemplary puniſhment. Having united all the *Siculi*, except the inhabitants of *Hybla*, into one body, he engaged in a war againſt the *Syracuſans*, and gained ſeveral victories over them; but being at laſt defeated, and baſely abandoned by his troops, he went and ſurrendered himſelf to the *Syracuſans*, who granted him his life, and baniſhed him to their mother city *Corinth*. After his departure, the *Syracuſans* reduced the whole country of the *Siculi*, except *Trinacria*, their capital. The *Trinacrians*, however, being at length almoſt all ſlain in an engagement, the *Syracuſans* made themſelves maſters of their city, razed it to the ground, ſold all the men and women for ſlaves, and ſent the ſpoils by way of thankſgiving to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*. The *Siculi* did not continue long ſubject to *Syracuſe*; for in the war that broke out between the *Syracuſans* and the *Athenians*, they aſſiſted the latter; and not long after, when the *Carthaginians* declared war againſt *Syracuſe*, they joined them with 28,000 men. The *Carthaginians*, however, beginning to act as maſters, they afterwards aſſiſted *Dionyſius* the Elder againſt them: but he being obliged to ſubmit, the *Carthaginians* ſoon reduced the *Siculi*, tho' they at length were forced to abandon the iſland. We ſhall now give a ſhort account of the affairs of *Syracuſe*, the chief *Greek* colony in the iſland.

The hiſtory of *Syracuſe*.

As *Athenæus* and *Ælian* mention one *Polis* as reigning in *Syracuſe* in the earlieſt times, ſome have concluded that the city was firſt governed by kings. However, that a democracy very early prevailed, is manifeſt from *Ariſtotle*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Juſtin* *. The tranſactions of the republic for 200 years, are buried in oblivion; but when *Syracuſe* became again ſubject to a ſingle perſon, the *Syracuſans* began to make a conſiderable figure.

Gelon the firſt tyrant of *Syracuſe*.

Gelon, who is reckoned their firſt tyrant, was born in the city of *Gela*, and ſignalized himſelf in the wars which *Hippocrates*, tyrant of *Gela*, carried on againſt his neighbouring ſtates. After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon*, under pretence of defending the rights of the tyrant's children, took up arms againſt his own citizens, and having overcome them in a battle, ſeized

* Ariſt. Polit. l. v. Diod. Sic. l. xx. Juſtin. l. xxii.

on

on the ſovereignty for himſelf. Being ſoon afterwards put in poſſeſſion of *Syracuſe* by a faction of the *Syracuſans* whom he had ſupported, he gave the government of *Gela* to his brother *Hiero*, and bent all his thoughts on the beautifying of *Syracuſe*, and extending the limits of that ſtate. His firſt care was to people it well; and therefore having deſtroyed the city of *Camarina*, and thoſe of the *Megareans*, he tranſported the moſt wealthy among the inhabitants to *Syracuſe*; but ſold the common people for ſlaves, obliging thoſe who purchaſed them to tranſport them out of *Sicily*; ſaying, it was more eaſy to govern 1000 men of ſubſtance, than one who had nothing to loſe.

Gelon having, by theſe means, greatly increaſed his power, the ſtates of *Athens* and *Lacædemon* courted his friendſhip, and invited them to enter into an alliance with them againſt *Xerxes* king of *Perſia*. Tho' theſe ſtates had formerly refuſed their aſſiſtance to *Gelon* againſt the *Carthaginians*, he nevertheleſs told their ambaſſadors, that he was ſo far from retaliating ſuch an ungenerous treatment, that, on the contrary, he was ready to ſupply them with 200 gallies, 20,000 men completely armed, 2000 horſe, 2000 bowmen, 2000 ſlingers, 2000 light horſe, and beſides, to furniſh the whole *Greek* army with corn during all the time of the war, upon condition they would appoint him commander in chief of all their forces. The ambaſſdors rejecting this propoſal with indignation, *Gelon* offered to be ſatisfied with the command either of the fleet or the army: but this being likewiſe rejected, they were ordered to depart.

His alliance is courted by the neighbouring ſtates.

Soon after, *Gelon* hearing that *Xerxes* had paſſed the *Helleſpont*, diſpatched to *Delphi* one *Cadmus*, whom he could confide in, with rich preſents, injoining him to wait the event of a battle; and in caſe *Xerxes* ſhould conquer, to preſent him with the treaſure, and pay him homage in his name; but if the *Greeks* ſhould get the better of the barbarians, to bring back the preſents to *Sicily*. However, ſome of the *Sicilian* writers, as *Herodotus* informs us, related, that *Gelon* was afterwards deſirous of aſſiſting the *Lacædemonians*; but was prevented, being obliged to guard againſt an invaſion from the *Carthaginians*: for after the departure of the *Greek* ambaſſadors, he learnt, that the *Carthaginians* had entered into a treaty with *Xerxes*, to fall upon the *Greeks* in *Sicily* and *Italy*, to prevent them from giving any aſſiſtance to their mother country. In conſequence of this alliance, the *Carthaginians* made immenſe preparations for three years, and aſſembled no leſs than 300,000 men, with 2000 ſhips of war, and 3000 tranſports. With this formidable army *Hamilcar* ſailed from *Carthage*, and landing without oppoſition at *Panormus*, laid ſiege to *Himera*, then governed by *Theron* tyrant of *Agrigentum*, whoſe daughter *Gelon* had married. *Himera* being a place of great ſtrength, *Hamilcar* had cauſed two large camps to be well fortified, lodging his land army in one, and in the other the marines with the ſhips, which he had cauſed

The *Carthaginians* invade *Sicily*,

to be drawn on ſhore. *Gelon* drawing together an army of 50,000 foot and 5000 horſe, marched with all poſſible expedition to the relief of his father-in-law. On his approach to *Himera*, he intercepted a letter, by which he was informed, that a body of horſe from *Selinus*, propoſed next day to join *Hamilcar*, who that morning was to offer a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Neptune* in the camp of the marines. On this intelligence, he ordered an equal number of his own horſe to advance to the enemy's camp, as if they had been the *Selinuntines*; and theſe being admitted without the leaſt ſuſpicion, immediately made up to *Hamilcar* and ſlew him; after which they cut in pieces moſt of the marines who were attending him without arms, and then ſet fire to the ſhips. *Gelon*, in the mean time, attacked the other camp, who hearing of the death of their general, and ſeeing their fleet in a blaze, betook themſelves to a precipitate flight, when no fewer than 150,000 of them were cut to pieces. The reſt, for want of proviſions, were ſoon after obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion; ſo that of this mighty army, the greateſt that had ever been raiſed in thoſe weſtern parts, not one ſingle man made his eſcape *.

but are entirely defeated by *Gelon*.

This victory, however, is plainly repreſented by *Pindar* in his ode to *Hiero*, as a naval one; which account ſeems, in a great meaſure, confirmed by the Scholiaſt of *Pindar*, who quotes a paſſage from *Ephorus*, a *Sicilian* hiſtorian, to the following purpoſe: that *Gelon*, with a fleet of 200 ſhips, vanquiſhed the *Carthaginians*; by which victory he not only ſaved *Sicily*, but all *Greece*. According to *Pauſanias*, indeed, it would appear, that *Gelon* gained a victory both by ſea and land †.

After the total defeat of the enemy, *Gelon* amply rewarded all who had ſignalized themſelves in the action, eſpecially the body of horſe, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the victory. Having offered the greateſt part of the ſpoils, which were of an immenſe value, to the gods, he ſhared the captives with his allies, who employed them in public works for the common good. So many priſoners were taken, that all *Africa*, as our author ſays, ſeemed to have been tranſplanted into *Sicily*. Some of the private citizens of *Agrigentum*, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt, had 500 a-piece. The *Agrigentines*, on this occaſion, built their famous temple, and made thoſe conduits which were ſo much admired by the antients. Of the whole *Carthaginian* fleet, only 80 veſſels eſcaped from *Sicily*; but before they reached *Carthage* they were all caſt away, a few men only being ſaved in a ſmall boat.

Carthage in great conſternation.

The *Carthaginians*, upon hearing of the total deſtruction of their fleet and army, were ſtruck with the greateſt conſternation and deſpair, and immediately ſent ambaſſadors to conclude a peace with *Gelon*. He, being moved by their entreaties, ac-

* Herod. l. vii. Diod l. xi.

† Pindar. Pauſan. l. vi.

cordingly

cordingly granted them a peace on the following terms; namely, that they ſhould pay 2000 talents of ſilver, build two temples, where the articles of the treaty ſhould be lodged and kept as ſacred, and for the future abſtain from offering human ſacrifices. The *Carthaginians* gladly accepted of this peace; and to ſhew their gratitude to *Demarata*, *Gelon*'s wife, who had interceded in their behalf, they ſent her a golden crown, which was valued at 100 talents of gold.

They aſk a peace from *Gelon*.

Gelon now reſolved to paſs into *Greece*, and to join his countrymen there againſt the *Perſians*; but as he was about to embark, a meſſenger from *Corinth* brought him the joyful news of the defeat of the *Perſian* fleet at *Salamis*, and of the precipitate retreat of *Xerxes*. He then diſmiſſed his army, after giving each of the ſoldiers ſome token of his favour: allowing his allies to return home, and quartering his mercenaries in places at a diſtance from *Syracuſe*.

He reſolves to aſſiſt the *Greeks* againſt *Xerxes*.

Having then aſſembled the *Syracuſans* in arms, he himſelf went into the midſt of them without arms or guards, and there gave them an account of his whole conduct, declaring that he had never any thing elſe in view but the public welfare; and if he had acted amiſs, it was now in their power to puniſh him. The numerous aſſembly, affected with the confidence he had repoſed in them, anſwered only with loud acclamations, calling him their great benefactor, their deliverer, their king; which laſt title they not only obliged him to accept of, but by a decree ſettled the crown after his death on his two brothers *Hiero* and *Thraſybulus*. In memory alſo of the generous confidence he had repoſed in them, they erected a ſtatue to him, repreſenting him ſimply in the habit of a citizen. Many years after, when the ſtatues of all their tyrants were formally tried and condemned, this ſtatue alone was acquitted *.

The people oblige him to take the title of king.

Gelon, according to *Diodorus*, was the firſt man that became more virtuous by his being raiſed to the throne. Before his power was eſtabliſhed, he was, contrary to his natural diſpoſition, obliged to uſe ſome ſeverity; but when the ſupreme authority was by the univerſal conſent put into his hands, he made it his only ſtudy to oblige all, and to ſerve the public to the utmoſt of his power. He began with beſtowing on 10,000 foreigners, who had ſerved under him, all the rights and privileges of the *Syracuſans*; by this means, both encreaſing the power of the ſtate, and rewarding the ſervices of ſo many brave men.

He ſtudies the happineſs of his people.

He was famous for his honeſty, truth, and ſincerity; and is ſaid never to have wilfully wronged the meaneſt of his ſubjects, and never to have promiſed a thing which he did not perform. One of the chief objects of his attention was the encouraging of agriculture. He animated the huſbandmen by his preſence,

Encourages agriculture.

* Diod. Sic. l. xi. Plut. in Timol. Ælian. l. xiii.

and took delight in employing his ſpare hours in working with them in the fields; his deſign being not only to render the country rich and fruitful, but to inure his ſubjects to toils, and to an active hardy life; being himſelf a profeſſed enemy to all luxury, pomp, and oſtentation. *Gelon* aſſumed no part of the kingly office, but the toils and cares of it, and the ſatisfaction of procuring happineſs to others, which, to a virtuous mind, is the greateſt of all ſatisfactions. The *Syracuſans*, he often ſaid, could have no other deſign in placing the crown upon his head, than to engage him, by ſo ſignal a favour, to defend the ſtate, to preſerve order in all things, to protect innocence and juſtice, and to exhibit, by his ſimple, modeſt, frugal, and regular life, a pattern of all civil virtues. This deſign he anſwered above any prince that had reigned before him, his whole life being taken up in promoting the worſhip of the gods, the obſervance of the laws, and the welfare of his ſubjects.

His death. His reign, however, was but ſhort; for he died of a dropſy in the 3d, or the beginning of the 4th, year after the decree of the *Syracuſans* inveſting him with the ſupreme authority. The grief of his ſubjects, on account of his death, was equal to the love and eſteem they had always born him. The whole city accompanied the body of their beloved king to the place where it was to be interred, tho' it was above twenty miles diſtant from *Syracuſe*. When fire was ſet to the funeral pile, a favourite dog, *Pliny* ſays, threw himſelf into the flames, and was reduced to aſhes. In the place where *Gelon* was buried, the people, in token of their gratitude and affection to him, erected a magnificent mauſoleum, ſurrounded with nine towers of a ſurpriſing height, and decreed him thoſe honours which were then paid to the demigods or heroes *.

Hiero. *Gelon* was ſucceeded by *Hiero* his elder brother, who came
Bef. Chriſt to the crown in the beginning of the 76th Olympaid. He is
471. commended by *Ælian* as an excellent prince; but by *Diodorus* he is repreſented as a covetous, head-ſtrong, and cruel tyrant. Suſpecting that his brother *Polyzelus*, who had great intereſt among the citizens, deſigned to drive him from the throne, he therefore ſuffered no *Syracuſan* to enter his palace, and employed only foreigners and mercenaries about him. In order to get rid of *Polyzelus*, he reſolved to ſend him to *Italy* with an army; but his brother refuſing the command, the tyrant was ſo exaſperated, that he would have put him to death, had he not, by a timely flight, ſaved himſelf in the territories of *Theron* the tyrant of *Agrigentum*, who had married his daughter. *Theron* re-

War between the tyrants of *Syracuſe* and *Agrigentum.* fuſing to deliver him up, a war broke out between him and *Hiero*; which after laſting ſeveral years, was ended in the following manner. The inhabitants of *Himera*, who were oppreſſed by *Thraſideus* the ſon of *Theron*, offered privately to deliver up their city to *Hiero*. He deteſting their treachery, diſ-

* Diod. l. xi. Plin. l. vi. c. 4. Pindar. Olymp. Plut. apog.

covered

covered their design to *Theron*; who out of gratitude, concluded a peace with him, on terms very advantageous to the *Syracusans*. *Theron*, having given *Hiero* his sister in marriage, prevailed on him to receive his brother *Polyzelus* into friendship again.

After the conclusion of this peace, *Hiero* drove the inhabitants of *Catana* and *Naxus* from their country, and in their room settled a colony of *Syracusans* and *Peloponnesians*. He incorporated the *Catanæans* and *Naxians* with the *Leontines*. The same year he obtained a naval victory over the *Hetrusc-ans* of *Tyrrhenia*, who had long infested the *Sicilian* coasts. *Hiero* expeis the inhabitants of *Catana* and *Naxus*.

Mean while *Thrasideus* succeeding his father on the throne of *Agrigentum*, declared war against *Hiero*, because he had presumed to advise him not to oppress his subjects, but to treat them with humanity. Having entered the territories of *Syracuse* in an hostile manner, *Hiero* marched out against him; and after a bloody engagement, totally defeated him. He, in despair, having abdicated the government, and laid violent hands on himself at *Megara*, the *Agrigentines* entered into an alliance with *Hiero*. Not long after *Hiero* died at *Catana*, and was there buried with great pomp and magnificence. Authors are not agreed whether he reigned 10, or 11, or 12 years *. Before his death he fell into a lingering illness, during which his only delight was to converse with men of learning, whom he invited to his court from all parts, amply rewarding them for their instructive and entertaining conversation. Among these were *Simonides*, *Pindar*, *Æschylus*, *Bacchylides*, and *Epicharmus*, the greatest philosophers and poets of their age. *Simonides*, particularly, had a great ascendant over the king, who frequently conversed with him on philosophical subjects; and in one of their conversations, asked him his opinion of the nature and attributes of the Deity. *Simonides* asked one day to consider on the subject, and next day he asked two, and went on increasing in the same proportion. When *Hiero* pressed him to give the reason of these delays, he confessed that the subject was above his comprehension; and that the more he meditated upon it, he found it the more incomprehensible. *Diodorus*, as we have observed, gives a bad character of *Hiero*; but the panegyric bestowed on him by *Ælian*, seems confirmed by *Pindar*, who in his odes praises him not only for the victory he won in the Olympic games, but also for his eminent virtues, calling him a prince in whom centered all the great and truly princely qualities. It is certain, that his court was a place of resort for all men of wit and learning; and that he invited them to it by his affability, courteous treatment, and liberality.

Engaged in a new war against the *Agrigentines*.

Hiero was succeeded by his brother *Thrasybulus*, a savage and bloody tyrant, who practised all sorts of cruelty on his subjects. All who gave him the least disgust were barbarously murdered; which provoked the *Syracusans* at length to take up

Is succeeded by *Thrasybulus*.

Bef. Chr. 459.

* Diod. Sic. l. xi. xii. Ælian. var. hist. l. xi. Arist. polit. l. v.

up arms againſt him and declare him an enemy to his country.

He governs tyrannically.

The tyrant, tho' he kept 15,000 mercenaries in pay, attempted at firſt to appeaſe the tumult with fair words; but finding that the incenſed citizens were not to be impoſed upon, he ſeized two of the diviſions of the city, and began hoſtilities againſt them. The *Syracuſans* ſoliciting the aſſiſtance of the cities of *Gela*, *Agrigentum*, *Selinus*, *Himera*, and ſeveral others, received ſuccours from them, by which they were enabled to venture a general engagement. The tyrant being defeated, was obliged to reſign his authority, and retire out of *Sicily*. He, accordingly, withdrew to *Locros* in *Italy*, where he led a private life, after a ſhort reign of ten months.

Is driven out by the *Syracuſans*.

A popular government eſtabliſhed at *Syracuſe*.

The *Syracuſans* having thus recovered their former liberty, unanimouſly decreed in a general aſſembly, that a ſtatue ſhould be erected to *Jupiter* the deliverer, of the ſize of a coloſſus; and that on the anniverſary of the happy day of the recovery of their liberty, ſolemn games ſhould be exhibited, and 450 bulls ſacrificed as a thankſgiving to the gods. By another decree, the magiſtrates were ordered to be choſen from among the chief citizens; but the ſtrangers made free by *Gelon*, were excluded from all employments of truſt. The foreigners having, for ſome time, in vain complained of this hardſhip, at laſt joined together to the number of 7000, and ſeizing on *Acradina* and the iſland, annoyed from thence the other quarters of the town. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, they were moſt of them cut in pieces, tho' not without great ſlaughter of the *Syracuſans*. All the other *Greek* cities in *Sicily*, after the example of *Syracuſe*, entered into an alliance againſt the mercenaries and foreigners, and driving them from their poſſeſſions, reſtored the antient proprietors.

Notwithſtanding this general expulſion of the tyrants and their abettors, there remained ſeveral ſecret well-wiſhers of arbitrary government, who frequently diſturbed the public peace. In *Syracuſe*, one *Tyndarides* attempted to aſſume the ſovereign power; but both he and his accomplices were put to death. Their puniſhment, however, not deterring other wealthy perſons from the like attempt, the *Syracuſans* at length made a law not unlike the *Athenian Oſtraciſm*. By this law, which was called *Petaliſm*, from the *Greek* word *Petalon*, the names of ſuch as they apprehended powerful enough to uſurp the ſovereignty, were written on leaves by the citizens; and when the leaves were counted, he who had moſt ſuffrages againſt him, was baniſhed for five years. The fatal effects of this law were very ſoon felt; for thoſe who were moſt capable of governing the commonwealth, were driven out, and the adminiſtration of public affairs committed to the meaneſt of the people. Others, who were able to do their country great ſervice, voluntarily retiring from the city, the republic was on the brink of ruin; which ſoon obliged them to repeal the law, and again to truſt the reins of government to thoſe who could manage them.

Petaliſm introduced at *Syracuſe*.

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In the mean time *Ducetius* prince of the *Siculi*, who inhabited the inland parts of the iſland, having taken the city of *Enna* by ſtorm, advanced to *Agrigentum*, with the deſign of driving the *Syracuſans* from all the cities which had formerly been poſſeſſed by *Greeks* and his countrymen. The *Agrigentines* being defeated in a battle, and threatned with a ſiege, received a ſtrong reinforcement from the *Syracuſans*, which tempted them again to take the field, when they were a ſecond time defeated. The *Syracuſan* general having loſt almoſt all his troops, and being convicted of correſponding with the enemy, was put to death upon his return, and a new general appointed, who reduced all the cities of the *Siculi*, and obliged *Ducetius* to ſubmit to the *Syracuſans*. War between the *Siculi*.

The *Siculi* being reduced, the *Syracuſans* in a manner gave law to the whole iſland, the *Greek* cities acknowleging them as their chiefs and protectors. Not contented with the honour of being protector, *Syracuſe*, by degrees, began to aſſume the authority of a ſovereign over cities that were no leſs free than herſelf, which quickly diſturbed the tranquillity of the iſland. The *Leontines* being attacked by the *Syracuſans*, on what pretence we know not, had recourſe for aſſiſtance to the *Athenians*, from whom they were originally deſcended. *Gorgias*, their ambaſſador, was the moſt famous orator of his time, and is ſaid to have been the firſt that taught the rules of rhetoric. The *Athenians*, who had long meditated the conqueſt of *Sicily*, tho' their ambitious deſigns had been prudently checked by *Pericles*, were at this time maſters of the ſea, and every where ſucceſsful, having many confederates, a numerous army, experienced commanders, and in ready money above 10,000 talents. They were therefore fully perſuaded that they ſhould be able to overcome the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom they were then at war, and at the ſame time reduce the iſland of *Sicily*. They accordingly, without heſitation, eſpouſed the cauſe of the oppreſſed *Leontines*, and ſent 100 ſail of ſhips well manned, under the command of *Lachetes* and *Chabrias*, againſt *Syracuſe*. Theſe arriving at *Rhegium*, were there joined by 100 other veſſels from the *Athenian* colonies. With this reinforcement they ravaged the *Æolian* iſlands, and defeating the *Myleans*, and taking their city, committed great devaſtations in the enemy's country. The *Athenians*, encouraged with the ſucceſs of their fleet, ſent other 40 ſhips to *Sicily*; but the *Leontines* being ſenſible of their ambitious views, concluded a ſeparate peace with the *Syracuſans*, and were all made free of *Syracuſe*. This peace diſappointing the hopes of the *Athenians*, they vented their rage againſt the commanders in that expedition. The *Athenians* aſſiſt the *Leontines* againſt the *Syracuſans*. Bef. Ch. 426.

About ten years after broke out the moſt memorable war that had ever to that time been waged in *Sicily*, occaſioned by a diſpute ariſing between the inhabitants of *Egeſta* and *Selinus*, concerning their borders. The *Egeſtines* being defeated by the *Selinuntines*, ſolicited ſuccours from *Agrigentum*, *Syracuſe*, and *Carthage*, without ſucceſs. They then implored the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, who joyfully embraced the opportunity of conquer *Sicily*. The *Athenians* inter- Bef. Chr. 416.

intermeddling in the *Sicilian* affairs, and ſent ambaſſadors to enquire into the ſtate of the iſland. The *Egeſtines*, upon their arrival, borrowed from the neighbouring ſtates a great many gold and ſilver veſſels, which they were at pains to expoſe to their view; affirming, that they had wealth ſufficient to defray the whole expence of the war. The *Athenians*, upon the return of their ambaſſadors, hearing of the great wealth of the *Egeſtines*, who engaged to pay the troops ſent to their aſſiſtance, immediately deliberated on the *Sicilian* war. Tho' *Nicias*, a man of no ſmall authority among the people, argued with great prudence againſt the war, and among other things ſhewed that it was impoſſible to contend with the *Lacedæmonians*, and at the ſame time ſend ſo great a force as would be neceſſary into *Sicily*; yet the contrary opinion, which was ſupported by *Alcibiades*, prevailed in the aſſembly by a great majority. *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lammachus*, were accordingly appointed to command the fleet, with full power to regulate affairs in *Sicily* in ſuch a manner as they judged beſt for the intereſt of the republic.

The *Sicilian* expedition oppoſed by *Nicias*.

Nicias, not daring any longer openly to oppoſe an expedition on which all *Athens* was ſo violently bent, thwarted it indirectly by ſtarting a great many difficulties drawn from the vaſt charges that would attend the war: but all he could allege ſerved only to inflame the ardour of the people, who unanimouſly granted him full power to raiſe what forces and fit out what ſhips he thought neceſſary. As the *Athenians* did not make the leaſt doubt but they ſhould conquer the iſland, it was determined, in a conference betwixt the commanders and the ſenate, that the *Syracuſans*, and their allies the *Selinuntines*, ſhould be ſold for ſlaves, and the reſt obliged to pay an annual tribute, and live according to the laws of *Athens*.

Their fleet ſails.

Next day the army, conſiſting of 7000 choſen men, marched to the *Pyræum*; and before the fleet ſailed, ſolemn prayers were offered up for the ſucceſs of the expedition, the whole army, at the ſame time, both officers and ſoldiers, drinking, according to cuſtom, ſucceſs to the undertaking. The fleet, after arriving at *Corcyra*, was joined by their allies and their tranſports, and ſailed from thence for *Italy*. Upon their arrival at *Rhegium*, they ſolicited the *Rhegians* to declare for the *Leontines*; but without ſucceſs. During their ſtay here, they ſent ſome ſhips to examine the ſtate of the *Egeſtines*. Theſe, upon their return, acquainting the generals that the *Egeſtines* had impoſed on the *Athenians*, and were a poor people with only 30 talents in their treaſury, a council of war was immediately called, in which *Nicias* propoſed to ſail directly to *Selinus*, and endeavour, if poſſible, to oblige the *Selinuntines* and *Egeſtines* to come to an accommodation, and ſo return to *Athens*. *Alcibiades*, on the contrary, alledging, that it would be diſhonourable to return without making conqueſts, propoſed to ſolicit the cities of *Sicily* to a confederacy againſt the *Syracuſans* and *Selinuntines*. *Lamachus* propoſed immediately to attack *Syracuſe*, before

before the inhabitants had time to prepare for their defence. The *Syracuſans*, at firſt, would not credit the report of the *Athenian* invaſion; but the approach of their fleet being at laſt confirmed, they garriſoned all the forts and caſtles in the country, reviewed their troops, and, in ſhort, prepared all things, as if the enemy had been already in the heart of their country.

They land in *Sicily*.

The *Athenians*, in the mean time, following the opinion of *Alcibiades*, landed their forces near *Catana*, and took that city by ſurpriſe. *Naxus* ſoon after ſubmitted, and *Hyccara*, a town belonging to the *Sicanians*, was taken by ſtorm, and its inhabitants ſold for ſlaves. *Alcibiades* being called home, to ſtand his trial on an accuſation of ſacrilege, and winter approaching, the two other generals reſolved to take up their quarters near *Syracuſe*, that they might be in readineſs to undertake the ſiege of that place early in the ſpring. Having deceived the *Syracuſans*, and by falſe intelligence perſuaded them that the *Cataneans* intended to attack their camp, the *Syracuſans* marched out with the flower of their troops to aſſiſt the *Cataneans* in the aſſault. The *Athenians*, finding their ſtratagem had ſucceeded, embarked their forces and ammunition, and ſailed for *Syracuſe*, and without any oppoſition ſeized a ſtrong fortreſs called *Olympicum*, within view of the walls. The *Syracuſans* next day, upon their return, offered the *Athenians* battle, and being defeated, were obliged to retire into the town.

The *Syracuſans* put to flight by *Nicias*,

The *Athenians*, after this battle, returned with their fleet and army to *Naxus* and *Catana*, where they wintered, receiving ſome reinforcements of cavalry from their *Sicilian* allies, who furniſhed their army with proviſions. Some troops of horſe alſo arrived from *Athens*, with 300 talents in money. The *Syracuſans*, in the mean time, ſoliciting the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*, *Alcibiades*, who had taken ſanctuary at *Sparta*, enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence; ſo that the *Spartans* reſolved to ſend ſome troops under *Gylippus* to their aſſiſtance.

who receives new ſupplies from *Athens*.

Before the arrival of theſe ſuccours, *Nicias* landing his army unexpectedly in the night at *Syracuſe*, poſſeſſed himſelf of the important poſt of *Epipolæ*, a very ſteep hill that overlooks the city. *Nicias* having repulſed the *Syracuſans*, who attempted to diſlodge him, began to build a wall round the city; which work he finiſhed with great diſpatch, notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours of the beſieged to interrupt it. In one of their ſallies, the garriſon were ſo ſucceſsful as to repulſe the *Athenians* with great ſlaughter, to demoliſh part of their works, and to kill *Lamachus*, one of the generals, with many other officers of diſtinction. *Nicias*, nevertheleſs, purſued the ſiege; and by cutting the canals that ſupplied the place with water, drove the beſieged to ſuch extremity, that they began to think of capitulating.

He inveſts *Syracuſe*.

When they were deliberating about the articles, they received the joyful news of the approach of *Gylippus*, who accordingly

The *Syracusans* receive succours from the *Lacedæmonians*.

ingly soon after entered the city with 3000 foot and 200 horse, having forced his passage thro' the lines of the enemy. A few days after his arrival, he attempted, with his troops and the *Syracusan* forces, to destroy the works of the besiegers; but after a sharp engagement, he was repulsed with loss. *Gylippus* reproached himself with his ill success, and next day made another sally, in which he repulsed the enemy.

Soon after 13 gallies arrived from *Corinth* with considerable supplies of men and money for the *Syracusans*; and *Gylippus* making a progress thro' several cities, raised above 3000 men, with which he reinforced the garrison. *Nicias*, on the other hand, finding his troops lessen daily, began to be disheartned, and wrote to the *Athenians* in the strongest terms, shewing, that without powerful supplies, the enterprize would prove abortive. Tho' *Attica* was at this time invaded by the *Lacedæmonians*, yet so infatuated were the *Athenians* with the *Sicilian* expedition, that they decreed 80 gallies and 5000 land forces to be sent thither, under the command of *Eurymedon* and *Demosthenes*.

The *Syracusans* successful in an attack by land, and the *Athenians* by sea.

Mean while the *Syracusans* resolved to make an attempt to open the communication with the sea, and for that purpose sailed out of the harbour with 80 gallies well manned. Being met by the enemy's fleet, consisting of 60 sail, an engagement ensued; and the *Athenians* leaving their posts to be idle spectators of the combat, *Gylippus* attacked and carried several of their forts, cutting to pieces very many of the besiegers, which occasioned a great noise and tumult in their camp. The *Athenians* engaged at sea, finding it impossible to assist their countrymen at land, fell with double fury upon the *Syracusans*, sunk eleven of their vessels, and at length gained a complete victory. In the forts that were taken, the *Athenians* lost all their treasure, and great part of their provisions and military stores.

The *Syracusans*, hearing that reinforcements were coming to the enemy, wanted earnestly to risk a second engagement at sea before their arrival. *Nicias* proposed to wait the arrival of the succours; but *Menander* and *Euthydemus*, who had been appointed to share the command with him till the arrival of *Demosthenes*, were very urgent for an engagement, and at length forced him to a compliance. The *Athenians* allowing themselves to be surprized, were routed with the loss of seven gallies and a great many men.

The *Athenians* defeated at sea by the *Syracusans*,

Nicias, upon this defeat, was struck with the utmost consternation, when a few days after his hopes were revived with the appearance of the fleet of *Demosthenes*, which consisted of 73 gallies, having on board 8000 men besides mariners, and great store of provisions and warlike engines. His gallies were richly trimmed, and their prows adorned with costly streamers, and as he advanced the trumpets sounded and the crews shouted; which pomp and air of triumph struck the besieged with great dread.

Demosthenes

Demoſthenes propoſed to make an aſſault on the very day of his arrival; which precipitate reſolution was oppoſed by *Nicias*, who having intelligence daily of what was tranſacting in the city, declared that the enemy were in great want of money and proviſions, and would probably ſoon be forced to ſurrender. His remonſtrances were conſtrued to proceed from his dilatory diſpoſition. All the officers, therefore, came over to the opinion of *Demoſthenes*, and *Nicias* himſelf was forced to acquieſce in it. *Demoſthenes* accordingly, at midnight, attacked the important poſt of *Epipolæ*, and was at firſt attended with ſucceſs; but the beſiegers rallying, at length the *Athenians* were repulſed with great loſs, 2000 of them being killed on this occaſion, and a great many arms and warlike engines taken. and alſo repulſed at land.

This unexpected repulſe damped the ardour of *Demoſthenes*, who was for returning immediately to *Athens*. *Nicias* again oppoſed him, as he had ſtill hopes of becoming maſter of the city, and beſides, was under apprehenſion of the *Athenians*, who had already baniſhed two generals for returning from *Sicily*, tho' they had acted a very prudent part in quitting the iſland. He choſe rather, he ſaid, to fall gloriouſly by the enemy's ſword, than be ignominouſly condemned by the ſuffrages of the people; ſo that *Demoſthenes* at laſt yielded to him.

Soon after a plague breaking out in the *Athenian* army, and the *Syracuſans* receiving powerful ſupplies from the *Siculi*, *Selinuntines*, *Geleans*, and *Camarineans*, *Nicias* altered his opinion, and iſſued private orders to the officers of the fleet to have their gallies in readineſs to ſail on the firſt notice. The ſoldiers having ſhipped all their baggage, began to embark, when the moon being ſuddenly eclipſed, *Nicias*, who was naturally ſuperſtitious, was ſo terrified, that he ſtopped the embarkation till he ſhould conſult the ſoothſayers; who pronounced, that the enterprize muſt now be delayed for three times nine days. During this delay, the *Syracuſans* having notice of their intention, reſolved to attack them both by ſea and land. They accordingly ſailed with 60 gallies againſt the fleet of the enemy, which conſiſted of 86 gallies; and notwithſtanding their inferiority, gained a compleat victory, killing the *Athenian* admiral and 2000 men, and deſtroying 18 ſhips. *Gylippus*, at the ſame time, made an attempt againſt the land forces, but was repulſed with loſs; ſo that both parties erected trophies for their particular ſucceſſes. The *Syracuſans*, however, encouraged by their ſuperiority at ſea, blocked up the *Athenians* in the great harbour, with ſhips and gallies joined and faſtened together with anchors and iron chains. The plague in the *Athenian* army.

The *Athenians*, who now thought of nothing but retreating, unanimouſly reſolved to make an attempt to break thro' the fleet that ſhut up the harbour, and retire with all their forces on board to *Catana*; but if they ſhould not ſucceed in the undertaking, to ſet fire to their ſhips, and to march by land to the neareſt city belonging to their allies. The flower of the troops accordingly embarked on board 115 gallies, while the reſt The *Athenian* fleet defeated, and the admiral killed.

reſt of the army drew up in battalia on the ſhore. The *Syracuſans*, at the ſame time, ſailed with 74 gallies to defend their boom, the walls of the harbour, and every eminence within the city, being filled with crowds of ſpectators. The commanders on both ſides having uſed all their eloquence to animate their men, the charge began with great fury, and continued with great ſlaughter for ſeveral hours. Tho' both parties were then quite ſpent, and could neither handle their arms or their oars, yet when any of them offered to retreat, their friends on ſhore received them with reproaches, and obliged them, tho' ſorely wounded, to return to the combat. Thus the engagement was continued thro' the whole day; but at length the *Athenians*, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, were driven on ſhore, ſixty of their gallies being loſt, and moſt of the reſt being rendered quite unſerviceable. The *Syracuſans* loſt only eight ſhips, and had eleven diſabled.

In this deſperate condition, the *Athenian* officers holding a council of war, *Demoſthenes* propoſed to man the few gallies that remained with *Greek* ſoldiers, and to ſurprize the enemy by making a ſecond attempt to break the barricade. *Nicias* oppoſing this advice, or, as others ſay, the ſoldiers refuſing to obey, it was thereupon determined to retire that very night by land to the cities of their confederates. *Hermocrates*, commander in chief in *Syracuſe*, ſuſpecting their deſign, ordered the *Syracuſans* to march out to ſtop the paſſes; but they abſolutely refuſing to interrupt their rejoicing on account of their late victory, he ſent ſome horſemen to the *Athenian* camp, who, as friends, adviſed *Nicias* not to march off, as the *Syracuſans* had ſeized on all the paſſes leading to the cities of their allies.

The *Athenians* reſolve to retire.

Nicias being thus deluded, ſtopt his march for two days to refreſh his ſoldiers. *Hermocrates*, in the mean time, poſſeſſed himſelf of the moſt difficult paſſes, fortified the avenues leading to the places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and ſpread detachments of horſe in the plains. The *Athenians* having no ſubſiſtance in their camp, ſet out on the third day after the battle, to the number of 40,000 men, leaving behind them great part of their baggage. The ſick and wounded in vain uſed their utmoſt entreaties not to be left behind. *Nicias*, tho' dejected and worn out with a tedious illneſs, and deſtitute of all neceſſaries, when his age and infirmities required them moſt, nevertheleſs exhauſted himſelf on this occaſion in encouraging his men.

They are greatly harraſſed by the *Syracuſans*.

His deſponding troops being ſomewhat revived by his ſpeech, marched off in two bodies, each drawn up in the form of a phalanx, with the baggage in the center. They forced their paſſage over the river *Anapus*, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition they met with; but in their march for ſeveral days were continually galled by the *Syracuſans*, who always declined hazarding a battle, but harraſſed them continually with ſhowers of darts and arrows. Many of the *Athenians* being wounded, and their army being in great want of proviſions, *Nicias* and

Demoſthenes

Demoſthenes reſolved to alter their route, and inſtead of proceeding to *Catana*, to make the beſt of their way to *Camarina* and *Gela*. The vanguard led by *Nicias*, marched off in good order; but half the rear, commanded by *Demoſthenes*, fell into confuſion and loſt their way. The *Syracuſans*, next day, came up with him about noon, and immediately drove his troops into a narrow paſs, and there ſurrounded them on all ſides. The *Athenians* defended themſelves with the utmoſt bravery till the evening, when *Demoſthenes*, to ſave the lives of his countrymen, capitulated, on condition that neither he nor any of his men ſhould be put to death, or ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment. Part of their army forced to ſurrender.

Six thouſand *Athenians* having now laid down their arms, the *Syracuſans*, the day after, came up with *Nicias*, who had encamped on an eminence near the river *Erineus*, and ſummoned him to ſurrender, as *Demoſthenes* had done. *Nicias* having obtained leave to ſatisfy himſelf of the truth of what they affirmed concerning his colleague, then offered to pay the whole charges of the war, on condition he was allowed to leave the iſland with all his forces. This propoſal being rejected, the *Syracuſans* attacked him with great vigour, the *Athenians* gallantly defending themſelves till night put an end to the combat. *Nicias* being in abſolute want of all neceſſaries, attempted to ſteal off from the enemy in the night; but ſoon found that deſign impracticable. At break of day, he purſued his march thro' continual ſhowers of darts. The *Athenians*, upon their arrival at the river *Aſinarus*, were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion; and while ſome were impatient to paſs over, and others eager to quench their thirſt, the *Syracuſan* cavalry made dreadful havoc of them, and cut off no leſs than 18,000 of them. *Nicias*, with a ſmall body, eſcaped this ſlaughter; but being hemmed in on every ſide, they ſurrendered to *Gylippus*, on condition their lives might be ſpared, hoping to meet with better treatment from him than from the *Syracuſans*. Some few *Athenians* that had ſeparated from the reſt, and were ſtraggling in the country, were ſoon after taken by the *Syracuſan* horſe; ſo that out of ſo numerous an army, very few had the good fortune to eſcape either death or ſervitude. The *Syracuſans* returned in triumph to their city, where they were received with joyful acclamations by their fellow citizens, who, in conjunction with them, returned thanks to the gods in the moſt ſolemn manner, for having auſpiciouſly ended the greateſt war they had ever been engaged in. *Nicias* alſo obliged to capitulate.

Next day, an aſſembly being called to determine the fate of the captives, one *Diocles*, a man of great eſteem and authority among the people, propoſed, that the two *Athenian* generals ſhould be firſt whipt with rods, and then put to death; that the reſt ſhould be ſhut up in the quarries, with a ſmall allowance of flour and water; and that the inhabitants of the iſland, who had joined them, ſhould be ſold for ſlaves. *Hermocrates*, to whom the *Syracuſans* were chiefly indebted for their late victory, The *Syracuſans* put the *Athenian* commanders to death.

tory, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this opinion; but the incenſed multitude would not ſuffer him to continue his ſpeech. *Nicolaus*, a venerable old man, who had loſt his only two ſons in the war, next roſe up; and as the people expected he would pronounce a bitter invective againſt the priſoners, he was heard with attention; when by a moſt pathetic ſpeech he moved the aſſembly to compaſſion. However, the enemies of the *Athenians* afterwards expatiating on their inveterate hatred to the *Syracuſans*, and the many calamities they had brought upon them, the people returned to their former reſolution, and followed the advice of *Diocles*. The generals, after being whipt, were put to death, and the other priſoners were thruſt down into the quarries, where they ſuffered inexpreſſible miſeries for the ſpace of eight months. They were expoſed to the inclemencies of the air and alterations of weather. They lay together in heaps, and were poiſoned by the ſtench of their own excrements, and the bodies of thoſe who died of wounds and diſeaſes; being at the ſame time tormented with hunger and thirſt, as their allowance was ſcarce ſufficient to keep them alive. Moſt of them died of the hardſhips they ſuffered; others were were taken out of the quarries, and being ſold for ſlaves, were generouſly ſet at liberty by their maſters.

and ſend part of the ſpoils to their allies. Bef. Ch. 413.

The *Syracuſans* rewarded their allies, eſpecially the *Lacedæmonians*, with great part of the ſpoils; dividing what remained among their own ſoldiers, and hanging up part of it in their temples. *Gylippus*, on his return to *Sparta*, was accompanied by 35 *Syracuſan* gallies, which were to be employed againſt the *Athenians*, who had reaped nothing from the *Sicilian* war but loſs and diſhonour *.

The *Carthaginian* war.

The *Syracuſans* being ſoon after involved in a new war, were obliged to recall their fleet to defend their own country. The *Egeſtines* being diſappointed in their hopes of aſſiſtance from the *Athenians*, had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*; who from a deſire of extending their dominions, had promiſed them powerful ſuccours. That they might meet with the leſs oppoſition, the *Carthaginians* attempted to ſow ſeeds of diviſion between the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſans*, urging the latter to act as arbitrators betwixt the former and the *Egeſtines*. This artifice not ſucceeding according to their wiſh, they ſent 5000 *Africans*, and 800 men from *Campania* to *Egeſta*; with which ſuccours the *Egeſtines* falling upon the *Selinuntines*, killed 1000 of them on the ſpot, and took all their baggage.

The war being now kindled, both the *Syracuſans* and *Carthaginians* reſolved to ſupport their reſpective allies to the utmoſt of their power. The *Carthaginians* committed the whole management of the war to *Hannibal* the ſon of *Giſco*, and grandſon of *Hamilcar*, who had been killed by *Gelon* before *Himera*. As he now hoped to wipe off the diſgrace of the former de-

* Diod. Sic. l. xii. xiii. Thucyd. l. vii. Plut, in Nic.

feat,

feat, he made immenſe preparations, and the following ſpring came over into *Sicily* with an army of 300,000 men, according to ſome, but of only 100,000, according to others. He marched directly againſt *Selinus*; and notwithſtanding the gallant reſiſtance of the inhabitants, took the place by ſtorm in a few days, before the ſuccours raiſed by the *Syracuſans*, *Agrigentines*, and *Geleans*, could arrive to its relief. About 2600 of the inhabitants eſcaped to *Agrigentum*; but all the reſt, men, women, and children, were put to the ſword; the city being ſet on flames and razed to the ground, about 250 years after it had been built. Soon after, at the interceſſion of ſome *Sicilians* of the *Carthaginian* party, *Hannibal* permitted thoſe *Selinuntines*, who had fled to *Agrigentum*, to repeople their city, upon paying to the *Carthaginians* an annual tribute. The *Carthaginians* take and raze *Selinus*.

Hannibal next marched againſt *Himera*, being extremely deſirous to revenge on that city the death of his grandfather *Hamilcar*. On his march, he was joined by 20,000 *Siculi* and *Sicani*, who with the main body of the army inveſted the city, while he with a body of 40,000 men encamped on a riſing ground at ſome diſtance. The *Himereans* having received conſiderable ſuccours from the *Syracuſans* and their other allies, made a moſt vigorous defence, and in a general ſally with 10,000 men, put the whole *Carthaginian* army to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter to the camp of *Hannibal*, who rallying his forces, drove the beſieged back to to the city, and killed 3000 men. The *Carthaginians*, according to *Ephorus*, loſt 20,000 men in this action, but according to *Timæus*, only 6000. *Himera* beſieged.

A report being ſoon after ſpread, that the *Syracuſans* were marching with all their forces to relieve *Himera*, *Hannibal* propoſed to raiſe the ſiege, and attempt to ſurpriſe *Syracuſe*. This report was occaſioned by the appearance of 25 *Syracuſan* gallies off the harbour, which proved to be the remainder of the fleet that was ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Diocles* returned on board this fleet to *Syracuſe*, with half of the *Syracuſan* ſuccours, in order to put his native city in a poſture of defence. After the departure of *Diocles*, *Hannibal* redoubled his efforts, and at laſt tock the place by ſtorm; when the inhuman *Carthaginians* and *Iberians* committed all manner of barbarities, ſo that the kennels of the ſtreets flowed with blood. The city being pillaged and burnt, *Hannibal* cauſed 3000 of the captives to be maſſacred at the place where his grandfather had been defeated and killed. *Hannibal* having thus concluded the campaign, diſmiſſed his confederates, diſbanded the *Campanians*, and returned with great part of his troops to *Carthage*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. The city taken and razed.

Syracuſe, in the mean time, was torn to pieces by domeſtic factions. One of the factions was headed by *Diocles*, a man highly eſteemed for his wiſdom and probity. The *Syracuſans*, by his advice, altered their form of government, and Domeſtic diſſenſions in *Syracuſe*.

and choſe their magiſtrates by lot. They alſo appointed him to compoſe a body of laws for them, which were afterwards obſerved in moſt of the free ſtates of *Sicily* (A). The head of the other party was *Hermocrates*, a man of great probity, who had performed many eminent ſervices to his country. While he was abſent with the fleet ſent to the *Lacedæmonians*, he was baniſhed by the contrary faction, meerly on account of his great worth and authority. He having returned to *Sicily*, and levyed ſome troops at his own expence, made ſeveral incurſions into the territories ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, which greatly raiſed his reputation at *Syracuſe*, and made his friends concert the means of his returning to the city. He accordingly ſurpriſed one of the gates with 300 men, and the aſſiſtance of his friends; but the citizens running to arms, ſlew him in the market-place, and cut moſt of his ſmall army in pieces. All who had declared in his favour, were condemned to perpetual baniſhment; and among the reſt his ſon-in-law *Dionyſius*, who afterwards ſeized the government.

The *Carthaginians* return to *Sicily*.

Mean while, the ſucceſs of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* having inſpired them with the hopes of conquering the whole iſland, they ſent over hither another army, equal to the former, under the command of *Hannibal* and *Imilcar* the ſon of *Hanno*. The *Syracuſans* having complained to the ſenate of *Carthage* of the hoſtilities committed by *Hannibal*, without receiving a ſatisfactory anſwer, were now prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. *Hannibal* firſt inveſted the city of *Agrigentum*; but the *Agrigentines*, by the direction of *Dexippus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, having provided all things neceſſary for a ſiege, made a moſt vigorous defence. Having, in their firſt ſally, burnt all the enemy's engines, deſtroyed all their towers, and made great ſlaughter in their camp, *Hannibal* hereupon cauſed all the tombs and ſtately monuments round the city to be demoliſhed; and mounts to be raiſed with the rubbiſh. Soon after the plague breaking out in the army, quickly carried off a great number of ſoldiers, and *Hannibal* himſelf.

They beſiege *Agrigentum*.

The *Syracuſans*, in the mean time, ſent an army of above 30,000 foot, and 5000 horſe, to the relief of the beſieged: which was attacked by the enemy in the plains near *Agrigentum*. Tho' the enemy were greatly ſuperior in number, yet the *Syracuſans*,

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(A) By one of his laws he decreed, that if any man came armed into the court where the public aſſemblies were kept, he ſhould be put to death. Not long after the publication of this law, as he was going to march out againſt ſome invaders, a tumult aroſe in the court, upon which he haſtened thither with his ſword by his ſide. A byſtander remarking to him, that he had tranſgreſſed one of his own laws; he anſwered, that he would confirm them with his blood; and inſtantly drawing his ſword, ſtabbed himſelf. After his death, divine honours were paid to him, and a temple erected to his memory.

after

after an obſtinate diſpute, gained a complete victory; after which they blockaded the enemy's camp, and reduced them to ſuch ſtraits, that the *Campanians* and other mercenaries threatned to join the *Sicilians* if they had not their uſual allowance of bread. *Imilcar* exhorted them to bear patiently their preſent want for a few days; and hearing that a convoy of proviſions was coming by ſea from *Syracuſe* to *Agrigentum*, he diſpatched orders to his fleet to lie in wait for it. He, accordingly, was ſo ſucceſsful as to intercept 60 tranſports laden with corn and other proviſions; which loſs reduced the *Agrigentines*, in their turn, to the utmoſt diſtreſs. Eight hundred *Campanians*, who ſerved in the garriſon, went all over in a body to the *Carthaginians*; being adviſed to deſert, it is ſaid, by *Dexippus*, who had been bribed by the enemy with 15 talents.

Are defeated by the *Syracuſans*.

The *Agrigentines* finding it impoſſible to defend the place any longer, came to a reſolution to abandon the city; which, when publickly known, threw the citizens into the utmoſt conſternation. Lamentable outcries were heard in every houſe; but as they expected no mercy from ſo cruel an enemy, the hopes of ſaving their lives made them at length ſubmit to leave the place. Many, indeed, not finding in their heart to abandon their ſick parents and relations, ſtaid behind to comfort them at their death, and then die by them. Thoſe who marched out were conducted by the *Syracuſan* troops to *Gela*, where they were received with great kindneſs and humanity. The *Syracuſans* afterwards granted them the city and territory of *Leontini*.

The *Agrigentines* obliged to abandon their city.

Imilcar entering the city, put all thoſe he found in it to the ſword; not ſparing even ſuch as fled to the temples. *Gellias*, a citizen famous for his wealth and integrity (B), * ſeeing the barbarity of the enemy, ſet fire to the temple of *Minerva*, and conſumed in the flames both himſelf and the immenſe riches of that ſtately edifice. The booty which the enemy found in the place was prodigious, and ſuch as might be expected in one

The barbarity of the *Carthaginian*.

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* Val. Max. l. iv. Athen. Deipnoſoph. l. i. Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

(B) He entertained the people with ſpectacles and feaſts, and during a famine, ſupported the *Agrigentines*. He gave portions to poor maidens, and reſcued the unfortunate from want and deſpair. He is ſaid to have built ſeveral rooms in his houſe of an extraordinary ſize for public entertainments; placing his ſervants at his gates, and charging them to invite all who went by to be his gueſts. Five hundred horſemen from *Gela* happening to paſs through *Agrigentum* in winter time, he not only entertained them with great magnificence, but furniſhed them all on their departure with cloaks and coats out of his wardrobe. *Polyclitus* the hiſtorian, as quoted by *Diodorus*, tells us, that when he ſerved among the troops of *Agrigentum*, he ſaw a wine-cellar in his houſe which contained 300 great veſſels full of wine, each veſſel holding 100 amphoræ.

of the moſt opulent cities in *Sicily*, which contained 200,000 inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even beſieged. Among other curioſities in the city, was the famous bull of *Phalaris*, which was ſent to *Carthage*.

The *Sicilians* in great conſternation.

Imilcar having thus gained the city after an eight months ſiege, took up his winter-quarters there, with the deſign of puſhing his conqueſts early in the ſpring. The *Sicilians*, in the mean time, were ſtruck with the greateſt conſternation. Many of them fled from their native cities to *Syracuſe*, or retired with their families and effects to *Italy*. Thoſe who took ſanctuary in *Syracuſe*, were treated with extraordinary kindneſs, and the chief men among them made free of the city.

Great commotions in *Syracuſe*.

Several of the refugees were *Agrigentines*, who made great outcries againſt the *Syracuſan* commanders, as if they had betrayed *Agrigentum* into the enemy's hands. Such diſturbances on this account aroſe in *Syracuſe*, as gave *Dionyſius* an opportunity of ſeizing on the ſovereign power, and depriving the inhabitants of that liberty which they had long abuſed.

Dionyſius was born in *Syracuſe*, of a noble and illuſtrious family, according to ſome, but according to others, of a mean extraction. He aſſiſted *Hermocrates* in his attempt to enter *Syracuſe* by force; and being then dangerouſly wounded, his friends, to ſave his life, ſpread abroad a report of his death. When the preſent war broke out, he was, by the interceſſion of his friends, recalled; and by diſtinguiſhing himſelf in ſeveral actions againſt the *Carthaginians*, particularly at the battle near *Agrigentum*, he had now become a favourite with the people.

Dionyſius accuſes their commanders of having betrayed *Agrigentum*.

He is choſen general.

When a council was called at *Syracuſe* to deliberate about the war, *Dionyſius* roſe up, and having accuſed the commanders of betraying *Agrigentum* to the enemy, urged the people to puniſh them without waiting for the formalities of law. His ſpeech having ſet all the aſſembly in a flame, they forthwith deprived their officers of their commands, and named others in their room, among whom was *Dionyſius*; who having gained this ſtep of preferment, began to conſider how he might get his collegues turned out, and the whole command of the army lodged in himſelf. With this view, he never joined in any council of war with the other commanders; and hoping to get them laid aſide, he gave out, that they kept a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy. His deſigns began to be ſuſpected by the moſt prudent citizens, who in their aſſemblies charged him with ambitious views in very harſh terms. On the other hand, the common people, ignorant of his deceit and fraud, praiſed all his actions, and publiſhed every where, that now at length they had got a faithful guardian and defender of the city.

He prevails with the *Syracuſan* to recal the exiles.

Dionyſius obſerving that the *Syracuſans* were under great apprehenſions of the iſſue of the war, propoſed to them to recall the exiles, who, he doubted not, would be faithfully attached to him, and be proper tools for the execution of his deſigns.

Having

Having repreſented to the people, that they ought not to hire foreigners, when they might be ſupplied with excellent forces by recalling their own countrymen, a decree was immediately paſſed in favour of the exiles. None of his collegues durſt contradict him, as they perceived that their oppoſition would not only prove ineffectual, but incenſe the multitude againſt them, and raiſe the reputation of *Dionyſius*. The decree was no ſooner publiſhed, but the exiles flocked from all parts to *Syracuſe*.

Mean while diſturbances ariſing in *Gela*, *Dionyſius* marched with 2000 foot and 400 horſe to the aſſiſtance of one of the parties, which had implored the protection of *Syracuſe*. *Dionyſius* took the part of the popular faction, and cauſed the chiefs of the other party to be condemned and put to death. Their eſtates he confiſcated and ſold; and with the money ariſing from the ſale, paid the ſoldiers, who were then in garriſon under *Dexippus*, their arrears, diſtributing the overplus among the troops that came with him from *Syracuſe*, and declaring at the ſame time to them, that their pay promiſed by the city ſhould be doubled. The *Geleans* were ſo pleaſed with his conduct, that they conferred upon him the ſupreme power, and thanked the *Syracuſans*, by a formal embaſſy, for the ſervices he had done them.

Dionyſius having in vain endeavoured to draw *Dexippus* into his meaſures, returned to *Syracuſe*. The people coming out of the theatre as he entered the city, thronged about him, and earneſtly enquired news of the enemy. He anſwered with a ſad and dejected air, that the city had not ſo much cauſe to be afraid of them as of their own officers and magiſtrates, of whoſe treachery he was now convinced; for that *Imilcar* had ſent an officer to him under pretence of redeeming ſome captives, but in truth to perſuade him not to pry too narrowly into the conduct of his collegues; that he was therefore determined to lay down his commiſſion, that he might leave no room for injurious ſuſpicions of his acting in concert with traitors.

The *Syracuſans* declare him generaliſſimo.

This ſtratagem ſucceeded to his wiſh; for the people being thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, next day, in an aſſembly, declared him general, with ſole and abſolute power. He began with ſigning an order, that the ſoldiers ſhould receive double pay; and being ſure of their favour, he began to think of the means to ſecure himſelf againſt the ficklenes of the people, many of whom had no ſooner left the aſſembly, than they repented of their raſh proceeding. He commanded all under 40 years of age, able to bear arms, to march with 30 days proviſion to *Leontini*, which belonged to the *Syracuſans*, and was full of foreigners and exiles. On his march, he pretended to have diſcovered a plot againſt his life, and fled in a pretended pannic to the caſtle of *Leontini*. Next morning, acquainting the people of *Leontini* with the danger he pretended to have been in, he obtained leave to chuſe a guard of 600 men for the ſecurity of his perſon. He preſently choſe above

He procures a guard.

1000 men as his guards, armed them completely, and encouraged them with great promiſes. He alſo attached the mercenaries in a peculiar manner to his intereſt by his winning and courteous ſpeeches; and new modelled the army, by giving commiſſions to thoſe whom he confided in, and turning out thoſe he diſtruſted. Among the latter was *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, an officer of great experience, whom he ſent back into *Greece*. Being then joined by the garriſon of *Gela*, and having encreaſed his army by great numbers of fugitives, exiles, debtors and criminals, he marched back to *Syracuſe*, and taking poſſeſſion of the citadel, declared himſelf king, being then in the 25th year of his age. To ſtrengthen himſelf the more in the tyranny, he married the daughter of *Hermocrates*, and gave his own ſiſter in marriage to *Polyxenus*, brother-in-law to *Hermocrates*.

Seizes on the citadel, and declares himſelf king of *Syracuſe*.

Soon after *Imilcar* moving from his winter-quarters, and inveſting *Gela*, *Dionyſius* advanced to the relief of the place with an army of 50,000 men, according to ſome, tho' *Timæus* makes them 30,000, and 1000 horſe. Upon his arrival before the city, he encamped near the ſea, that his fleet and army might act in concert. Not being able, however, to give any effectual ſuccour to the beſieged, and his army having ſuffered conſiderably from the enemy, he perſuaded the *Geleans* to abandon their city, as the only means of ſaving their lives, and covered their retreat with his army. The *Carthaginians* immediately entered the city, and either put to the ſword or crucified all thoſe they found in it. Having then plundered the place, they advanced to *Camarina*, the inhabitants of which city, at the perſuaſion of *Dionyſius*, withdrew with their wives and children to *Syracuſe*. The moving ſight of aged perſons, matrons, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their ſtrength, raiſed compaſſion in the breaſts of *Dionyſius*'s ſoldiers, and incenſed them againſt the tyrant. They began to imagine that he acted in concert with the *Carthaginians*, as none of the mercenaries had been killed by the enemy, who even did not offer to purſue them. The *Italians*, therefore, left his camp in a body, and the *Syracuſan* cavalry, after having attempted to kill him on the march, rode with full ſpeed to *Syracuſe*, where they entered the citadel without oppoſition, the guards not ſuſpecting what had happened. They immediately forced his palace, ranſacked his treaſures, carried off all his rich furniture, and abuſed his wife ſo cruelly, that thro' grief and ſhame ſhe poiſoned herſelf. *Dionyſius* ſuſpecting their deſign, purſued after them with the utmoſt expedition; and having marched 50 miles without once halting, forced one of the gates of the city about midnight. Being now maſter of the city, he ſcoured the ſtreets, putting all thoſe to the ſword that came in his way; and even entering the houſes of ſuch as he took to be his enemies and cutting them off with their whole families. His army arrived next morning; but the *Geleans* and *Camarineans* retired to *Leontini*.

The *Carthaginians* make themſelves maſters of *Gela*.

The *Syracuſans* revolt from *Dionyſius*, but are again reduced.

In

In the mean time the plague raging among the *Carthaginians*, forced *Imilcar* to offer terms of peace to *Dionyſius*. A peace was accordingly concluded on theſe terms; namely, that the *Carthaginians*, beſides their antient acquiſitions in *Sicily*, ſhould poſſeſs the countries of the *Sicani*, and *Selinus*, *Agrigentum*, and *Himera*, with their territories; that the *Geleans* and *Camarineans* might return to their reſpective countries, on condition of paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians*. That all the other inhabitants of *Sicily* ſhould live according to their own laws, except the *Syracuſans*, who ſhould continue ſubject to *Dionyſius*. Theſe articles being ratified, *Imilcar* returned to *Carthage* with the remains of his army, one half of it having been deſtroyed by the plague in *Sicily*.

A peace between *Carthaginians* and *Dionyſius*.

After his departure, *Dionyſius* neglected nothing to ſecure his power. He fortified the iſland, and divided it from the reſt of the city with an high and thick wall. He built alſo a caſtle, which commanded the city, to ſerve him for a retreat. He choſe the moſt fertile lands for himſelf and his friends, and diſtributed the reſt equally among the citizens, including thoſe ſlaves whom he had made free.

He fortifies the iſland.

Having, as he thought, firmly eſtabliſhed his authority, he began to think of extending his dominions, and accordingly marched with an army againſt the city of *Herbeſſus*. The *Syracuſans* in the army thought this a fit time to attempt the recovery of their liberty; and having formed themſelves into a ſeparate body for that purpoſe, ſent to the horſe that had formerly revolted, and had now fortified themſelves at *Ætna*, deſiring their concurrence. *Dionyſius*, alarmed at theſe proceedings, returned immediately to *Syracuſe*, whither he was followed by the revolters, who encamping on *Epipolæ*, cut off the communication between the country and the city. The *Rhegians* and *Meſſaneans*, at their entreaty, ſent 80 gallies well manned to their aſſiſtance; upon the arrival of which reinforcement, they promiſed, by the common crier, a great reward to any one that ſhould kill the tyrant, and the freedom of the city to all foreigners that ſhould abandon him and come over to them.

The *Syracuſans* again revolt.

In conſequence of this proclamation, the tyrant, in a few days, ſaw himſelf quite abandoned by thoſe in whom he chiefly confided; while the beſiegers, being ſtrongly reinforced, reduced thoſe few that ſtuck by him to the greateſt extremity. *Dionyſius*, in this deſperate condition, conſulting his friends, was adviſed by ſome of them to lay violent hands on himſelf; but *Philiſtus* the hiſtorian, who from the beginning had ſupported him with his money, told him, that he ought to maintain himſelf upon the throne at the hazard of his life. *Dionyſius* cloſed with this advice; but to extricate himſelf out of the preſent difficulty, he obtained a kind of truce, by offering to leave the city.

Dionyſius reduced to great ſtraits,

The beſiegers thinking they had now got the better of the tyrant, neglected their accuſtomed guards; while *Dionyſius*, by

great promiſes, prevailed on the *Campanians* that were left behind by the *Carthaginians*, to come to his relief. They accordingly broke thro' the revolters into the city, and being afterwards joined by 300 mercenaries, made a ſally upon the beſiegers with ſuch ſucceſs, that the *Syracuſans* now offered again to ſubmit. The *Syracuſan* cavalry, however, rejected the propoſals made by the tyrant, and returned to their fortreſs at *Ætna*. When all things were again quieted, he diſmiſſed the *Campanians* with great rewards. They prevailing on the citizens of *Entella* to receive them within their walls, requited the favour by murdering in the night all the townſmen; and marrying the wives of the deceaſed, they maintained themſelves in poſſeſſion of the city many years.

but recovers the ſovereign power.

Dionyſius, now convinced that he could not truſt the *Syracuſans*, took an opportunity, when moſt of the citizens were abroad gathering in their harveſt, to ſearch their houſes, and to carry off all the arms he could find. He then encloſed the citadel with another wall, fitted out a powerful fleet, and hired a great many foreigners. To prevent the *Syracuſans* from reflecting on the miſeries of ſlavery, he again employed ſome of them in expeditions againſt their neighbours. In the very firſt campaign, he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Naxos*, *Catana*, *Leontini*, *Ætna*, *Enna*, and other cities; ſome of which he treated with great clemency to gain the affection of the people, and others he plundered, ſelling the inhabitants for ſlaves. What pretence he alleged in juſtification of theſe hoſtilities, is not known. The cities of *Meſſana* and *Rhegium* reſolved to thwart his deſigns, and privately propoſed to the *Syracuſans* to aſſiſt them in the recovery of their liberty. Some diſſenſions, however, afterwards happening among their troops when they were on the point of marching againſt the tyrant, all the preparations for war ended in a treaty of peace and alliance between the two cities and *Dionyſius*.

He diſarms the *Syracuſans*.

Subdues ſeveral free cities,

The tyrant, having now greatly enlarged his power, began to prepare for the execution of his deſign of expelling the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*. His firſt care was to bring to *Syracuſe* great numbers of expert workmen, whom he employed in forging all ſorts of arms. Not only the porches of the temples, but the ſchools, walks, and every public place, nay, even private houſes, were filled with workmen. *Dionyſius* encouraged them with great rewards; and ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ingenuity or application, were ſure to receive particular marks of his favour. Having thus inſpirited them, and rendered them indefatigable, in a ſhort time 140,000 complete ſuits of armour were finiſhed. He then applied himſelf entirely to the fitting out of a fleet. Having brought timber at a great expence from *Italy*, he with great diſpatch built and equipped a fleet of 200 ſail, to which he added 110 old gallies, made fit for ſervice. The fleet was manned with an equal number of citizens and foreigners, and his land-army was compoſed of *Syracuſans* and other *Sicilians*, with great numbers of *Greeks* and

and makes great preparations for a war with the *Carthaginians*.

nd *Italians*, who were induced to enter into his ſervice, on a romiſe of large pay. To gain the affection of his troops, he pplied in a particular manner to oblige all, eſpecially the *Syacuſans*.

That no enemy might have it in their power to ſeize on the ill of *Epipolæ*, he carried a fortification, of 30 furlongs in ength, along the back part of it, where it was moſt abrupt. Beſides thoſe at work in the quarries, he employed 60,000 men n building the wall and its towers, which was compoſed of hewn ſtone, each ſtone being four foot ſquare. Six thouſand yoke of oxen were alſo employed in the work; and ſo great was the ardour of the workmen, that the whole was finiſhed in twenty days.

Dionyſius ſeeing his great preparations now complete, acquainted the *Syracuſans* with his deſign. They, partly from hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and partly from hopes of recovering their liberty, concurred in his opinion; and war being unanimouſly reſolved upon, *Dionyſius* allowed the people to ſeize on all the goods and eſtates of the *Carthaginians*, who, upon the faith of treaties, had ſettled in *Syracuſe*. He then ſent an herald to *Carthage* with a letter to the ſenate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not withdraw their garriſon forthwith from the *Greek* cities in *Sicily*, the people of *Syracuſe* would treat them as enemies. War declared againſt the *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthaginians*, who were at this time greatly afflicted with the plague, were not a little aſtoniſhed at this declaration; but notwithſtanding their diſtreſs, they reſolved to defend their *Sicilian* conqueſts. *Dionyſius*, without waiting for the anſwer of the *Carthaginians*, took the field with an army of 80,000 foot and 3000 horſe. His fleet conſiſted of 200 gallies and 500 tranſports laden with warlike engines and all ſorts of proviſions. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of *Motya*, which was the general magazine of the *Carthaginians*, and was ſeated near mount *Eryx*, on a peninſula, or rather on an iſland, which had been joined to *Sicily* by an artificial mole. *Motya* beſieged.

This the *Motyans* having now ruined, *Dionyſius* ordered ſome of his forces and the fleet under his brother *Leptines*, to fill up the breach with ſtones and rubbiſh, and marched with the bulk of his army to reduce the cities in alliance with the *Carthaginians*. All theſe ſubmitted without oppoſition, except *Ancyra*, *Solas*, *Egeſta*, *Panormus*, and *Entella*. The two laſt he beſieged; but not being able to reduce them in ſo ſhort a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to *Motya*, which after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, he made himſelf maſter of.

The *Carthaginians*, during the ſiege, ſailed into the harbour of *Syracuſe* in the night with ten gallies, and having deſtroyed a great many veſſels, retired without the loſs of a ſingle man. *Imilco*, the *Carthaginian* general, afterwards fitted out 100 gallies, and ſurprized the *Syracuſan* fleet in the harbour of *Motya*; but tho' he deſtroyed ſeveral veſſels, he was not able to raiſe the ſiege, and was obliged to retire with loſs.

The

The city taken by storm.

The *Sicilians* having made themselves masters of the place put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex or age; those only excepted who took sanctuary in the temples. *Dionysius* gave up the city to be plundered, and sold such of the *Motyans* as were left alive for slaves; but commanded all the *Greeks* who had joined the *Carthaginians* to be crucified. Leaving a strong garrison in *Motya*, and ordering *Leptines* with 120 gallies to watch the *Carthaginians* at sea, he returned with his army to *Syracuse*, to prepare for the following campaign.

Great preparations of the *Carthaginians* against *Dionysius.*

The *Carthaginians* being informed of the strength of *Dionysius*, resolved to surpass him in numbers both of men and ships. They accordingly got together an army of above 300,000 foot and 4000 horse, with 400 chariots, and a fleet of 300 gallies and 600 transports, according to *Ephorus*; but *Timæus* affirms, that only 100,000 men were transported into *Sicily*, and that they were joined by 3000 *Sicilians*. The transports having outsailed the gallies, were attacked off the coast of *Panormus* by *Leptines*, who sunk 50 of them, in which 5000 men and 200 chariots were lost. *Imilco* landed his troops without any considerable loss, and marched directly against the enemy, commanding the fleet to accompany him along the coast. He took *Eryx* by treachery, and recovered *Motya* by assault, before *Dionysius*, who was then besieging *Egesta*, could send any forces to its relief. The *Sicilian* troops were very eager for venturing a battle; but *Dionysius* thought it more advisable to abandon the open country to the enemy. He exhorted the *Sicani* to leave their cities and join the army, promising them a richer and more fertile country than their own; or at the conclusion of the war, to allow them to return to their own habitations. Some few, for fear of being plundered, listened to this proposal; but the greatest part of them deserted to *Imilco*, who soon after marching towards *Messana*, received the submission of a great many cities.

They take *Eryx* and *Motya.*

Dionysius obliged to retire to *Syracuse.*

Dionysius, in the mean time, made all speed to *Syracuse*, plundering and laying waste the country thro' which he passed. The inhabitants of *Messana*, on the approach of the enemy, were greatly divided in their opinions. Some reflecting on the ruinous state of their walls, were for submitting to the invaders. Others considering the inhumanity of the barbarians, and encouraged by the antient prophecy, which foretold, *That the* Carthaginians *should be one day carriers of water in their city*, proposed to defend the place to the last extremity. This last opinion prevailed; but the *Carthaginians*, with much difficulty, made themselves masters of the place, which they plundered and razed to the ground, throwing the very rubbish into the sea; so that after their departure, it was hard to discover where the city had stood. Those who defended the ramparts, died valiantly on the spot; others fled to the neighbouring cities, and a few threw themselves into the sea, some of whom escaped by swimming to the opposite shore of *Italy*, which is distant about a mile and a half. Great numbers of the *Sicilians* now declaring

Messana taken and razed by the *Carthaginians.*

ing for the *Carthaginians*, *Dionyſius*, to recruit his forces, was obliged to give the *Syracuſan* ſlaves their liberty, and with them he manned 60 gallies. About the ſame time, receiving a reinforcement of 1000 *Lacedæmonians*, by which his army was augmented to 30,000 foot and 3000 horſe, he marched along the coaſt about 20 miles from *Syracuſe*, being attended by his fleet, which conſiſted of 180 gallies. Being informed that *Imilco* was advancing towards him by land, and that the *Carthaginian* fleet was ſtanding off *Catana* waiting for their land-army, he marched thither, and ordered his brother *Leptines* to attack the fleet of the enemy, which was commanded by by *Mago*, charging him not to break his line. *Leptines* imprudently neglected this precaution, and bore down upon the enemy, who was greatly ſuperior to him, with 30 of his beſt gallies. He quickly ſunk ſome of their ſhips; but being himſelf ſurrounded, was obliged to fly, after having fought for ſome hours hand to hand with the enemy, as if in a battle on land. The other *Syracuſan* gallies ſeeing their admiral put to flight, ſoon gave way, and fled to the ſhore. Many threw themſelves into the ſea, in hopes of ſaving themſelves by ſwimming; but the *Carthaginian* tranſports, which lay near the ſhore, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of thoſe unhappy men. In the engagement, above 100 of the *Syracuſan* gallies were either ſunk or taken, and more than 20,000 of their men were killed.

The *Syracuſans* defeated at ſea:

The land army, notwithſtanding this misfortune, ſolicited *Dionyſius* to fight *Imilco*. He ſeemed at firſt willing to comply with this propoſal; but afterwards, conſidering that whilſt he was carrying this prject into execution, *Mago* might poſſeſs himſelf of *Syracuſe*, he dropt this deſign, and haſtened to the defence of his metropolis. Many of the *Sicilians* being unwilling to undergo the hardſhips and fatigues of a ſiege, deſerted, and either joined the enemy, or withdrew to their reſpective homes. *Imilco*, having in vain endeavoured to prevail with the *Campanians* of *Ætna* to declare for him, ſoon after arrived at *Syracuſe* with his fleet and army. Above 200 gallies, adorned with the ſpoils of the enemy, entered in a kind of triumph the great haven of *Syracuſe*, and were followed by 1000 tranſports. The fleet had ſcarce caſt anchor, when the army appeared on the other ſide, conſiſting of 300,000 foot and 4000 horſe. After having fixed the quarters of his troops, he drew them out in battalia before the walls, and offered the *Syracuſans* battle; which they thought proper to decline. As there was no force to oppoſe him, he ravaged the country for many miles round. He took, by aſſault, the quarter of the town called *Acradina*; but judging that the ſiege, nevertheleſs, would be long and tedious, he ſurrounded his camp with a trench, and incloſed it with ſtrong walls; demoliſhing for that purpoſe all the tombs which ſtood round the city, and among others that of *Gelon* and his wife *Demarata*, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts near the ſea at equal diſtances, and

The *Carthaginians* beſiege *Syracuſe*.

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in theſe laid up vaſt ſtores of proviſion, which, with other neceſſaries, were brought him by tranſports from *Sardinia* and *Africa*.

Soon after the commencement of the ſiege, *Polyxenus*, the kinſman of *Dionyſius*, who had been ſent into *Italy* and *Greece* to raiſe troops, arrived with ſome land forces, and 30 *Lacedæmonian* gallies. The *Syracuſans*, encouraged by this reinforcement, ventured to appear at ſea with their fleet, took a tranſport laden with proviſion, and afterwards attacking part of the enemy's fleet, took 24 of their gallies, and damaged others. The *Carthaginians*, diſcouraged with this unexpected overthrow, kept within their harbour, tho' their fleet was three times more numerous than that of the beſieged, who challenged them to a ſecond engagement.

The *Syracuſans* propoſe to expell the tyrant.

As the *Syracuſans* had gained theſe advantages in the abſence of *Dionyſius*, they began to encourage each other to ſhake off his ſhameful yoke, and held ſeveral cabals for that purpoſe. *Dionyſius*, in the mean time, who had been out on a cruiſe, returning to port, called an aſſembly, and having congratulated them on their late victory, promiſed, in a ſhort time, to put an end to the war. Before the aſſembly broke up, *Theodorus*, a nobleman of great authority, roſe up and ſpoke to the following purpoſe: "Altho' *Dionyſius* has advanced many falſehoods in "his ſpeech, yet what he ſaid in the cloſe of it, namely, that "he would put a ſpeedy end to the war, he may truly perform, "if he himſelf, who has always been overcome, reſign the "command, and reſtore us to our liberty. Let us get rid of "the tyrant within our walls, before we attempt to drive away "a leſs dangerous enemy without. Againſt whom can we "better employ our arms, than againſt one who has reduced "us to ſuch a deplorable condition, that we are pitied even "by our enemies." This ſpeech made a great impreſſion on the *Syracuſans*, and they longed only to know the opinion of their allies; when *Pharacidas*, the admiral of the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, roſe up. Every one expected that a citizen of *Sparta* would declare in favour of liberty; but they were diſappointed in their hopes; for he told them, that he had been ſent to aſſiſt the *Syracuſans* and *Dionyſius* againſt the *Carthaginians*, and not to make war upon *Dionyſius*. The *Syracuſans* raging in their minds againſt the *Spartans*, now ſaw it was in vain to make any farther attempt, eſpecially as the mercenaries began to flock about *Dionyſius*, who in a great fright diſmiſſed the aſſembly. From this time he courted the people with very fair and ſmooth words, preſenting ſome with large gifts, and inviting others to his feaſts and banquets.

Their deſign is oppoſed by their *Lacedæmonian* allies.

A plague in the *Carthaginian* army.

In the mean time, a plague breaking out in the *Carthaginian* camp, raged with ſuch fury, as ſoon obliged them to abandon the ſiege. It was attributed by the ſuperſtitious to the reſentment of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*; and by others, to the unwholeſome exhalations raiſed by the exceſſive hot ſummer from the fens and marſhes adjoining to the camp. For ſome time they

buried their dead; but their number daily encreasing, they at length left them unburied. So violent was the distemper, that in a very short time it swept away above 150,000 men.

The distress of the enemy, encouraged the *Syracusans* to attack both their fleet and army. While *Pharacidas* and *Leptines*, with 80 gallies, fell upon their fleet, *Dionysius*, with 10,000 chosen men, attacked their camp. The *Syracusans* having quickly made themselves masters of the two forts that commanded the entrance of the great harbour, entered with their fleet, and destroyed and burnt a great number of the enemy's gallies. The *Carthaginians*, who were defending their entrenchments against *Dionysius*, seeing the flames of their ships, were thrown into the utmost confusion. Many of them, without orders, ran down to the shore; which occasioning a general disorder, the camp was easily forced, when the *Syracusans* made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy.

Dionysius burns the enemy's fleet, and forces their camp.

Dionysius encamping at night near the enemy, with a design to renew the fight early next morning, *Imilco* sent a private embassy to him, offering 300 talents if he would permit the remains of his shattered army to withdraw unmolested. *Dionysius* answered, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire; but that he would allow *Imilco*, with all the citizens of *Carthage*, to depart in the night, upon his paying 300 talents. This being agreed to, *Imilco* privately sent him the promised sum, and then set sail with his *Carthaginians* on board 40 gallies. Their embarkation did not escape the vigilance of the *Corinthians*, who composed part of the *Syracusan* fleet. Finding *Dionysius* dilatory in giving his orders, they, of their own accord, pursued after the enemy, and sunk several of their vessels. *Dionysius*, in the morning, marched against those who were left behind; but before his arrival, the *Sicilians* in the *Carthaginian* service had marched home. The rest seeing themselves abandoned, betook themselves to flight; but being closely pursued, were either cut in pieces or taken prisoners. Only the *Iberians* kept together in a body, and sent an herald to capitulate with *Dionysius*, who took them into his service.

Imilco, with the *Carthaginians* only, are allowed to retire.

The *Carthaginians* being thus entirely defeated in *Sicily*, all who had abandoned their country thro' dread of so formidable an enemy, returned to their antient habitations. *Dionysius* caused the city of *Messana* to be rebuilt, and peopled it with 1000 *Locrians*, 3000 *Medimneans*, and 600 *Messenians*, who had been banished from *Peloponnesus* by the *Lacedæmonians*. He afterwards removed the *Messenians* to another settlement, not to give offence to the *Spartans*.

Messana rebuilt.

The repeopling of *Messana* offending the *Rhegians* against *Dionysius*, they gave protection to all who either were expelled by him, or were voluntary exiles; and sent *Heloris* with an army to besiege *Messana*. The inhabitants being assisted by the mercenaries of *Dionysius*, easily routed the besiegers, and obliged them to abandon the island. The year following *Dionysius* de-

feated

Dionyſius defeats *Mago.*

feated *Mago*, who had been left behind by *Imilco*, and had formed a ſmall army by joining the *Carthaginian* garriſons from different parts of the iſland. A few days after this victory, *Dionyſius* made an attempt upon *Rhegium* with 100 gallies.

Attacks *Rhegium.*

Having approached the walls unperceived, he ſet fire to the gates; and while the inhabitants were buſy in extinguiſhing the flames, ſeveral of his troops ſcaled the ramparts, and had almoſt taken the place. But the governor ordering the citizens to give over quenching the flames, and to oppoſe the enemy, the *Syracuſans* were ſoon repulſed; and after ravaging the territory of *Rhegium*, returned to *Sicily*.

The year after, *Mago* arrived in the iſland with an army of 80,000 men, compleatly armed, with the deſign of hazarding a battle with *Dionyſius*. Tho' ſeveral of the *Sicilian* cities at firſt declared for him, yet the *Agyreans*, a powerful people, oppoſing him, and being joined by *Dionyſius* with 20,000 men, he was ſoon reduced to ſuch ſtraits, as to be forced to conclude a peace, by which he gave up *Tauromenium*, a *Carthaginian* colony, to the tyrant; who driving from thence the antient proprietors, placed the choiceſt of his mercenaries in their room. *Mago*, as ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, returned to *Carthage*, leaving his allies in *Sicily* to ſhift for themſelves.

Dionyſius paſſes again into *Italy.*

Dionyſius being now under no apprehenſion of the *Carthaginians*, bent all his thoughts on the reduction of *Rhegium*, with a deſign to bring under his power all the *Greek* cities in *Italy*. He accordingly paſſed over thither with an army of 20,000 foot and 1000 horſe, beſides 120 gallies well manned. Having waſted the territories of *Rhegium*, he inveſted the city. The *Italians*, who were well appriſed of the deſigns of *Dionyſius*, ſent 60 gallies to the relief of the place, which were attacked by 50 veſſels of the enemy. During the engagement, a ſtorm ariſing, both parties were driven to the ſhore; by which means *Dionyſius* loſt ſeven of his ſhips, and 1500 men, he himſelf narrowly eſcaping, and landing at midnight in *Meſſina*.

Tho' he returned ſoon after with his army to *Syracuſe*, yet he did not lay aſide his deſigns upon *Italy*, but concluded a treaty with the *Lucanians* againſt the *Greek* cities. The *Lucanians*, agreeable to the terms of the treaty, ravaged the country of the *Thurians*; and attacking the confederate *Greeks*, killed above 10,000 of them on the ſpot. Thoſe who eſcaped this ſlaughter, fled to a hill near the ſea-ſide, and diſcovering a ſquadron of ſhips, which they conjectured were *Rhegian* gallies ſent to their aſſiſtance, they threw themſelves into the ſea and ſwam towards them. This fleet proved to be the *Syracuſan* ſquadron commanded by *Leptines*, who, however, generouſly received them that ſwam to his ſhips, and prevailed upon the *Lucanians* to accept for each man, being 1000 in all, a mina, and ſuffer them to return, unmoleſted, into their own country. *Leptines* himſelf paid the 1000 minas for their ranſom; which generous behaviour gained him the affection of all the *Greeks*, but

The generous behaviour of *Leptines.*

but highly displeased *Dionysius*, who discharged him, and gave the command of the fleet to *Thearides*, his other brother.

The year following *Dionysius* made another descent upon *Italy*, and landed in *Locris* with an army of 20,000 foot and 3000 horse, being attended by a fleet of 40 gallies and 300 transports laden with provisions and warlike stores. Before he touched on the coast of *Italy*, he surprized ten ships of *Rhegium* at the *Lipari* islands, the crews of which he left in chains with the inhabitants of *Messana*. The *Italians* hearing that he had laid siege to *Caulonia*, or *Caulum*, in *Locris*, raised an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse to relieve the place, and marched thither under the command of *Heloris*, a *Syracusan* exile, who hated the tyrant. *Heloris* allowing himself to be surprised by *Dionysius*, was slain, with a great number of his men, after a most obstinate engagement. Those who escaped, to the number of 10,000, fled to an impregnable hill; but being in great want of water, and being surrounded on all sides by the enemy, they next morning offered to capitulate. They were forced to submit to the terms prescribed by *Dionysius*, and to surrender at discretion, expecting no mercy from so cruel an enemy. *Dionysius*, however, contrary to their expectation, treated them with great humanity; and making a treaty with them, discharged them all without ransom. This, *Diodorus* observes, was the most worthy action he had ever performed almost throughout his whole life. The captives, on their return to their respective cities, highly extolled his clemency, and presented him with crowns of gold.

Dionysius invades *Italy*.

Dionysius, by this generous action, having made all the inhabitants of the country his friends and allies, turned his arms again upon the city of *Rhegium*, being highly incensed against the *Rhegians*; because, in the beginning of his reign, when he had desired the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage, they told his ambassador, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. The besieged being abandoned by their allies, and expecting no quarter if the city should be taken by storm, sent ambassadors to treat of a surrender. *Dionysius*, dissembling his resentment, granted them peace on condition they paid him 300 talents, delivered up their fleet, which consisted of 70 gallies, and put 100 hostages into his hands. These terms being agreed to, he drew off his army to *Caulonia*, which he razed to the ground, giving the territory to the *Locrians*, and transporting the inhabitants to *Syracuse*. The following spring he took and razed *Hipponium*, a city of the *Brutians*, giving its territory also to the *Locrians*, and sending the inhabitants to *Syracuse*. As he now wanted a pretence to break with the *Rhegians*, he put off the transporting of his troops from *Italy* from day to day, and at length drawing them altogether at *Rhegium*, he desired the *Rhegians* to furnish them with provisions, promising to defray the charges they should be at as soon as he got to *Syracuse*. If they refused this demand, he thought he would have a pretence for committing hostilities; and if they

He besieges *Rhegium*.

Grants the *Rhegians* a peace.

complied

complied with it, they would thereby be exhauſted, and in no condition to make a defence. The *Rhegians*, not ſuſpecting his deſign, ſupplied him for ſome days very plentifully; but he ſtill alleging many frivolous excuſes for delaying his departure, they at length ſaw into his deſign, and forbore ſending him any more proviſions. *Dionyſius* pretending to be highly affronted at this, ſent them back their hoſtages, and immediately beſieged the city. The attack and defence was carried on with the utmoſt vigour. *Dionyſius*, in one of the ſallies, was ſo dangerouſly wounded, that his life was deſpaired of. Tho' he nevertheleſs continued the ſiege with the utmoſt fury, yet almoſt all his efforts were baffled by the bravery of the beſieged; ſo that for eleven months he had made very little progreſs in his attacks. The beſieged, indeed, were then reduced to the utmoſt extremity by famine, ſo that a buſhel of wheat was ſold for 15*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* After they had conſumed all their beaſts of burthen, they ſupported themſelves with boiled ſkins and leather; which alſo failing, they daily went out to feed like brutes on the graſs that grew under the walls. Being at length, thro' famine, obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, *Dionyſius* entered the city, when he was ſtruck with horror, finding every where heaps of dead bodies lying in the ſtreets, and thoſe who ſurvived, rather ſkeletons than men. Having collected about 6000 priſoners, he ſent them to *Syracuſe*, where ſuch as were not able to redeem themſelves with a mina, or 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* were ſold for ſlaves. *Dionyſius* chiefly vented his rage againſt the brave governor of the place, named *Philo*. He cauſed his ſon to be thrown headlong into the ſea; and the next day he cauſed *Philo* to be loaded with chains, and having faſtened him to the top of one of his higheſt engines, ſent one of his guards to tell him, that his ſon had been drowned the day before. *Then the ſon*, replied *Philo*, *is by one day happier than the father.* He was afterwards whipt thro' the city, and underwent innumerable other cruelties, whilſt a crier proclaimed, that *the perfidious traitor was treated in that manner for having ſtirred up the people of* Rhegium *to war*. But *Philo*, with undaunted courage, cried out, *that he thus ſuffered, becauſe he would not betray his country to a tyrant.* His heroic behaviour, and the indignities he ſuffered, even raiſed compaſſion in the breaſts of the tyrant's ſoldiers, who began to mutiny, and would have reſcued him, had not *Dionyſius* ordered him to be thrown into the ſea. His death was lamented by all the *Greeks*, and became the ſubject of many elegant and affecting elegies.

He again inveſts the city.

The great diſtreſs of the *Rhegians.*

The cruelty of *Dionyſius.*

Dionyſius addicted to poetry.

Dionyſius, in the intervals of leiſure, loved to unbend his mind with the ſtudy of the liberal arts and ſciences, eſpecially of poetry; piquing himſelf upon the excellence of his genius, and the elegance of his performance. He ſent for poets far and near, and by their flattering panegyrics, became ſo conceited of his poetical abilities, that he was more pleaſed to hear his verſes commended than his victories and conqueſts. *Philoxenus*, an excellent poet, was the only one who attempted to undeceive

ceive him; but narrowly escaped paying dear for his sincerity. Being one day pressed to give his opinion of some verses that *Dionysius* had read to him, he delivered his sentiments with great sincerity and freedom. *Dionysius* ascribing the liberty he had taken to envy, sent him immediately to the quarries to work as a slave; however, at the earnest intreaties of all the tyrant's friends, he was next day set at liberty, and restored to favour. *Dionysius* on this occasion made a noble entertainment, inviting to it all his own and the poet's friends. When the guests began to be merry, the prince did not fail again to extol his own poems; and singing some of them, which he thought the most excellent, he asked him what he thought of those? *Philoxenus*, incapable of dissembling, made no answer to *Dionysius*; but turned to the guards, and with a serious but humourous look, desired them to carry him back to the quarries. This pleasantry *Dionysius* took in good part; saying, that the wit of the poet had atoned for his freedom. One *Antipho*, however, soon after, imprudently carried a jest too far; for which he paid very dear. The prince asking which was the best kind of brass, *Antipho* answered, that the best brass was that of which the statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* were made. These were two *Athenians*, celebrated by their countrymen for having lost their lives in an attempt to put an end to the tyranny of *Pisistratus's* sons.

Philoxenus sent to the quarries for censuring his poetry.

Dionysius reconciled to him.

Dionysius, fancying himself the best poet of his age, sent his brother *Thearides* to dispute, in his name, the prizes of poetry and the chariot-races. When *Thearides* arrived at *Olympia*, the riches and number of his chariots, and the extraordinary magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and silver; attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. Their ears were no less charmed at first, when the songs of *Dionysius* began to be read, he having chosen, for that purpose, persons of sweet and harmonious voices. But at length, when the assembly began to attend to the sense and composition, they all burst out into a loud laugh, and hissed the singers off the stage; and even, to express their indignation, tore the rich pavilion in pieces. His chariots were also unsuccessful, being either driven out of the course, or dashed in pieces against one another. *Dionystus* sent his poems a second time to *Olympia*, where they were treated with the same contempt as before; which threw him into a deep melancholy, and a kind of madness. He exclaimed like a phrenetic, that every one envied him, and that both his friends and foes conspired to his ruin. In these fits of melancholy and madness he put many of his friends to death, and banished others. Among the latter were *Leptines* his brother, and *Philistius*, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his power. He, however, soon recalled them, and reinstated them in their former places of power and authority.

Dionysius disputes the prize of poetry at the *Olympic* games.

He falls into a deep melancholy.

To remove his melancholy, he again had recourse to arms; and formed a design of driving the *Carthaginians* quite out of *Sicily*. To supply himself with money for so expensive an undertaking, he resolved to plunder the temple of *Delphi* in

Forms a design of plundering the

temple of *Delphi*.

Greece; and with this view he made an alliance with the *Illyrians*, who were at war with the *Epirots*, in hopes of having an opportunity of ſeizing ſome places in *Epirus*. He ſent his new allies 2000 men, and a great quantity of arms; but a rupture ſoon after happening between him and them, on account of his building the city of *Liſſus* in the iſland of *Pharos*, which belonged to them, he laid aſide his deſign of plundering *Delphi*, and purſued another project of the ſame kind. Under pretence of clearing the ſeas of pyrates, he fitted out 60 gallies, and made a deſcent in *Hetruria*, where he plundered a rich temple in the ſuburbs of *Agylla*, carrying away, beſides the rich moveables and furniture, above 1000 talents in money, and raiſing 500 more by the ſale of the ſpoils. *Ariſtotle*, *Polyænus*, and *Ælian*, call the temple he plundered *Leucothea*; and the two firſt ſay that he employed 100 gallies in the expedition *.

Plunders the temple of *Agylla* in *Hetruria*.

A new war between him and the *Carthaginians*.

Having with this money raiſed a numerous army, he now wanted nothing but a plauſible pretence to break with the *Carthaginians*; for which he was not long at a loſs. Obſerving that the *Carthaginian* ſubjects in *Sicily* were inclined to a revolt, he entered into an alliance with them, in conſequence of which his troops were admitted into their cities. The *Carthaginians*, alarmed by theſe proceedings, ſtrengthened themſelves, by alliances with their neighbours, and ſent a powerful army into *Sicily*, under the command of *Mago*, and another into *Italy*. The *Sicilian* army, ſoon after its arrival, was defeated by *Dionyſius*, *Mago*, with 10,000 of his troops, being killed in the action, and 5000 taken priſoners. Thoſe who remained retreated to a neighbouring hill; but were quickly obliged to capitulate. The only terms they could obtain were, that they ſhould evacuate *Sicily*, and defray all the expences of the war. They pretended to accept of theſe terms; but as they durſt not, they ſaid, deliver up the cities they poſſeſſed in *Sicily*, without the expreſs orders of their republic, they obtained a truce till an expreſs ſhould return from *Carthage*. During this interval, *Mago*, the ſon of their late general, who was appointed to ſucceed his father, raiſed and diſciplined new troops, and improved ſo well the ſhort time allowed him, that at the return of the expreſs from *Carthage*, he took the field, gave the enemy battle, and killed above 14,000 *Syracuſans* on the ſpot, and among the reſt *Leptines*, the brother of *Dionyſius*, who was greatly regretted, even by thoſe who hated the tyrant. *Dionyſius*, with the remains of his army, fled to *Syracuſe*, where he expected to be ſoon beſieged. The *Carthaginian* general, however, uſed his victory with great moderation, and offered him terms of peace, which he readily embraced. A treaty was accordingly concluded, on the following conditions; namely, That both parties ſhould keep what they had at the beginning of the war, ſave only that *Dionyſius* ſhould deliver up to the *Carthaginians*

A peace concluded.

* Ariſt. œcon. l. ii. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. Ælian. var. hiſt. l. i.

the

the city and territory of *Selinus*, and part of the territory of *Agrigentum*, and beſides pay 1000 talents to defray the expences of the war.

Dionyſius comforted himſelf for the loſſes he had ſuſtained in *Sicily*, by a victory of a very different kind. He had cauſed a tragedy, written by himſelf, to be acted at *Athens* for the prize of poetry, and was proclaimed victor; which was, without doubt, a great honour, as the *Athenians* were the beſt judges of this kind of literature, and no-ways biaſſed in favour of the tyrant, who had, on all occaſions, aſſiſted the *Lacedæmonians*. *Dionyſius* received the news of his victory with ſuch tranſports of joy as are not to be expreſſed. He amply rewarded the perſon that brought him the agreeable tidings, cauſed coſtly ſacrifices to be offered to the gods, and believing himſelf arrived at the higheſt pitch of glory, ſet no bounds to his generoſity. He made magnificent feaſts and banquets, which laſted ſeveral days; and on this occaſion drinking to exceſs, a fault he ſeldom or never was guilty of, he was ſeized with violent pains, which were attended with uneaſy and reſtleſs nights. Having therefore aſked his phyſicians to give him ſomething to procure ſleep, they gave him ſo ſtrong a doſe as quite ſtupified his ſenſes, and laid him in a ſleep out of which he never awoke.

Dionyſius victor in poetry at *Athens*.

His death.

A few months before his death, hearing that the *Carthaginians* were reduced to great diſtreſs by a plague, he, without any declaration of war, fell upon their territories in *Sicily*, took *Selinus*, *Entella*, and *Eryx*, and laid ſiege to *Lilybæum*; the garriſon of which, however, baffled all his efforts. After his departure from thence, the *Carthaginians* ſurprized 30 of his beſt gallies, which he had left in the harbour of *Eryx*; and a truce was ſoon after agreed upon by both parties.

Dionyſius reigned in *Syracuſe* 38 years, and was, without doubt, a prince of great abilities, both in his political and military capacity. His abilities, however, could not atone for his many vices, which rendered him the object of the public hatred. His ambition knew no bounds; his avarice ſpared not the moſt ſacred perſons or places; and his cruelty, when awakened by ſuſpicion or jealouſy, was moſt barbarous. He gloried in his open and profeſſed impiety, whereof the antients relate many inſtances. To ſupply himſelf with money, he rifled the temple of *Jupiter*, and ſtript the image of a golden robe which *Hiero* had preſented to the god, ſaying, that a robe of gold was too heavy in the ſummer, and too cold in the winter; therefore he ſupplied its place with a cloak of wool. He ordered the golden beard of *Æſculapius* to be taken off, ſaying, it was very inconſiſtent for the ſon to have a beard when the father had none. He robbed ſeveral other ſtatues of the gods of the golden ornaments, and ſold all theſe ſpoils in the market-place by auction. The very next day, however, pretending to be ſorry for having plundered the temples, he ordered all thoſe who had any thing belonging to the immortal gods to reſtore it

and character.

to the temples within a limited time; but did not himſelf return the money to the buyers.

His great wretchedneſs.

How unhappy he lived in the midſt of this grandeur, is evident from his continual anxiety and ſuſpicion. He never harangued the people but from the top of a tower; and not daring to truſt his friends and neareſt relations, he committed the guard of his perſon to ſlaves and foreigners, ſcarce ever venturing out of his palace, tho' ſurrounded by theſe. His barber boaſting, in a merry humour, that he had often held a razor to the king's throat; *Dionyſius*, who heard of the jeſt, ordered him to be put to death. From that time he employed his daughters, then very young, in that mean office; and when they were grown up, he did not care to truſt them with razors or ſciſſars, but only allowed them nut-ſhells, till his apprehenſions reduced him to do that office himſelf. He never went into the apartment of his wives before they were ſearched with the utmoſt care; and his bed was ſurrounded with a deep and broad trench, over which was a draw bridge. His reſt was nevertheleſs interrupted by the leaſt noiſe he heard either in the ſtreets or his palace. Neither his ſon nor his brother were admitted to his preſence without being ſearched by his guards. How embittered his life was, may be conjectured from the ſhort trial *Damocles* made of his happineſs. This courtier enlarging continually on the great happineſs of *Dionyſius*, the tyrant, one day, offered him a ſhort taſte of it; which was accepted by him. He was accordingly placed on a bed of gold covered with carpets of an ineſtimable value. The table was ſpread with dainties of all ſorts; and the moſt beautiful ſlaves in pompous habits waited on him, and watched the leaſt ſignal to ſerve him. *Damocles*, tranſported with joy, ſaid, that if he could always live in that manner, he ſhould be the happieſt of mortals. He had ſcarce ſpoke, when unfortunately caſting up his eyes, he beheld a naked ſword hanging from the cieling by a ſingle horſe-hair, with its point directly over his head. At this ſight he was immediately taken with a cold ſweat. Every thing ſeemed to diſappear except the ſword. He could think of nothing elſe; and the danger he was threatned with throwing him into agonies of death, he deſired permiſſion to retire.

His good qualities.

As juſtice ſhould be done to the moſt wicked, we ought not to omit mentioning the good qualities of *Dionyſius*. He behaved always with great kindneſs and reſpect to his two wives, *Doris* and *Ariſtomache*, who were both married to him the ſame day; the firſt being a *Locrian* and the latter a *Syracuſan*. He treated *Dion*, the brother of *Ariſtomache*, with great confidence, and bore with mildneſs the freedoms he uſed. When he was one day ridiculing the government of *Gelon*, and ſaid, in alluſion to his name in *Greek*, that he had been the laughing-ſtock of *Sicily*, all the courtiers highly applauded the low pun. But *Dion* ſaid to him, *You reign, and have been truſted for* Gelon's *ſake; but on your account no man will ever be truſted after you.* When his ſiſter *Theſta* reproached him with his tyranny, and declared,

declared, that ſhe would rather be called the wife of *Polyxenus* the exile, than the ſiſter of *Dionyſius* the tyrant, he commended her for the affection ſhe ſhewed to her huſband. He alſo behaved to the *Syracuſans*, on many occaſions, in an obliging manner, and condeſcended to converſe with the meaneſt citizens, and even workmen, with familiarity.

Dionyſius had three children by his wife *Doris* the *Locrian*, *Dionyſius* and four by *Ariſtomache* the ſiſter of *Dion*, who took upon him the to ſpeak to the tyrant on his death-bed in favour of his nephews. The phyſicians, however, favouring *Dionyſius* the ſon of *Doris*, who, as eldeſt ſon, had been brought up for the throne, diſpatched the father by a ſtrong doſe, before he had time to alter his reſolution. *Dionyſius*, ſurnamed the Younger, accordingly aſcended the throne in a peaceable manner. A few days after, having aſſembled the people, he promiſed to govern them with great mildneſs, and begged they would continue to him their reſpect and good-will. As *Dionyſius* was of an inactive and ſlothful diſpoſition, the *Syracuſans* judged that they would be expoſed to fewer calamities by ſubmitting to his government, than if they attempted to expell him; they therefore, notwithſtanding their paſſion for liberty, ſuffered him to take quiet poſſeſſion of the throne. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and averſe from all violence and cruelty, had a taſte for arts and ſciences, and took great delight in converſing with learned men. His father, however, endeavoured to ſtifle in him every noble and elevated ſentiment, by a mean and obſcure education: but upon his acceſſion to the throne, *Dion*, the brother of *Ariſtomache*, endeavoured to inſpire him with thoughts ſuitable to the high ſtation he was placed in. *Plato*, the famous philoſopher, having, on the invitation of *Dionyſius* the Elder, arrived at *Syracuſe*, *Dion*, who was then young, contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendſhip with him, and ſo improved by his leſſons, that *Plato*, in one of his letters, gives this glorious teſtimony of him, "That he had never met with a young man on "whom his diſcourſes made ſo great an impreſſion, or who had "embraced his principles with ſo much ardour (c)."

Younger. Bef Chr. 366.

Dionyſius having been kept under great reſtraint by his father, abandoned himſelf, in the beginning of his reign, to all manner of low diverſions and ſhameful pleaſures. He began his reign with giving an entertainment, which continued for three months together, his palace all that time being crowded with debauchees, and reſounding with nothing but low buffoonry, obſcene jeſts, lewd ſongs, *&c.* As the young prince was endowed with good natural parts, *Dion* thought that the beſt way to inſtruct him, would be to introduce to him perſons of good ſenſe, vir-

He abandons himſelf to debauchery.

(c) The tyrant taking offence at the freedom of *Plato*, ordered him to be carried into the common market-place, and there ſold as a ſlave for five minas, or about 15 *l.* 10 *s.* Some philoſophers of the ſame ſect redeemed him, and ſent him back to *Greece*.

tue and learning. With this view he often talked to him of *Plato*, and enlarged on the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowlege, the amiableneſs of his character, and the charms of his converſation. His diſcourſes being well timed, the young prince was inflamed with a deſire of ſeeing that celebrated philoſopher, and wrote to him in the moſt obliging manner, inviting him to his court. All the *Pythagorean* philoſophers of *Sicily* and *Italy* joining their entreaties with thoſe of the prince, and *Dion* never ceaſing to importune him with repeated letters, he at length conſented to return into *Sicily*, and to attend the young prince. The other courtiers, who were for the moſt part young thoughtleſs debauchees, united againſt *Plato* as their common enemy. Tho' they were not able to prevent *Plato*'s voyage, they raiſed a ſtrong battery to render his counſels ineffectual, by perſuading *Dionyſius* to recall the hiſtorian *Philiſtus* from baniſhment, who, tho' a man of ſuch extraordinary parts and learning as to be honoured by *Tully* with the title of *Thucydides* the ſecond, was nevertheleſs a zealous aſſertor of tyranny.

He ſends for *Plato*

Dionyſius no ſooner heard that *Plato* was landed, than he offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods for having ſent him a man of ſo great merit and wiſdom. *Plato* found the king in the moſt happy diſpoſition imaginable, and inflamed with an eager deſire of profiting by his precepts. The philoſopher adapting himſelf with wonderful addreſs to his humour, gained his confidence and affection, and in a very ſhort time wrought a ſurprizing change in his mind. The courtiers, who never fail to ape the prince, ſeemed alſo to have loſt all reliſh for frivolous amuſements, and applied themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy, as the only means to preferment.

His great reſpect for that philoſopher,

who is envied by the courtiers.

Philiſtus and his party beginning at length to ſuſpect, from ſome expreſſions dropt by *Dionyſius*, that *Plato* might induce him to reſign the tyranny, uſed all poſſible means to ruin the credit of the philoſopher. They began by turning into ridicule the retired life which *Dionyſius* led with *Plato*; and at length, by their ſly inſinuations, raiſed in the mind of *Dionyſius* ſome ſuſpicion of *Dion*, as tho' he wanted to perſuade him to a voluntary reſignation of the crown, that he might place it upon the head of his nephew the ſon of *Ariſtomache*. At laſt, producing a feigned letter written, as they alleged, by *Dion* to the *Carthaginians*, and containing ſeveral articles of treaſon, they inflamed the king againſt him to ſuch a degree, that he baniſhed him from *Sicily*. The whole city of *Syracuſe* declared loudly againſt the unjuſt and arbitrary proceedings of the king, who, to appeaſe the public clamours, the conſequences of which he dreaded, allowed *Dion*'s relations two veſſels to carry him into *Peloponneſus*, whither he had retired, with his riches and numerous retinue, for at home he had lived with the ſplendor of a prince.

His friend *Dion* baniſhed.

As ſoon as *Dion* was gone, *Dionyſius* made *Plato* to remove into the citadel in appearance to do him more honour; but in reality to aſſure himſelf of his perſon. Out of a fooliſh jealouſy,

louſy, he offered him all his treaſures, provided he would prefer his friendſhip to that of *Dion*. A war ſoon after breaking out, *Dionyſius* gave *Plato* liberty to return home, and at his departure would have loaded him with preſents; which were refuſed by the philoſopher, who only begged that he would recall *Dion*. *Dionyſius* promiſed to reſtore him the following ſpring; but did not keep his word. He ſent him only the revenues of his eſtate; and in a letter he wrote to *Plato*, deſired him to excuſe his breach of promiſe, and to impute it to the war. *Dion*, during his baniſhment, viſited moſt of the cities of *Greece*, and was every where received with extraordinary marks of diſtinction. The *Lacedæmonians*, tho' at that very time they were aſſiſted with powerful ſupplies by *Dionyſius*, made him free of their city; and at *Athens*, where he choſe to fix his reſidence, all the inhabitants ſtrove as it were to outdo each other in giving him inſtances of their eſteem and affection. The tyrant's jealouſy being thereby alarmed, he put a ſtop to the remittance of *Dion*'s revenues, ordering them to be paid into his own treaſury.

Plato leaves *Sicily*.

Dionyſius having finiſhed the war he was engaged in, of which no particulars have been tranſmitted to us, was again inflamed with a deſire of ſeeing and hearing *Plato*. He deſired all the philoſophers to ſolicit his return, ſent many of his friends on board two gallies to conduct him to *Syracuſe*, and wrote letters to him with his own hand, aſſuring him, that if he would return, *Dion* ſhould be immediately reſtored. *Plato*, from his deſire to ſerve *Dion*, accordingly ſet out for *Sicily* the third time, being then in the 70th year of his age. *Dionyſius* received him with inexpreſſible joy, appointed him the beſt apartment in his palace, and ſuffered him to have free acceſs to him at all hours without being ſearched: a favour not granted to his beſt friends. *Plato* being very preſſing in favour of *Dion*, ſoon diſguſted the tyrant, who all on a ſudden ordered him to remove from his apartment in the palace, to another where his guards were quartered. Theſe had long hated *Plato*, becauſe he had adviſed *Dionyſius* to diſmiſs them, and live without any other guard but the love of his people. *Dionyſius* reſtrained their fury, forbidding them, on pain of death, to moleſt his gueſt; and *Archytas* the philoſopher, who was prætor of *Tarentum*, remonſtrating to the tyrant againſt his breach of faith, he was awaked to a ſenſe of ſhame, and at length gave *Plato* leave to return to *Greece*.

He returns to *Syracuſe*.

Upon his departure, *Dionyſius* threw off all reſtraint, and abandoned himſelf to the moſt ſhameful vices. He ordered all *Dion*'s lands and effects to be ſold, and applied the money to his own uſe. He alſo gave *Dion*'s wife *Arete*, who was his half ſiſter, in marriage to *Timocrates*, one of his friends and flatterers. *Dion*, from this moment, reſolved to revenge all the wrongs done to him, and to attack the tyrant with open force. *Plato*, out of a ſcrupulous regard to the duties of hoſpitality, did all that lay in his power to divert him from ſuch a reſolu-

Is diſgraced by *Dionyſius*, and returns to *Greece*.

Dion reſolves to expell the tyrant.

tion; but the reſt of his friends encouraging him, and many of the chief citizens of *Syracuſe* continually importuning him to come and reſcue them from ſlavery, he determined to undertake the delivery of his country. He accordingly began to raiſe foreign troops privately by proper agents, appointing the iſland of *Zacynthus* for the place of rendezvous. Tho' many perſons of diſtinction, who were at the head of affairs in *Sicily*, entered into his meaſures, and gave him notice of whatever was tranſacted; yet of the exiles, who were above 1000 diſperſed up and down *Sicily* and *Greece*, only 25 joined him; ſo much were they awed by the dread of the tyrant. The foreign troops, who were almoſt all veterans, being aſſembled at *Zacynthus*, to the number of 800, *Dion* acquainted them with his deſign; and ſeeing them confounded a little at the boldneſs of his undertaking, he told them, that he led them as officers, to put them at the head of the *Sicilians*, who were ready to receive them with open arms. *Dion* accordingly ſailed to *Sicily* with this ſmall force on board two ſhips againſt *Dionyſius*, who had under his command 400 gallies, 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horſe, with treaſures and magazines of proviſions ſufficient to maintain them.

He arrives in *Sicily*.

After a tedious and dangerous voyage, in which he narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck, he landed at *Minoa* near *Agrigentum*, where he was kindly received by *Synalus*, or as *Diodorus* calls him, *Paralus*, his particular friend, and governor of the city, which was then ſubject to the *Carthaginians*. *Dion* hearing that *Dionyſius*, ſome days before his arrival, had ſailed with 80 gallies for *Italy*, immediately ſet out for *Syracuſe*, and on his march prevailed on the *Agrigentines*, *Geleans*, *Camarineans*, and many others, to join him; ſo that he quickly had an army of 20,000 men. When he arrived at the *Syracuſan* territories, he was joined by great multitudes of unarmed *Syracuſans*, to the beſt of whom he diſtributed 5000 ſtand of arms that he had brought with him. Very many of the citizens flocking to his camp, he acquainted them with his deſign, and deſired them to name a general, who ſhould be entruſted with the whole conduct of the enterprize. The multitude cried out with one voice, that *Dion* and his brother *Megagles* ſhould be generals, and inveſted them with abſolute power and command. *Dion*, without delay, marched to the city, where he was received with the greateſt acclamations of joy; the citizens, wherever he paſſed, throwing all ſorts of flowers upon him, and addreſſing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Having encamped in the forum with his troops, which amounted to above 50,000 men, he fell upon *Epipolæ*, and took it by ſtorm, ſetting at liberty the citizens who were priſoners in the fort. He then threw an entrenchment round the citadel, whither all the tyrant's friends and mercenaries had fled.

Is joined by great numbers of *Sicilians*.

The *Syracuſans* declare him and his brother generals.

Dionyſius, who in the mean time was at *Caulonia* in *Italy*, receiving intelligence of what paſſed in *Syracuſe*, haſtened thither, and entered the citadel by ſea, ſeven days after the arrival

of

of *Dion*. Finding his affairs in a very desperate condition, to gain time, he sent ambassadors to *Dion* and the *Syracusans*, offering to restore the democracy, provided they would confer on him certain honours in the republican state. Having spun out the conferences granted him on this occasion for several days, and observing the *Syracusan* guards very negligent, he suddenly attacked the wall with which they had enclosed the citadel. Tho' the *Syracusans* were at first thrown into disorder, yet they afterwards fought with great resolution, and *Dion* distinguished himself above all the rest. His shield being pierced thro' in many places, and the enemy discharging showers of darts on him from all sides, he was wounded in his right-arm with a javelin, and fainting away thro' the extremity of pain, was very near falling into the enemy's hands; when the *Syracusans* making a desperate effort, rescued him, and put the enemy to flight.

Dionysius attacks the *Syracusans* under *Dion*.

Dionysius, after this defeat, again proposed terms of peace; but the only answer *Dion* returned was this, *Let* Dionysius *first abdicate the tyranny, and then we shall hear him.* The tyrant, tho' highly provoked at this answer, dissembled his resentment, and sent other ambassadors to *Dion*, with a letter written in a most artful manner, and wonderfully calculated to render him suspected by the *Syracusans*. This letter had the effect he desired; for *Dion* having read it in the public assembly, the citizens began to be jealous of his too great power. *Heraclides* soon. after arriving with 20 ships and 1500 mercenaries, encreased the disturbances in *Syracuse*. He was an excellent officer, and well known among the troops, which he had formerly commanded; but was at the same time very ambitious. He sided, in appearance, with *Dion*, but was secretly his enemy; and by his open and insinuating behaviour, soon ingratiated himself with the people, who were not a little disgusted at the austere gravity of *Dion*. Of their own accord they called an assembly, and appointed *Heraclides* commander in chief of the fleet; but *Dion* hastening to the assembly, and complaining of the affront offered to him, his remonstrances were of such weight with them, that they deprived *Heraclides* of the office which they had just then honoured him with. *Dion* afterwards, having gently reprimanded him privately, summoned a new assembly, and in the presence of the multitude appointed him admiral. *Dion* hoped by this means to get the better of his rival's ill-will; and *Heraclides*, indeed, expressed a great many obligations to him; but at the same time influenced the people underhand against him, and found fault with his whole conduct, aiming still at the supreme authority for himself. Having soon after gained a complete victory over *Philistus*, the tyrant's admiral, who in despair had killed himself, he by that action greatly raised his reputation among the *Syracusans*.

Ingratitude of the *Syracusans* towards *Dion*.

Dionysius was so disheartned with the death of *Philistus* and the defeat of his squadron, that he sent ambassadors to *Dion*, offering to surrender the citadel, with all the troops there in garrison,

garrison, and money to pay them for five months, on condition of being allowed to retire to *Italy*, and to enjoy the revenue of certain lands near *Syracuse*. *Dion* advised the *Syracusans* to accept the terms; but they disdainfully refused to hearken to them. *Dionysius* then leaving the citadel in the hands of his eldest son, put to sea in a small vessel, and landed undiscovered in *Italy* with his treasures and most valuable effects.

Dionysius flies to *Italy*.

Heraclides being greatly blamed for suffering him to escape in order to regain the favour of the people, proposed a new division of lands; which motion was warmly opposed by *Dion*. By thus pretending to espouse the cause of liberty, he regained his popularity, and prevailed on the people to make a new division of lands, to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, and to appoint new generals, himself among the rest. The people not being able to prevail with the foreign troops to abandon *Dion*, assembled in a tumultuous and threatning manner; upon which those brave men placed *Dion* in their centre, and began to march out of the city, without offering violence to any of the citizens, but only reproaching them with ingratitude towards their deliverer. The citizens ascribing their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them; which forced *Dion*, after he had in vain endeavoured to appease them, to order his men to face about, as if they designed to fall upon the multitude. They obeyed his orders; and raising a great shout, and making a noise with their arms, so terrified the populace, that they betook themselves to a disordered flight. *Dion* then marching out of the city unmolested, proceeded with his troops towards the country of the *Leontines*; but the *Syracusans* being treated by their countrymen as cowards for having suffered them to escape, again pursued after them, and overtaking them as they were passing a river, they immediately charged them; but were repulsed with considerable loss. The *Leontines* not only received *Dion* with great marks of distinction, but made rich presents to his soldiers, and declared them all free citizens. They also expostulated with the *Syracusans* concerning their ingratitude to *Dion*.

Dion obliged to quit *Syracuse*.

In the mean time, the tyrant's troops in the citadel being reduced by famine to the utmost extremity, sent deputies to the city to treat of a capitulation. During the conferences, *Nypsius*, a general attached to *Dionysius*, arrived with a numerous squadron of ships, and a great many transports laden with provisions. *Nypsius* landed his men and stores in the port of *Arethusa*, and joined the garrison in the citadel, whom he persuaded to lay aside all thoughts of surrendering. The *Syracusans*, upon notice of his arrival, manned as many gallies as they had at hand; and attacking the enemy's ships, sunk some of them, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. Upon this victory, giving themselves up to feasting and revelling, *Nypsius* took that opportunity of assaulting the entrenchment round the citadel; and having forced it, without any opposition, all the garrison, consisting of 10,000 well disciplined troops,

The *Syracusans* surprized by the garrison of the citadel.

troops, entered the city, and made ſuch dreadful havock as can hardly be expreſſed. Many of the citizens were murdered in their beds, their houſes were plundered, and their wives and children taken out of their beds, and either cruelly butchered before their faces, or carried captives into the citadel.

The *Syracuſans*, tho' they were well apprized that *Dion* was the only perſon who could adminiſter to them any relief in their deſperate ſituation, yet had not courage enough to name him; ſo much were they aſhamed of their ingratitude to their protector. The danger encreaſing every moment, and the enemy preparing to ſet fire to the city, one at length cried out, *Let us ſend for* Dion. The motion was approved by the whole multitude, and deputies were immediately diſpatched to *Leontini*; who throwing themſelves at *Dion*'s feet, with many tears entreated his aſſiſtance. Having again, at *Dion*'s deſire, repreſented the miſerable ſtate of their city before his officers aſſembled in a council of war, he himſelf roſe up to addreſs them; but inſtead of ſpeaking, burſt into tears, and could not for ſome time utter a ſingle word. At length, having recovered himſelf, he made a moſt pathetic ſpeech to his troops; which had ſuch an effect upon them, that with one voice they entreated him to lead them that moment againſt the enemy. In the mean time, ſome of the *Syracuſans* conjecturing that the enemy would not attempt a ſecond ſally, adviſed their fellow citizens to think no more of *Dion*, but to defend themſelves by their own valour. They ſo far prevailed, that new deputies were diſpatched to ſtop his march; but his friends at the ſame time entreated him, by ſome private meſſengers, to advance with his troops; which the oppoſite faction being informed of, they ſeized the gates with a deſign to diſpute his entrance. *Nypſius*, in the mean time, hearing of the approach of *Dion*, made another ſally from the citadel, and cauſed ſuch dreadful havock in all quarters of the city, that from the heaps of dead bodies, with which every place was ſtrewed, one would have believed that not a ſingle citizen had been left alive. After they had murdered all the inhabitants they could light on, they ſet fire to the houſes; ſo that many who had eſcaped the ſword, periſhed miſerably in the flames.

Dion called.

The deplorable condition of *Syracuſe*,

Dion arriving during this confuſion, immediately diſpatched his light armed troops againſt the enemy, and afterwards marched acroſs the city with his heavy armed infantry; being every where welcomed with the loud acclamations of the people, who now ſeemed to be in more pain for his ſafety than their own. His troops having marched with great difficulty thro' blood and clouds of ſmoke, and over dead bodies and burning beams, arrived at length at the breach of the entrenchments, where the enemy had poſted themſelves. They attacked them furiouſly, and at length drove them from their poſts with great ſlaughter. The city being thus delivered, *Dion*'s men, inſtead of refreſhing themſelves after ſo great a fatigue, ſpent all that night in extinguiſhing the fire; which they compaſſed,

which is relieved by *Dion*.

paſſed, not without great difficulty. The next day *Heraclide* and his uncle *Theodotus*, put themſelves into *Dion*'s hands, an begged him to pardon the injuries they had done him. *Dio* hoping to conquer their ſtubborn and reſtleſs diſpoſitions b kind uſage, generouſly pardoned them. *Heraclides* ſeeming t be affected with his kindneſs, propoſed in the general aſſembl that *Dion* ſhould be elected generaliſſimo; but the ungrateſu populace oppoſing this motion, *Heraclides* was allowed ſtill t command in chief at ſea.

The citadel ſurrenders.

The *Syracuſans* now applying themſelves under the directio of *Dion* ſolely to the ſiege of the citadel, ſoon obliged the garri ſon to capitulate. *Dion* allowed *Apollocrates*, the tyrant's ſon to retire to his father in *Italy*, with five gallies, and all hi friends and relations. At his departure, the whole city crowd ed to the ſhore to ſolemnize the happy day on which, after ſ many years ſervitude, they could again ſtile themſelves a fre people. *Dion*, upon entering the citadel at the head of hi troops, was met at the gate by his ſiſter *Ariſtomache*, leadin his ſon, and by his wife *Arete*, whom *Dion* tenderly embraced Having ſent *Arete* with her ſon home to his houſe, he soo followed her thither, leaving the *Syracuſans* in poſſeſſion of the citadel as a pledge of their liberty. *Dion* after this rewarded, with a munificence truly royal, all thoſe who had contributed to his ſucceſs according to their rank and merit, diſmiſſed his guards, and tho' at the height of glory, lived like a private citizen.

The city being now in profound tranquillity, *Dion* propoſed to eſtabliſh in it a form of government compoſed of the *Spartan* and *Cretan*, and to veſt the ſupreme authority in a council, the members of which were to be choſen by the people and nobility. *Heraclides* warmly oppoſing this deſign, and endeavouring, in a ſeditious manner, to ſtir up the people againſt *Dion*, he was at length prevailed upon to conſent to his death. He was accordingly aſſaſſinated in his own houſe by *Dion*'s friends; *Dion* publickly owning that he had been put to death by his order, and repreſenting to the people, that it was impoſſible for the city to be free from commotions and ſeditions, while *Heraclides* lived. *Dion*, however, never after enjoyed an happy hour, but lived in continual anguiſh and ſorrow, reproaching himſelf for having embrued his hands in the blood of a fellow citizen. Not long after his ſon, for ſome unknown diſappointment, threw himſelf from the top of an houſe, and died of the fall. *Dion*, ſoon after, was cut off himſelf by the treachery of *Calippus*, an *Athenian*, with whom he had lodged when at *Athens*. *Calippus* having attended *Dion* into *Sicily* after the tyrant was expelled, began to entertain thoughts of making himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*. As he was well appriſed that he could not accompliſh his deſign while *Dion* lived, he threw off all regard for the ſacred ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality, and determined to get rid of him. *Dion*, tho' warned by his friends of his wicked purpoſe, ſcorned to take any pre-

Heraclides murdered by *Dion*'s order.

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cautions for his own ſafety; ſo that he was ſoon after ſurpriſed in his houſe by *Calippus* and ſome *Zacynthian* ſoldiers, who murdered him, and carried his wife and ſiſter to the public priſon. *Dion* baſely aſſaſſinated.

After the death of *Dion*, *Calippus*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Zacynthian* troops, made himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*, and practiſed there greater cruelties than any of the tyrants who went before him. The traitor, however, ſoon met with the puniſhment he deſerved; for having marched with his forces againſt *Catana*, *Syracuſe* revolted. He not being able to recover the city, marched to *Meſſana*; but he was repulſed from thence by the inhabitants, who in a ſally cut off moſt of the *Zacynthian* troops that were concerned in the murder of *Dion*. Every city in *Sicily* refuſing to admit ſuch an execrable monſter, he retired to *Rhegium*, where ſome time after he was ſlain by *Leptines* and *Polyperchon*, with the ſame dagger with which he had murdered *Dion*. *Calippus* makes himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*. His death.

Ariſtomache and *Arete*, upon the downfal of *Calippus*, were ſet at liberty, and at firſt kindly entertained by *Icetas* of *Syracuſe*, one of *Dion*'s friends. Afterwards, however, at the ſollicitation of *Dion*'s enemies, he put them on board a veſſel, under pretence of ſending them to *Peloponneſus*; but ordered the commander of the ſhip to put them to death in the paſſage, and throw them into the ſea: which inhuman orders were accordingly executed. *Dion*'s wife and ſiſter put to death.

Callippus held the ſovereign power in *Syracuſe* about ten months, and was expelled by *Hipparinus*, the brother of *Dionyſius*, who kept poſſeſſion of the city for two years. *Dionyſius*, in the mean time, taking advantage of the factions and diviſions in *Syracuſe*, aſſembled ſome foreign troops, and having defeated *Nypſius*, the governor of the city, reinſtated himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his dominions ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne. His paſt misfortunes ſerved only to inflame his tyrannical temper, and to render him more ſavage and brutal than ever. The *Syracuſans*, not able to brook ſo cruel a ſervitude, had recourſe to *Icetas*, then tyrant of *Leontini*, and created him general of all their forces. The *Carthaginians*, in the mean time, ſending a great fleet to *Sicily*, in hopes of making an entire conqueſt of the iſland, the *Syracuſans* thought it expedient to aſk the aſſiſtance of the *Corinthians*, from whom they were deſcended, and who, of all the *Greek* nations, were the moſt profeſſed enemies to tyranny. *Icetas*, who privately deſigned to ſeize *Syracuſe* for himſelf, ſeemed to approve theſe meaſures; but at the ſame time was contriving how he could prevent the *Corinthians* from ſending any forces into the iſland which, according to a treaty he had ſecretly concluded with the *Carthaginians*, was, after the expulſion of *Dionyſius*, to be divided between him and them. The *Corinthians* readily granted ſuccours to the *Syracuſans*, and ſent them to *Sicily* under the conduct of *Timoleon*, who was to be commander in chief. New commotions in *Syracuſe*. Bef. Chr. 350. The *Syracuſans* aſk the aſſiſtance of the *Corinthians*. *Timoleon* ſent by them to *Sicily*.

Timoleon was ſprung from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Corinth*, and had ſignalized himſelf in the defence of his coun-

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try againſt the pretenſions both of foreign and domeſtic tyrants. Not being able to diſſuade his elder brother *Timophanes* from a deſign he had formed of ſeizing the ſovereignty, he cauſed him to be put to death in his preſence by two of his intimate friends. This action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of *Corinth*; but highly blamed by others, who exclaimed, that he would draw the vengeance of the gods upon himſelf and his country. His mother refuſing to ſee him, he was ſtruck with ſuch horror at the action, that he reſolved to put an end to his unhappy life by abſtaining from all nouriſhment. His friends having, with the utmoſt difficulty, diſſuaded him from this fatal reſolution, he condemned himſelf to paſs the reſt of his days in ſolitude; and actually wandered about in ſolitary and deſart places near twenty years. Returning then to *Corinth*, he ſtill lived private and retired; but was now forced, againſt his own inclination, to take the command of the forces to be ſent to *Sicily*. *Diodorus*, in his account of this fact, varies a little from *Plutarch*, whom we have followed; and ſays, that *Timoleon* had juſt killed his brother, when the *Syracuſan* deputies arrived at *Corinth*.

Icetas hoping to deter the *Corinthians* from intermedling in the affairs of *Sicily*, ſent to acquaint them, that the *Carthaginians* were waiting to intercept their ſquadron, and that he had been even obliged to call them to his aid and employ them againſt the tyrant; ſo that he now hoped, without putting them to any trouble, to be able to reſtore *Syracuſe* to its antient liberty. *Timoleon* being convinced that *Icetas* acted treacherouſly, only haſtened the embarkation of his troops, who were in all but 1000 men. On his arrival at *Italy* with ten gallies, he was informed that *Icetas* had defeated the tyrant, and was beſieging him in the citadel; but that he had alſo given orders to the *Carthaginians* to deſtroy his ſquadron as ſoon as it appeared on the coaſt of *Sicily*. Proceeding nevertheleſs to *Rhegium*, he there found ambaſſadors from *Icetas*, who acquainted him, that he ſhould be kindly received at *Syracuſe*, provided he diſmiſſed his troops; and otherwiſe, the *Syracuſans*, who were jealous of foreign forces, would not admit him into their city. Twenty *Carthaginian* gallies at the ſame time arriving in the port of *Rhegium* to oppoſe his paſſage to *Sicily*, *Timoleon* demanded a conference with the *Sicilian* ambaſſadors and *Carthaginian* officers, in preſence of the people of *Rhegium*. The *Rhegians* being ſecretly in his intereſt, prevailed with the *Carthaginians* to agree to the conferences, which were held in the city, and were carried on for ſeveral hours with great ſeeming warmth. *Timoleon*, in the mean time, having ſent away nine of his gallies, at length ſlipped out of the aſſembly and went off himſelf; the *Rhegians* amuſing the deputies and commanders till he had got a great way out to ſea.

He lands at *Tauromenium*,

Timoleon landed with his troops at *Taurominium*; which *Icetas* was no ſooner informed of, than he allowed the *Carthaginian* fleet, which conſiſted of 150 gallies, to take poſſeſſion of

Syra-

Syracuſe, and diſpatched an expreſs to *Mago*, deſiring him to advance with the *Carthaginian* army to the gates of the city. In the mean time *Timoleon* left *Taurominium*, and advancing to *Adranum*, defeated a *Carthaginian* detachment four times his number, and commanded by *Icetas*. On this ſucceſs, not only *Adranum*, but ſeveral other cities, opened their gates to *Timoleon*, and joined him with all their forces. *Timoleon*, with theſe reinforcements, advanced to *Syracuſe*, which he found in a moſt deplorable ſituation, *Icetas* being maſter of the city, the *Carthaginians* of the port, and *Dionyſius* of the citadel. The tyrant finding it impoſſible to hold out, entered into a treaty with *Timoleon*, and being allowed by him to retire unmoleſted, delivered up to him the citadel; and beſides not only all his warlike ſtores and proviſions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with 70,000 complete ſuits of armour, and 2000 regular troops, which he incorporated among his *Corinthians*. *Dionyſius* then came to the camp of *Timoleon* as a private man and a ſuppliant, after he had been near twelve years lord of one of the moſt wealthy kingdoms then known. *Timoleon* ſent him with one galley to *Corinth*, whither he arrived ſafe, and was at firſt greatly pitied by the *Corinthians*; but his manner of life ſoon changed their compaſſion into contempt. He paſſed whole days in perfumers ſhops, or with actreſſes and ſingers, diſputing with them on the rules of muſic and the harmony of airs. Some writers tell us, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced, obliged him to open a ſchool at *Corinth*. *Philip* king of *Macedon*, meeting him one day in the ſtreets of *Corinth*, aſked him, how he came to loſe ſo powerful a kingdom as had been left him by his father? *Dionyſius* anſwered, that his father, indeed, had left him a rich kingdom; but not the fortune which had preſerved both him and his kingdom *.

and defeated *Icetas* and his feats Bef. Chr. 348.

Dionyſius ſurrenders himſelf to *Timoleon*.

Lives in a mean ſtation at *Corinth*.

After the retreat of *Dionyſius*, *Icetas* laid ſiege to the citadel, which was defended only by 400 *Corinthians* left there by *Timoleon*, who had gone with his army to *Catana*. As *Timoleon*, in ſpite of all oppoſition, conveyed proviſions into the place, *Icetas* and *Mago* left part of their army in *Syracuſe*, and marched with the reſt againſt *Timoleon*, reſolving either to drive him from *Catana*, or block him up in that city. They were ſcarce gone, when *Leon*, who commanded in the citadel, ſallied out againſt thoſe who were left to continue the ſiege, killed a great many of them, put the reſt to flight, and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the quarter of the city called *Acradina*, fortified it, and joined it to the citadel. This bad news ſoon brought back *Mago* and *Icetas*; but their attempts to recover *Acradina* were fruitleſs.

Icetas beſieges the *Corinthians* in the citadel.

Timoleon, ſoon after, receiving a reinforcement of 2000 foot and 200 horſe from *Corinth*, marched againſt *Meſſana*, and having reduced that city, advanced to *Syracuſe*. He ſent ſeveral

Meſſana reduced by *Timoleon*,

* Cic. Tuſc. quæſt. l. iii. Val. max. l. vi. Demet. Phaler. de eloc.

emiſſaries

emiſſaries into the enemy's camp, who artfully inſinuated t the *Syracuſans* and *Greeks* ſerving under *Icetas* and *Mago*, tha it was ſhameful for them to fight againſt *Timoleon*, whoſe onl deſign was to reſtore them to their antient liberty. The dil courſes of the emiſſaries reaching the ears of *Mago*, whoſe arm was moſtly compoſed of mercenary *Greeks*, he gave out tha his forces were going to betray him; and on that pretenc weighed anchor, without hearkening to the entreaties and re monſtrances of *Icetas*, and returned to *Carthage*.

who alſo takes *Syracuſe*,

The next day *Timoleon* appeared before the city, and aſſaulte it in three different quarters with ſuch vigour, that he ſoo made himſelf maſter of the place. Immediately after he cauſe a proclamation to be made, inviting all the citizens to com the day after with neceſſary tools, and demoliſh, with thei own hands, the citadel and other caſtles, which he called *th neſts of tyrants*.

The *Syracuſans* looking upon that day as the firſt of thei true liberty, crowded in multitudes to the citadel, which the ſoon demoliſhed, together with the forts and the tyrants pala ces, breaking open alſo their tombs, and deſtroying every mo nument of tyranny. On the ſpot where the citadel had ſtood *Timoleon* cauſed public edifices to be erected for the adminiſtra tion of juſtice. He found the city in a moſt miſerable condi tion, almoſt wholly deſolate; inſomuch that the horſes graze on the graſs that grew in the very market-place. The *Corin-*

which is re-peopled by the *Corinthians*.

thians, at the deſire of *Timoleon*, ſent heralds to all the ſacre games and public aſſemblies of *Greece*, inviting all the *Syracu-ſan* and *Sicilian* refugees to repair to their native country, an to take poſſeſſion anew of their lands and eſtates. They at th ſame time ſent couriers to *Aſia* and the neighbouring iſlands whither many fugitives had retired, offering to convey them from *Corinth* to their own country at the expence of the public

Great numbers of refugees accordingly aſſembled at *Corinth* and being joined by other *Greeks*, embarked for *Syracuſe*, being in all above 10,000. Many other people alſo from *Italy* an different parts of *Sicily* reſorting thither, *Timoleon* diſtributed the lands among them gratis, but ſold the houſes; and with the money ariſing from the ſale, eſtabliſhed a fund for the ſup port of the poor and needy.

Timoleon delivers the other cities of *Sicily* from their tyrants.

Timoleon having thus raiſed *Syracuſe* in a manner from th duſt, undertook the extirpating of tyrants and tyranny from the other cities of *Sicily*. He compelled *Icetas*, tyrant of *Leon-tini*, to renounce his alliance with the *Carthaginians*, demoliſh his forts, and reſign his ſovereignty. *Leptines* tyrant of *Engyum* and *Apollonia*, alſo ſurrendered to *Timoleon*, who ſent him, with ſeveral other tyrants, to *Corinth*; and afterwards poſſeſſing him ſelf of *Entella*, put to death all thoſe who adhered to the *Car-thaginians*. The *Greek* cities now every where ſubmitting t him, he reſtored them to the full enjoyment of their right and privileges, and made an alliance with many of the cities of th *Sicani* and *Siculi*, who ſolicited his friendſhip. *Timoleon* havin

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ſet the whole iſland at liberty, returned to *Syracuſe*; where in conjunction with two legiſlators ſent from *Corinth*, he inſtituted ſuch laws as were moſt proper for the democracy. Among other wiſe inſtitutions, he appointed a chief magiſtrate to be choſen yearly, whom the *Syracuſans* called, *the amphipolus of* Jupiter Olympius.

Timoleon having thus reformed the government of *Syracuſe*, reſolved to expel, if poſſible, the *Carthaginians* from *Sicily*. He ſent a ſtrong detachment into the countries ſubject to them, with orders to plunder the territories of thoſe who refuſed to renounce their alliance. By this means he got a vaſt ſum of money, which ſerved to pay his ſoldiers their arrears, and make the neceſſary preparations for the enſuing war. The *Carthaginians*, to ſupport their intereſt in *Sicily*, ſent over an army thither; which with the troops in the iſland, amounted to 70,000 men, and a fleet of 200 gallies and 1000 tranſports. Upon their landing at *Lilybæum*, *Timoleon* immediately advanced againſt them, tho' his army conſiſted only of 12,000 men. Part of his troops thinking the enterprize too hazardous, began to mutiny, and 1000 mercenaries refuſing to accompany him, returned to *Syracuſe*. The other troops, however, declaring their readineſs to follow him, he proceeded to the river *Cremiſſus*; and 10,000 of the enemy having paſſed the river, he attacked that body, which he eaſily routed. The whole army then croſſing the river, a general engagement enſued, in which the *Carthaginians* attempted to ſurround the *Greeks*; but a furious ſtorm of hail, thunder and lightning ariſing, and beating in their faces, they were ſoon put into diſorder, and fled with precipitation to the river, where many of them were drowned, and others trampled under foot; while the *Greeks* purſued, and cut very many of them to pieces. Upwards of 12,000 of the *Carthaginians* were ſlain, and 15,000 taken priſoners. All their baggage and proviſion, with 200 chariots, 1000 coats of mail, and 10,000 ſhields, fell into the hands of the *Greeks*. The ſpoil, which was exceeding rich, *Timoleon* divided among his ſoldiers, and retained nothing for himſelf but the glory of ſo famous a victory. Returning ſoon after to *Syracuſe*, he was received by the magiſtrates and people with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; and not long after he baniſhed the 1000 mercenaries who had deſerted him.

Makes war upon the *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthaginians* defeated by him.

The *Carthaginians*, upon the news of the defeat of their troops, were ſeized with ſuch terror, that they immediately ſent ambaſſadors to *Sicily* to entreat a peace. As ſeveral new tyrants had again ſtarted up, and began to form a powerful alliance againſt *Timoleon*, he granted a peace to the *Carthaginians*, on condition that all the *Greek* cities ſhould be ſet free; that the *Lycus*, or *Halycus*, ſhould be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities ſubject to the *Carthaginians* might, if they pleaſed, remove with their effects to *Syracuſe*, and that *Carthage* ſhould not give any aſſiſtance to the tyrants againſt the *Syracuſans*.

Peace concluded with them.

All the *Sicilian* tyrants taken and put to death.

After this peace was concluded, *Timoleon* marched againſt the tyrants. He defeated *Icetas*, and put him and his ſon to death. The tyrant's wife and daughter being alſo taken, were put to death by the *Syracuſans*, to revenge the murder of *Dion*'s wife and ſiſter, whom *Icetas* had cauſed to be thrown into the ſea. All the other tyrants of *Sicily* met with the like fate, being firſt overcome by *Timoleon*, and then put to death by thoſe whom they tyranically oppreſſed. *Timoleon* having reſtored tranquillity to the iſland, granted ſhares to 40,000 new planters in the territories of *Syracuſe*, reviewed and amended the laws of *Diocles*, and having repeopled alſo ſeveral other cities, he reſigned his authority to live in retirement, having ſent for his wife and children from *Corinth*. Before he died, he was afflicted with the loſs of his ſight; in which condition the *Syracuſans* gave him great inſtances of their gratitude, paying him frequent viſits, and carrying all ſtrangers of diſtinction to ſalute their benefactor and deliverer. He enjoyed his retirement only two years, and after his death was honoured as a god. The *Syracuſans* laid out 625 *l.* on his funeral, and made a decree, that annually, on the day of his death, public ſports ſhould be celebrated, with horſe-races and gymnaſtic games; and that whenever the people of *Syracuſe* ſhould be engaged in a war with the barbarians, they ſhould ſend to *Corinth* for a general*.

Timoleon reſigns his authority.

His death.

New troubles in *Syracuſe*.

The mean extraction of *Agathocles*.

About twenty years after the death of *Timoleon*, the *Syracuſans* began again to be involved in the ſame calamities from which that great man had delivered them. A new tyrant, named *Agathocles*, ſtarted up among them, who exceeded in cruelty, and in all other vices, all thoſe who had gone before him. According to *Diodorus*, he was born at *Thermæ*, a city in *Sicily* ſubject to the *Carthaginians*. His mother, while ſhe was with child of him, being troubled with ſtrange dreams, conſulted the oracle of *Delphi* about the child ſhe was big with. The oracle declaring that the child would bring dreadful calamities on the *Carthaginians* and all *Sicily*, the father, terrified with this prediction, expoſed the child as ſoon as it was born. The infant continuing alive ſeveral days, the mother took an opportunity of carrying it off; and calling it *Agathocles*, entruſted it to her brother *Heraclides*. His father ſeeing him when he was ſeven years of age, and being greatly taken with his beauty, (for he is ſaid to have been one of the handſomeſt men of his age) his mother ventured to unfold the truth of the matter; at which the father was greatly overjoyed. He took him home; and removing ſoon after to *Syracuſe*, bred him up to his own buſineſs of a potter. After *Timoleon* had defeated the *Carthaginians* on the banks of the *Cremiſſus*, *Agathocles* and his father joined him, and obtained the freedom of *Syracuſe*. *Agathocles*, when he grew up, was recommended by his beauty to a rich and lewd nobleman of *Syracuſe* named *Demas*; who being ſoon

His riſe.

* Diod. l. xvi. Plut. in Timol.

after

after created general of the *Agrigentines*, gave his favourite the command of 1000 men. When he had before ſerved as a common ſoldier, he was remarkable for his dexterity in performing the military revolutions, and for the great ſtrength of his body; wearing in the uſual exerciſes ſuch heavy armour, as no other man in the whole army could bear. After he had obtained a command, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions above the other officers. *Demas* dying, and leaving his whole eſtate to his wife, *Agathocles* married her; and by that means became at once the moſt wealthy citizen in *Syracuſe*. Soon after, being driven from *Syracuſe*, with many others, by *Soſiſtratus*, who had uſurped the ſupreme authority, he retired to *Italy*, where he had acquired a great reputation in a war between the *Crotanians* and *Bruttians*. He was kindly entertained at *Crotona*; but forgetting the favours ſhewn him, he attempted to make himſelf lord of the city, and was, on that account, obliged to fly to *Tarentum*, from whence he was ſoon after expelled, after having been convicted there of the like practices. After this, as no city would receive him, he put himſelf at the head of a band of robbers and exiles, and plundered the country. *Soſiſtratus*, in the mean time, croſſing over into *Italy*, and laying ſiege to *Rhegium*, *Agathocles* fell unexpectedly upon him, and obliged him to retire to his ſhips with loſs. Soon after, *Soſiſtratus*, with 600 other citizens, were expelled from *Syracuſe* by the popular faction; but having recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, he threatned to return by force. The *Syracuſans* recalling *Agathocles*, appointed him commander in chief of their forces. *Agathocles* defeated the united forces of *Soſiſtratus* and the *Carthaginians* in ſeveral actions, in one of which he received ſeven wounds; but the *Syracuſans* perceiving that he aimed at the ſovereign power, conferred the command on one *Aceſtorides*, ſent to them from *Corinth*. *Aceſtorides* was no ſooner veſted with this power, but he formed a deſign of diſpatching *Agathocles*. He, however, made his eſcape in diſguiſe, and aſſembled a conſiderable army with the deſign of attacking the city; which ſo terrified the *Syracuſans*, that they entered into a treaty with him, and upon his diſbanding his forces, recalled him home. Altho' upon his return, he ſwore, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy, yet he again purſued his ambitious deſigns; and by courting the populace, and pretending to protect them againſt the nobles, he ſo far prevailed as to be created commander in chief of the forces to be ſent againſt the city of *Erbita*, which had revolted from *Syracuſe*. *Agathocles* having aſſembled his troops near *Syracuſe*, adviſed them to begin with attacking their domeſtic enemies, meaning the 600 ſenators, and all their friends, whom he accuſed of tyranny. The troops accordingly entering the city, fell upon all thoſe they met with, and murdered them without diſtinction of rank, ſex or age; plundering their houſes, and committing all ſorts of cruelties. Tho' in a few hours 4000 and upwards were killed,

He is expelled from *Syracuſe*.

Agathocles made general of the *Syracuſans*, but is obliged to fly from the city.

Is again appointed general of their army.

He maſſacres all the nobles and chief citizens.

killed, yet *Agathocles* was not ſatisfied, but encouraged his men to purſue the bloody maſſacre, giving them free liberty to plunder, raviſh, murder, and commit what enormities they pleaſed for two whole days and nights. The third day he ſummoned an aſſembly of the few who had outlived the general ſlaughter, and pretending that what he had done was abſolutely neceſſary for ſaving the ſtate, and that it was his intention ſoon to retire to a private life; the whole multitude, who had not any of the citizens left whom they knew fit to govern, cried out with one voice, and proclaimed him king. The troops having no hopes of impunity but in veſting him with the ſupreme power, were among the firſt who beſtowed on him the title of king.

Is proclaimed king.

Agathocles being thus raiſed to the throne, publiſhed a law for making void all debts, and for dividing the lands equally among the poor. This unjuſt law gained him the affection of the common people, and weakned the oppoſite party; ſo that the few nobles who remained, were upon a level with the meaneſt of the people. *Agathocles* having thus eſtabliſhed his authority, treated his ſubjects with great moderation and humanity; allowing every one to come freely into his preſence, and hearing patiently their complaints, which when in his power he never failed to redreſs. Having at length procured the affection of his ſubjects by publiſhing ſeveral wholeſome laws, he began to attack the neighbouring ſtates; and having ſubdued them, carried his arms into the very heart of the iſland; which in the ſpace of two years, he brought entirely under ſubjection; except a few cities that were held by the *Carthaginians*, who ſent troops into *Sicily* to oppoſe the progreſs of the tyrant. *Amilcar*, one of their generals, attacked him near *Himera*, and defeated him, with the loſs of 7000 men. *Agathocles* retreated with the remains of his army, firſt to *Gela*, and afterwards to *Syracuſe*; whither he was purſued by the enemy, who laid cloſe ſiege to the city.

Cancels all debts, and divides the lands equally.

Reduces the greateſt part of *Sicily*.

The *Carthaginians* beſiege *Syracuſe*.

Tho' the tyrant was now abandoned by all his allies, who had long deteſted his enormous crimes, he did not, however, deſpair of his affairs; but even formed the bold deſign of transferring the war into *Africa*, and beſieging *Carthage*. He communicated his deſign to no perſon whatever; but choſe the moſt daring and intrepid among the ſoldiers and citizens, ſetting thoſe ſlaves alſo at liberty who were able to bear arms, and incorporating them among his troops. He gave free permiſſion to all perſons who were not willing to go thro' the fatigues of a ſiege, to leave *Syracuſe*. According to *Juſtin*, 1600 of the principal citizens accepted of this liberty; but were ſcarce got out of the city, when they were cut off by parties ſent out for that purpoſe. By ſeizing their eſtates, he ſupplied himſelf with money for his expedition; and having got all things in readineſs, he appointed his brother *Antandrus* governor of *Syracuſe*, with men and proviſions ſufficient to hold out a long ſiege, and embarked with his forces on board 60 gallies, waiting for

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an opportunity to escape from the *Carthaginian* fleet, which blocked up the harbour. A fleet of victualing ships appearing for the relief of the besieged, the *Carthaginians* drew off to attack them; which opportunity he immediately seized to get out to sea. The *Carthaginians* leaving the transports, pursued after him; but could not overtake him till six days afterwards, when he was disembarking his troops on the coast of *Africa*, at a place called the *Quarries*. They instantly attacked him; but being spent with rowing, were repulsed by his fleet, with loss.

Agathocles lands with an army in *Africa*.

Agathocles having thus landed his troops in the heart of the enemy's country, acquainted them with his design, and represented to them, that the enemy were enervated by ease and luxury; that their towns were defenceless; and that they were hated by the natives of their country, who would quickly declare for them. Having thus encouraged his soldiers, he assembled them a second time; and appearing among them in his royal robes, he told them, that when they were lately pursued by the enemy, he had vowed to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, the tutelar goddesses of *Sicily*, to burn his fleet in their harbour, if they should deliver his men from the enemy. "Aid me, therefore, "O fellow soldiers, said he, to discharge this vow;" and having uttered these words, he took a torch in his hand, and set fire to his own ships. All the officers, the chief of whom were gained over by him, imitated his example, and were chearfully followed by the soldiers, who did not allow themselves time for reflection, but testified their joy by loud acclamations. This conduct of *Agathocles*, howsoever wild and extravagant in appearance, was founded on good reasons, and was highly approved of by *Scipio*, as we learn from *Polybius*. He had not one good port in *Africa* where he could station his ships; it was not safe for him to divide his small army; it would be imprudent to leave his gallies for the *Carthaginians*; and the burning of his fleet rendered his troops desperate, so that their only hopes was in victory.

He burns his ships.

He takes several places in *Africa*.

That his troops might have no time for reflection, he immediately led them against a place called the *Great City*, in the territories of *Carthage*. They took the place by storm, and enriched themselves with the plunder, which was entirely abandoned to them. They next advanced to *Tunis*, which they also made themselves masters of, and plundered. The soldiers were for garrisoning these two cities, that they might have some place to retire to in case of any misfortune; but *Agathocles* caused them both to be razed, and encamped in the open fields.

The *Carthaginians* greatest consternation.

Mean while, the *Carthaginians* seeing a victorious army advancing to their capital, were in the utmost consternation. Concluding that their troops in *Sicily* were entirely cut off, and their fleet destroyed, they proposed at first to sue for peace; but afterwards recovering from their pannic, and hearing of the state of affairs in *Sicily*, they hastily assembled an army

of 40,000 foot, 1000 horſe, and 200 armed chariots, the command of which they gave to *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, tho' an enmity had long ſubſiſted between their families. *Agathocles*, whoſe army conſiſted only of 14,000 men, continued to advance towards *Carthage*, ravaging the country in his march, and burning many fine caſtles and villages. As he approached to the city, he at laſt perceived the enemy on an eminence drawn up in battle array. As his troops were not a little damped at their formidable appearance, he let out ſeveral owls, which he had before prepared for that purpoſe. Theſe flying about among the ſoldiers, ſo raiſed their ſpirits, that of their own accord they began to advance againſt the enemy; not doubting but by the aſſiſtance of *Minerva*, to whom that bird was ſacred, they ſhould gain a compleat victory. *Agathocles* willingly ſeconded their ardour; and putting himſelf at their head, charged and routed the *Carthaginians* after a moſt obſtinate engagement. Two hundred *Greeks* were ſlain in this battle, and 1000, or according to ſome, 6000 *Carthaginians*. *Juſtin*, in his account of the action, ſays, that the *Carthaginian* army conſiſted only of 30,000, and that 3000 *Carthaginians* and 2000 *Sicilians* were ſlain. *Agathocles* owed his victory chiefly to the treachery of *Bomilcar*, who upon hearing that *Hanno* was killed, retired with the part of the army under his command, with the deſign of ſeizing that opportunity to enſlave his country.

Agathocles gains a victory over the *Carthaginians*,

The *Carthaginians*, now driven to the greateſt deſpair, ſacrificed ſeveral hundred human victims to their gods, and ſent expreſs orders to *Amilcar* to return to the relief of his country, *Amilcar*, before he raiſed the ſiege, publiſhed among his troops, that *Agathocles* and his army were cut off, and ſummoned the *Syracuſans* to ſurrender; ſhewing the iron beaks of the gallies of *Agathocles* that had been ſent from *Africa*. This news threw the *Syracuſans* into the greateſt conſternation; but the commanders not truſting to the enemy's report, reſolved to ſtand an aſſault, and drove out above 8000 of the citizens, who ſeemed inclined to capitulate with the enemy. Soon after, a galley with 30 oars arriving from *Africa*, brought the agreeable news of the victory gained by *Agathocles*; which reſtored life and reſolution to the inhabitants. *Amilcar* being repulſed in an attempt to ſtorm the city, raiſed the ſiege, and ſent 5000 of his troops to *Africa*, not thinking it needful to go thither with his whole army, as he was in hopes that *Agathocles* would ſoon be obliged to return to *Sicily*.

who order their army to return from *Sicily*.

The ſiege of *Syracuſe* raiſed.

Agathocles, in the mean time, finding no enemy to oppoſe him, reduced many forts and caſtles in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. Several cities likewiſe, ſome out of fear, and others from averſion to the *Carthaginians*, declaring for him, his army was greatly reinforced by the *Africans*, which encouraged him to march againſt the maritime cities. Accordingly, leaving a good body of troops in his fortified camp at *Tunis*, he advanced againſt the new city, which he took by ſtorm; but treated the inhabitants with great humanity. He next beſieged *Adrumetum*;

Great progreſs of *Agathocles* in *Africa*.

metum; but while he was employed before this place, the *Carthaginians* forced his camp before *Tunis*, and likewiſe beſieged his troops in the city. Having, by a ſtratagem, prevailed on them to abandon the ſiege of *Tunis* with precipitation, he made himſelf maſter of *Adrumetum*; and afterwards, in a very ſhort time, reduced above 200 cities and towns, partly by force and partly by compoſition. He not only made himſelf maſter of almoſt the whole territory of *Carthage*, but alſo advanced into *Lybia Superior*, and defeated *Elymas* the king, who had violated an engagement he had entered into with him.

Amilcar, in the mean time, having reduced many cities that had again declared for *Syracuſe*, the following year made an attempt to ſurprize that city in the night. The *Syracuſans* having timely notice of his deſign, made a ſally, unexpectedly, from *Epipolæ*; and while the barbarians were quarrelling among themſelves in the narrow paſſes, totally routed them, tho' they were 120,000 men ſtrong. *Amilcar* being taken priſoner by the *Syracuſans*, they led him in chains thro' all the ſtreets of the city; and after venting their rage againſt him by all ſorts of torments, ſtruck off his head, and ſent it to *Agathocles*; who advanced to the enemy's camp, and ſhewed it to the *Carthaginians*; which ſtruck a general pannic among their troops.

The *Syracuſans* defeat the *Carthaginians*, and take *Amilcar* priſoner.

Agathocles, ſoon after, was in great danger from a mutiny that happened in his army; but having quieted the ſedition, he again attacked and routed the *Carthaginians*. He afterwards purſued an army which they ſent againſt the *Numidians*, who had revolted from them. Tho' he was greatly haraſſed both by the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians*, yet in the end he defeated the enemy, tho' he loſt the greateſt part of his own baggage. Intending next to beſiege *Carthage*, he invited all the princes of *Africa* to join him, and particularly ſent ambaſſadors to *Ophellas* prince of the *Cyreneans*, who had been one of *Alexander*'s captains, and was ambitious of extending his dominions, offering him the ſovereignty of *Africa* if he would aſſiſt him with his troops againſt *Carthage*. *Ophellas*, taken with the bait, immediately raiſed great levies of *Greeks* and *Africans*, and ſet out to join him at the head of 20,000 men, beſides women and children. After a march of two months thro' barren and ſandy deſarts, where many of his followers were bit to death by ſerpents, and periſhed thro' famine, he joined *Agathocles*; who no ſooner had him in his power, than by the blackeſt perfidy he cauſed him to be murdered. By fair words and large promiſes he prevailed with his army to ſerve under him; but ſent the women, and thoſe who were unfit to bear arms, to *Syracuſe*. *Agathocles* now ſeeing himſelf at the head of a numerous army, aſſumed the title of king of *Africa*, and laid ſiege to *Carthage*.

The prince of the *Cyreneans* joins *Agathocles*, and is murdered by him.

During theſe tranſactions in *Africa*, the city of *Agrigentum*, and moſt of the other cities in *Sicily*, had taken arms, and entered into an aſſociation in defence of their liberties. As *Xenodochus*, the general of the *Agrigentines*, who were at the head

of the alliance, had gained great advantages over thoſe who were for ſupporting tyranny, *Agathocles* reſolved to truſt his affairs in *Africa* to the direction of his ſon *Archagathus*, and to return to *Sicily*. He accordingly embarked with 2000 men on board ſome open veſſels with 50 oars a-piece, and landing in *Sicily*, very ſoon reduced thoſe cities that had regained their liberty; but could not make himſelf maſter of the principal cities belonging to the *Carthaginians*. Having ſettled his affairs in *Sicily*, he returned to *Africa*, where he found the face of things quite changed by his abſence. His troops had been defeated, and were ready to revolt for want of proviſions. *Agathocles*, as the only expedient for relieving his troops, attacked the enemy's camp; but being repulſed with the loſs of 3000 men, all the *Africans* in his army deſerted. He therefore reſolved to abandon *Africa*; but as he could not tranſport his army for want of ſhips, he determined to ſlip away privately, taking along with him a few of his friends, and his younger ſon *Heraclides*. *Archagathus*, however, being appriſed of his deſign, diſcovered it to the army; who immediately running to arms, ſeized on *Agathocles*, and committed him to cuſtody. As they were now without a head, they were the following night ſeized with a pannic, on the news that the enemy was advancing to attack them; in which confuſion *Agathocles* ſtole away with a ſmall attendance, and put to ſea in a ſmall veſſel, leaving his children to the wild fury of the diſappointed ſoldiers, who immediately putting his two ſons to death, choſe new leaders, and concluded a peace with the *Carthaginians*. It was agreed, that the *Greeks* ſhould deliver up all the places thay held in *Africa*, receiving for them 300 talents; that ſuch of them as were willing to ſerve under the *Carthaginians*, ſhould be kindly treated, and receive the uſual pay; that the reſt ſhould be tranſported to *Sicily*, and have the city of *Selinus* for their habitation.

Agathocles returns to *Sicily*.

Sets ſail again for *Africa*.

Is defeated.

Deſerts his army in *Africa*.

His cruelties in *Sicily*.

Agathocles, upon his landing in *Sicily*, aſſembled part of his forces and attacked the *Egeſtines*. Having taken the town by ſtorm, he put the whole inhabitants to death, without diſtinction of ſex or age. When news was brought him of the death of his children in *Africa*, he ordered his brother *Antandrus* to put all thoſe *Syracuſans* to death who were any ways related to ſuch as had attended him in the *Carthaginian* expedition. His orders were executed with the utmoſt inhumanity; all thoſe who were any ways related to the *African* army, from the great grandfather to the ſucking child, being barbarouſly murdered. This inhuman cruelty rendering him univerſally deteſted, great numbers flocked to *Dinocrates*, who had been baniſhed by the tyrant, and in a ſhort time reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that he was obliged to purchaſe a peace at a very dear rate, by reſtoring to them all the cities they had formerly poſſeſſed in *Sicily*. He even offered to *Dinocrates* to reſtore the democracy, provided two ſtrong holds were left in his hands for the ſecurity of his perſon. *Dinocrates*, who himſelf aſpired at the ſovereign power, and

and then commanded an army of 20,000 foot and 3000 horſe, rejected the propoſal of *Agathocles*; who thereupon attacked his camp, and gained a complete victory, tho' he had only 5000 foot and 800 horſe. The remains of the routed army capitulated on condition of ſaving their lives; but they were no ſooner diſarmed, than the tyrant cauſed them all to be put to the ſword. *Dinocrates*, whoſe character reſembled his own, he received into his friendſhip; and ever after entruſted him with his moſt weighty affairs. *Agathocles*, within two years after, brought the whole iſland, except that part ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, under ſubjection. He then paſſed over into *Italy*, where he ſubdued the *Bruttii*; and from thence ſailing to the *Lipari* iſlands, he obliged the inhabitants to pay him 100 talents of gold. Not contented with this ſum, which was all they had, he ſtripped the temples of their ſacred treaſures, and loading eleven ſhips with the ſpoils, ſet ſail for *Syracuſe*. A ſtorm ariſing, all his veſſels were caſt away, except one galley, in which he himſelf eſcaped. Soon after he was poiſoned by one *Mænon*, whom he had unnaturally abuſed. The tyrant, after his meals, always picked his teeth with a quill; which *Mænon* having dipped in poiſon, his teeth and gums putrified, and his whole body being afterwards tortured with moſt racking pains, in the heighth of them he was hurried away to the funeral pile, and burnt, while he was ſtill alive; a worthy end of ſo execrable a monſter. He died in the 28th year of his reign, and the 95th of his age *.

Reduces almoſt the whole iſland of *Sicily*.

He is poiſoned by *Mænon*.

Not long after the death of *Agathocles*, the *Mamertini* ſeized on *Meſſana*, and by degrees poſſeſſed themſelves of a conſiderable part of *Sicily*. They are ſaid to have been originally *Campanians*, and to have aſſumed the name of *Mamertini*, that is, invincible warriors, from *Mars*, or as they pronounce it, *Mamers*, the god of war. They ſerved in *Sicily* under *Agathocles*; and being diſbanded at his death, they retired to *Meſſana*, with the deſign to return into their own country. Being admitted into the city, they ſoon after fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put all the men to the ſword, and married their wives and daughters. About the ſame time a *Roman* legion having ſettled in *Rhegium*, after murdering the *Rhegians*, who had called them in to their aſſiſtance, ſent ſuccours to the *Mamertini*, which enabled them to extend their conqueſts to the middle of the iſland.

Meſſana ſeized by the *Mamertini*.

After the death of *Agathocles*, *Syracuſe* underwent many revolutions. *Mænon*, who had poiſoned him, uſurped the ſupreme authority; but being driven out by *Hycetas*, he had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*. *Hycetas* having routed the joint forces of *Mænon* and the *Carthaginians*, aſſumed the ſovereign power in *Syracuſe*; but contented himſelf with the title of

The diſtracted ſtate of *Syracuſe*.

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* Diod. l. xx. Juſtin, l. xxii. Oroſius, l. vii. Ælian. var. hiſt. l. ii. Polyb. l. xv.

Prætor.

Prætor. In the 9th year of his command, having marched againſt the *Agrigentines*, who had revolted, during his abſence one *Tænion* poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign power. *Tænion* being oppoſed by *Soſiſtrates*, who had the ſame aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city. The *Carthaginians* taking advantage of theſe diſorders, reduced moſt of the cities ſubject to *Syracuſe*, and inveſted the capital itſelf with a powerful fleet, and an army of 50,000 men.

Pyrrhus invited into *Sicily*.

The public danger reconciled the two competitors, who ſolicited the aſſiſtance of *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, the ſon in-law of *Agathocles*. *Pyrrhus*, who wanted but an honourable pretence to withdraw from *Italy*, where he was engaged in a war with the *Romans*, willingly complied with the requeſt of the *Sicilians*. Upon his arrival at *Syracuſe*, *Tænion* and *Soſiſtrates* immediately put him in poſſeſſion of the city, the fleet, and public treaſure; and all the cities on the coaſt followed the example of *Syracuſe*.

He arrives with a powerful army.

Having an army of 30,000 foot and 5000 horſe, with a fleet of 200 ſail, he ſoon ſtript the *Carthaginians* of all their acquiſitions in the iſland, except *Eryx* and *Lilybæum*; the former of which at length he took by aſſault, being himſelf the firſt man who mounted the walls. He alſo defeated the *Mamertini* in a pitched battle, and ſhut them up within the walls of *Meſſina*. The *Carthaginians* ſuing to him for a peace, he anſwered, that the only means to obtain what they deſired, was to abandon *Sicily*.

Makes his ſon king of *Sicily*.

So confident was he of being maſter of the whole iſland, that he gave the title of king of *Sicily* to his ſon by the daughter of *Agathocles*. Tho' the *Mamertines* were not yet reduced, and the *Carthaginians* were in poſſeſſion of *Lilybæum*, he was nevertheleſs ſo imprudent as to reſolve upon an expedition to *Africa*, contrary to the warmeſt remonſtrances of the *Sicilians*. *Pyrrhus* being in want of ſeamen, obliged the maritime cities in his intereſt to furniſh him with marines, and even forced into the ſervice perſons of rank who had any experience in maritime affairs.

He diſobliges the *Sicilians*.

The cities in vain complained of this violence; and the king, offended with their oppoſition to his new ſcheme, began to treat them in a very arbitrary manner, which ſoon drew upon himſelf the hatred of the whole nation. His ſuſpicion of the *Sicilians* rendered him ſtill more inſolent and arbitrary. After many tyrannical acts, he at length ſeized the moſt powerful and illuſtrious citizens of each city, and charging them with treaſonable practices, either put them to death, or baniſhed them the iſland. The *Sicilians* at length conceived ſuch an averſion againſt him, that ſome cities entered into a league with the *Carthaginians*, and others with the *Mamertines*, his avowed enemies. The *Carthaginians* hearing of this change, ſent a new army into *Sicily*, and cruiſed round the iſland with a mighty fleet, to prevent *Pyrrhus* from making his eſcape.

Pyrrhus ſoon after being ſolicited by the *Sammites*, *Tarentines*, *Bruttians*, and *Lucanians*, to return to their aſſiſtance againſt the *Romans*, embraced this opportunity of honourably

bly quitting *Sicily*. He accordingly embarked with his troops; but being met at ſea by the *Carthaginians*, they ſunk 70 of his gallies, and diſperſed or took the reſt; ſo that he ſaved himſelf in the ports of *Italy* with only 12 veſſels, the poor remains of a fleet of 200 ſail. The *Mamertines* ſent a body of 18,000 men to *Italy* to harraſs him after his landing; and theſe troops ſeizing the paſſes on the road to *Tarentum*, ſeveral deſperate ſkirmiſhes happened betwixt them and the *Epirots*. *Pyrrhus*, after receiving a wound in the head, killed a *Mamertine* of extraordinary ſize, who challenged him to ſingle combat; which terrifying the *Mamertines*, and obliging them to retire, he continued his march to *Tarentum*. Abandons the iſland. His fleet deſtroyed by the *Carthaginians*.

The *Syracuſan* troops, upon the departure of *Pyrrhus*, choſe *Hiero* for their commander, who was the natural ſon of *Hierocles* by a ſlave. His father, who was one of the deſcendants of *Gelon*, the firſt king of *Syracuſe*, cauſed him to be expoſed ſoon after his birth in a foreſt, where a ſwarm of bees is ſaid to have nouriſhed him ſome days with their honey. The ſoothſayers being conſulted on this prodigy, declared, that the boy would one day mount the throne of his anceſtors, and reſtore his family to its antient ſplendor; on which the father owned him, and cauſed him to be brought up in a manner ſuitable to his birth. When he came to man's eſtate, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and prudence, and by his addreſs in all military exerciſes. Having made his firſt campaigns under *Pyrrhus*, he ſo improved in the art of war under the direction of ſo great a maſter, that he was looked upon as the beſt commander in the army when he was but 25 years of age. But his great moderation, affability, and engaging behaviour, gained him more honour than his military exploits. He was exceeding handſome, of a robuſt conſtitution, and extraordinary ſtrength; and ſeemed to have been born for virtue, and to be governed by no other paſſion but the love of glory. *Hiero* appointed general of the *Syracuſans*.

The *Syracuſans*, after the departure of *Pyrrhus*, falling into great diſorders, *Hiero*, and his collegue *Artemidorus*, endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh good order in the capital. *Hiero*, by the arts of inſinuation and addreſs, without ſhedding of blood, or hurting one ſingle citizen, calmed the minds of the people, reconciled the factions, and ſo gained the hearts of all, that the *Syracuſans*, tho' highly diſſatisfied with the troops for aſſuming the right of chuſing their own general, yet unanimouſly confirmed him in the command, inveſting him with all civil and military power during the interregnum. He is univerſally beloved by them.

Hiero, to prevent any diſturbances in the city during the abſence of the army, which had uſually happened, married the daughter of *Leptines*, a nobleman of great intereſt and authority among the people, and always left his father-in-law governor of the city when he took the field. The mercenary troops having often, by their ungovernable and ſeditious temper, cauſed great diſorders in the ſtate, he reſolved utterly to extirpate them, as the only means to ſecure the tranquillity of his

The seditious mercenaries cut off by a stratagem.

his country. He led them, with the other *Syracusan* troops against the *Mamertines*; and in an engagement which ensued he exposed them alone to the enemy; but instead of supporting them, withdrew with the *Syracusans*, so that they were all cut in pieces.

He revives the military discipline, and defeats the *Mamertines*.

Having thus purged his army of those mutineers, he revived the military discipline among the *Syracusans*, took other mercenaries more tractable into his service, and by degrees rendered his army formidable both to the *Carthaginians* and *Mamertines*. The latter having invaded the territories of *Syracuse*, *Hiero* marched out against them, and entirely defeated them near *Mylæ*, now *Milazzo*, on the north point of the island. *Cios*, their general, being taken prisoner, and seeing his son's horse in the *Syracusan* camp, conjectured he was slain, and thereupon laid violent hands on himself. The *Mamertines*, by his death, being destitute of a head, *Hiero* invaded their territories, and possessed himself of the cities of *Mylæ*, *Amasela*, *Alæsa*, and *Abacænum*, and then returned loaded with glory and booty to *Syracuse*, where he was unanimously declared king, all the allies soon after acknowleging him as such. This happened seven years after he had been invested with the command of the army *.

He is unanimously declared king of *Syracuse*.

Some time after his accession to the throne, he again defeated the *Mamertines*, and reduced them to such straits, that they begged a conference, and agreed to put *Messana* into his hands, on condition that he would maintain the inhabitants in the possession of their antient rights and privileges, and protect them against any foreign invasion. While *Hiero* was advancing to take possession of the city, *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* general, treacherously prevented him, by amusing him with friendly congratulations, till some troops, which he had kept concealed in the islands of *Lipari*, had reached *Messana*. The *Mamertines* seeing themselves supported with a new reinforcement, deliberated in a general assembly on the measures they should take. Some were for accepting the protection *Carthage* offered them, others for surrendering to *Hiero*; but the greatest part were for calling the *Romans* to their assistance.

The *Mamertines* call in the *Romans*.

Before they fought the last battle with *Hiero*, they had implored the protection of the *Romans*; and the people, at the instigation of the consuls, had promised to comply with their request. The senate, however, considering that the *Sicilians* were only endeavouring to recover a city which the *Mamertines* had taken by the blackest treachery, thought it altogether unworthy of the *Roman* virtue to undertake openly the defence of traitors. But when news was brought to *Rome* that the *Carthaginians* had entered *Messana*, and were in possession of the citadel, the affair was again debated in the senate. The conscript fathers, however, still refused to make any decree

* Justin, l. xxiii. Polyb. l. i.

con-

concerning it; but the people, inflamed by the diſcourſes of the prætors, made a law for granting aſſiſtance to the *Mamertines*, and commanded *Appius Claudius*, one of the conſuls, to attempt the deliverance of *Meſſana*. The *Mamertines*, partly by fraud and partly by open force, drove out the *Carthaginians* from the citadel, and delivered the city to the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians*, when they had firſt crucified their general for his cowardice and ill conduct, made haſte to draw together all their forces to retake *Meſſana*; and ſoon beſieged the place by ſea and land. *Claudius* ſent to *Meſſana*.

Hiero king of *Syracuſe* had already made the neceſſary preparations to beſiege *Meſſana*; but hearing that it was defended by the *Romans*, and on that account thinking himſelf too weak for the enterprize, he offered to enter into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*; who being determined to venture all rather than ſuffer the *Romans* to get any footing in *Sicily*, readily hearkned to his propoſal. A treaty was accordingly concluded between them for driving out the *Romans*, *Meſſana* was to be delivered up to *Hiero*, and ſome places ſubject to *Syracuſe* were to be put into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. In conſequence of this treaty, *Hiero* came with his army before *Meſſana*, and encamped on one ſide of the city, while the *Carthaginians* blocked up the other. *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* jointly beſiege *Meſſana*.

Claudius, a legionary tribune, who commanded the *Romans* in the abſence of the conſul, refuſing to quit *Meſſana* when ſummoned by the *Carthaginian* general, he ordered all the *Italians* who ſerved in his army to be maſſacred. Soon after, the conſul *Appius Claudius* arriving at *Rhegium* with a powerful army, ſent deputies to *Hiero*, conjuring him by his former friendſhip to the *Romans* not to perſiſt in the ſiege of *Meſſana*. Some time before, *Hiero* had not only ſupplied the *Roman* army before *Rhegium* with proviſions, but had alſo ſent ſome troops thither, who aſſiſted in reducing the place, which had been formerly ſeized upon by a revolted legion. As he judged that the *Mamertines* deſerved equally to be extirpated with the *Rhegians*, he anſwered, that the people of *Rome* could not, with equity, take them under their protection, and that he was reſolved to proſecute his deſign.

The conſul having received this anſwer, paſſed the *Straits* in an adventurous manner by night, and was received into *Meſſana*. Finding the place cloſely preſſed on every ſide, he ſent offers of accommodation to both camps, deſiring only that the *Mamertines* might remain unmoleſted. His propoſal being rejected, he drew his forces out of the city, and offered battle to *Hiero*; who readily accepted it. The fight was long and obſtinate; but at laſt the *Romans* obtained the victory. *Hiero* thinking the *Carthaginians* had betrayed him, and ſuffered the *Romans* to enter the iſland on purpoſe to deſtroy him; and beſides, being in great want of proviſions, decamped haſtily in the night, and returned to *Syracuſe*. After his departure, *Appius* *Hiero* defeated by the *Romans*,

attacked

who are at first repulsed by the *Carthaginians.*

attacked the *Carthaginian* camp; but was repulsed with considerable loss. The *Carthaginians*, however, quitting their trenches, and pursuing him, were in their turn defeated by the legions, and driven back to their camp. *Appius* afterwards made several incursions into the territories of *Syracuse*, while the *Carthaginians*, according to *Polybius*, thought proper to quit the siege, and to withdraw into the neighbouring cities. The consul being obliged to return to *Rome*, *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* again took the field, and reduced several cities that had declared for the enemy.

Both consuls sent to *Sicily.*

The *Romans* resolving to support the war in *Sicily* with vigour, sent both consuls thither the following spring with 16,000 legionary troops, and 1200 horse, besides the forces of their allies. The consuls landed their forces in *Sicily*, without meeting with the least opposition from the *Carthaginian* fleet; and at their first arrival, many cities, both of the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusans*, immediately submitted to them. Others they obliged by force to surrender; so that in a few months they reduced no fewer than 67 places, among which were *Taurominium* and *Catana*, two cities of great importance.

A general dread and consternation having spread thro' all the island, and the consuls advancing with all their forces to besiege *Syracuse*, at that time one of the greatest and strongest cities in the world, *Hiero* began to reflect, that if he continued his alliance with the *Carthaginians*, it would draw ruin upon him, as the issue of the war, in all probability, would be determined in favour of the *Romans*. He sent ambassadors, therefore, to the consuls, with proposals for a treaty. The offer was embraced with pleasure by the *Romans*, chiefly for the sake of securing provisions to their army. A treaty was accordingly concluded on the following terms: that the *Romans* should receive *Hiero* into the number of their friends and allies, and protect his dominions from all hostilities whatsoever; that *Hiero*, on the other hand, should deliver up the prisoners he had taken without ransom, and pay the republic 100, or according to *Eutropius*, 200 talents of silver. This agreement was at first only a truce for 15 years; but the conditions were so faithfully performed on both sides, that it lasted as long as *Hiero* lived *.

Hiero concludes an alliance with the *Romans.* Bef. Ch. 261.

His happy reign.

Hiero, from henceforth, saw no hostilities in his dominions, nor had any other share in the present war but that of sending from time to time supplies of provisions to his allies the *Romans*, who gratefully acknowleged his generosity, and protected his dominions from the insults of the *Carthaginians*. He lived upwards of 50 years after his accession to the throne; and while the whole country round him was desolated by the cruel wars which the two most powerful republics in the world made upon

* Polyb. l. i. Justin, l. xxiii. Zonar. l. viii. Eutrop. hist. Rom. l. ii.

each

each other, he and his people enjoyed the ſweets of a profound peace and tranquillity.

Tho' *Hiero* cultivated with the greateſt ſincerity the friendſhip of the *Romans*, yet, after the concluſion of the firſt *Punic* war, when the *Carthaginians*, who had been forced wholly to abandon *Sicily*, were engaged in a moſt dangerous war at home againſt their own mercenaries, he kindly aſſiſted that republic in its greateſt extremity. During the interval of peace between the firſt and ſecond *Punic* war, which was about 25 years, *Hiero*'s ſole application was to make his ſubjects happy. Before his reign, the ſtate had been divided into two factions, the one of the citizens, the other of the ſoldiers; which occaſioned numberleſs calamities to the ſtate. *Hiero*, however, by his prudent and impartial conduct, ſo rooted out all ſeeds of animoſity, that during a reign of 50 years, no revolt or ſedition ever aroſe, or the leaſt commotion either in the army or the city. His particular care was to encourage agriculture, which he looked upon as the certain means to diffuſe abundance among his people. He did not think it unworthy of the ſovereignty to ſtudy that art; and even compoſed a book on that ſubject, of which the loſs is greatly to be regreted. As the chief riches of the country conſiſted in corn, the tenth part of which was paid to the king, *Hiero* made ſuch wiſe and equitable regulations on this head, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were obſerved not only in his reign, but in all ſucceeding times.

He ſtudies the welfare of his people.

He encourages agriculture.

In the ſecond *Punic* war, *Hiero* gave ſignal proofs of his attachment to the *Romans*. As ſoon as he heard that *Hannibal* had entered *Italy*, he ſailed with his fleet to *Meſſana*, and aſſured *Tiberius Sempronius*, the conſul, that old as he was, he would, if the *Romans* thought it neceſſary, croſs over into *Italy* at the head of his troops to their aſſiſtance. He ſupplied the conſuls legions with corn and cloaths at his own expence; but did not leave *Sicily*, as *Sempronius* declared there would be no need of his perſonal aſſiſtance.

His conſtant attachment to the *Romans*.

Hiero's ſincere affection for the *Romans* appeared more conſpicuous, after they had been defeated a third time by *Hannibal*, and were abandoned by many of their allies. He ſent a fleet laden with proviſions to the port of *Oſtia*; and the ambaſſadors who came with the preſent, being introduced to the ſenate, told the conſcript fathers, "That *Hiero*, as their faithful ally, "had ſent them a *victory* of maſſy gold, weighing about 300 "pounds; which he hoped they would receive as a favourable "augury, and a pledge of his vows for their proſperity: that "he had alſo ſent 300,000 modii of wheat, and 200,000 modii "of barley; and if the *Romans* wanted more, he would cauſe "what quantity they pleaſed to be tranſported to ſuch places "as they ſhould appoint: that as he knew they employed "no ſtrangers in their armies, except light armed troops, he "had therefore ſent only 1000 archers and ſlingers." *Hiero*, at the ſame time, adviſed the *Romans* to make a diverſion in

Africa, which would prevent the *Carthaginians* from ſendin ſuccours to *Hannibal*. The *Romans*, touched with the affectio good king *Hiero* ſhewed them, thanked him for his preſent and advice, and ſent him an obliging letter. All the corn an barley on board the ſhips, with the archers and ſlingers, wer ſent to the conſuls. A reinforcement of 25 quinqueremes wa alſo ſent to *T. Otacilius*, who commanded the army in *Sicily* and, purſuant to *Hiero*'s advice, he was empowered to carr the war into *Africa* if he thought proper *.

Hiero prudently judged, that it was neceſſary to hazard ever thing to put a ſtop to the preſent ſuperiority of the *Carthagi nians*, as the fall of *Rome* would ſoon be followed with the ruin o *Syracuſe*. *Valerius Maximus* commends the noble and polite libe rality of *Hiero*, who did not offer the *Romans* 300 pounds weigh of gold in ſpecie, as being well acquainted with their delicac in that point; but ſent it under the form of a victory, whic they could not refuſe on account of the good omen it ſeeme to bring along with it.

His generoſity to the *Rhodians*.

His generoſity did not confine itſelf ſolely to the *Romans*. H ſent 100 talents to the *Rhodians*, with other rich preſents, afte the great earthquake, which laid waſte their iſland, and threw down the famous coloſſus. He moreover cauſed two ſtatues t be erected in the market-place at *Rhodes*, repreſenting the peo ple of *Syracuſe* placing a crown on the head of the *Rhodians* as if, ſays *Polybius*, *Hiero*, after making the people magnificen preſents, believed himſelf indebted to them.

Theocritus, indeed, in one of his paſtorals, entitled *Hiero* ſeems to reproach the king as if he had not acknowleged, i an handſome manner, the verſes made in his commendation But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for his poetry, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation o avarice falls with more juſtice on the poet than the prince.

His public works.

Tho' *Hiero* ſeemed entirely employed in maintaining th peace and tranquillity of his kingdom, he did not, however neglect matters relating to war. To him the *Syracuſans* were indebted for thoſe amazing warlike engines which they mad uſe of when beſieged by the *Romans*. He cauſed palaces, tem ples, arſenals, and many other public buildings to be erected i *Syracuſe* under the direction of *Archimedes*, which were th greateſt ornaments of that ſtately metropolis. An infinite num ber of ſhips were alſo built by his orders for the exportatio of corn, in which the greateſt riches of the iſland conſiſted

The wonderful gally built by his order.

We are told of a galley built by him, which was one of th wonders of the age. This ſhip, which was built under the di rection of *Archimedes*, had twenty benches of oars, and all th conveniencies of a large palace. It contained three ſpacious apartments, the floors of one of which were inlaid, and repre ſented in various colours the ſtories of *Homer*'s Iliad. The ciel

* Liv. l. xxi.

ings

ings, windows, and all other parts, were embelliſhed with all kinds of ornaments. In the uppermoſt apartment there was a ſpacious gymnaſium, or place of exerciſe; and walks with gardens and plants of all kinds diſpoſed in beautiful order, which were refreſhed with water conveyed to them thro' pipes, ſome of hardened clay, and others of lead. But the fineſt of the apartments was that of *Venus*; the floors of which were inlaid with agats and other precious ſtones, the inſide was lined with *Cypreſs* wood, and the windows adorned with ivory, paintings, and ſmall ſtatues. In this apartment there was a library, and a bath with three great coppers, and a bathing-veſſel made of one ſingle ſtone of various colours, and containing 250 quarts. It was ſupplied with water from a great reſervoir at the head of the ſhip, which held 100,000 quarts. On all ſides, the ſhip was adorned with fine paintings, and had eight towers of equal dimenſions, each of which was conſtantly guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. Round theſe towers were parapets, whence ſtones might be diſcharged againſt the enemy's veſſels when they approached; and to the ſide of the veſſel was faſtened an engine, made by *Archimedes*, which threw a ſtone of 300 weight, and an arrow 18 feet long, to the diſtance of 125 feet. Tho' the hold of this veſſel was exceeding deep, a ſingle man might nevertheleſs ſoon clear it of water with a machine invented by *Archimedes*. *Hiero* rewarded an *Athenian* poet with 6000 buſhels of wheat for ſome verſes he had compoſed on this magnificent veſſel. Hereafterwards made a preſent of the veſſel to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*; and as there was at that time a great famine in *Egypt*, he ſent along with it a fleet of tranſports with 300,000 quarters of corn, 10,000 great earthen jars of ſalt fiſh, 20,000 quintals of ſalted fleſh, and an immenſe quantity of other proviſions *. His preſents to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*.

After the battle of *Cannæ*, when the *Romans*, who had been totally defeated, loſt their *Italian* allies, the *Carthaginians* landed a great many troops in *Sicily*, and made a dreadful havock in the territories of *Syracuſe*. Nothing, however, could ſhake the king's conſtancy. His greateſt concern was to ſee ſome, even of his own family, favour the *Carthaginians*. His ſon *Gelon*, who married *Nereis* the daughter of *Pyrrhus*, deſpiſing his father's wholeſome advice, and looking upon the *Romans* as already ſubdued by *Hannibal*, openly declared for the *Carthaginians*. He had already armed the multitude, and ſtirred up the allies of *Syracuſe* to join him; but his meaſures were broken by an unexpected death, which happened ſo ſeaſonably, that his father was ſuſpected to have been privy to it. *Hiero* himſelf died ſoon after, in the 90th year of his age, and 54th of his reign, infinitely regreted by his ſubjects, and no leſs by the *Romans*, who loſt in him a moſt conſtant friend. His death.

* Athenæus, l. v.

The good old king, who had more at heart the happineſs of his people than the aggrandizing of his family, had formed a deſign, ſome time before his death, of aboliſhing monarchy, and reſtoring the *Syracuſans* to their antient liberty. His only heirs were his grandſon *Hieronymus*, the ſon of *Gelon*, and two daughters, *Demarata* and *Heraclea*; the former married to *Andranodorus*, and the latter to *Zoipus*, two of the greateſt lords of the kingdom. *Hieronymus* was not 15 years of age; and *Heraclea* being married to a huſband of republican principles, ſeldom went to court, and was at no pains to diſſuade her father from his intention. But *Demarata* and her huſband being both very ambitious, ſhe never ceaſed to importune the king not to deprive his grandſon of a crown that was due to him by right of inheritance. The old man of 90, not being able to hold out againſt the careſſes, tears, and entreaties of a daughter, at laſt made a will, and bequeathed the crown to his grandſon. To prevent, as far as poſſible, the evils he apprehended, he appointed him 15 guardians, who were to form his council; earneſtly deſiring them at his death never to depart from the alliance with the *Romans*, to teach the young prince to abſtain from pomp and oſtentation, and to inſtill into his mind the ſame principles by which he had acted during his whole reign.

Hieronymus ſucceeds him.

The king's will being read immediately after his death in a general aſſembly, was liked but by a very few, who were gained over by the court, and artfully placed in ſeveral parts of the aſſembly, to ſhew their approbation by ſhouts. None, however, had courage enough to proteſt againſt it; and therefore the aſſembly broke up, without either openly contradicting or accepting the will. *Andranodorus* thinking the young prince ſecurely ſeated on the throne, becauſe he ſaw no oppoſition, ſoon began to take ſuch meaſures as plainly diſcovered his ambitious views. Under pretence that the young prince was of age to take the reins of government into his own hands, he removed all the other guardians, and by this means in a manner uſurped the ſupreme power, *Hieronymus* being entirely under his direction.

His vices and cruelty.

The new king ſeemed to take pleaſure in increaſing the ſorrow of the people for the loſs of *Hiero*. Inſtead of allowing them free acceſs to him at all times, and applying himſelf to redreſs their grievances, he never gave audience but with an air of contempt, and often added ſevere jeſts to his denials. He reaſſumed the purple, and diadem, and never appeared in public, but in a chariot drawn by white horſes, and ſurrounded by a troop of guards. His guardians were with great difficulty ſuffered to approach him; and giving himſelf up to all manner of debauchery, he had no confidents but the miniſters of his pleaſures. His cruelty was no ways inferior even to that of *Agathocles*, and ſeemed to have extinguiſhed in him all ſenſe of humanity. Both people and nobles being univerſally alarmed at his proceedings, ſome of his

guardians

guardians even laid violent hands on themſelves to avoid ſeeing the vices of their ward, and others voluntarily withdrew from their country.

Only three men of diſtinction continued at court; namely, *Hiero*'s two ſons-in-law, and *Thraſo*, ſurnamed *Charchus*. The latter, tho' a true courtier, and one who readily complied with all the inclinations of the prince, was at the ſame time a cunning ſtateſman, and underſtood better than any other his maſter's true intereſt. He was a zealous advocate for the *Romans*; but the other two thinking them already conquered, openly declared for the *Carthaginians*, and brought the king to favour their opinion. A melancholy accident ſoon determined him to chuſe the worſt part. One *Sölis*, a man of a mean condition, who had ſerved the king from his infancy, diſcovered a conſpiracy againſt him; but could name none of the conſpirators, except *Theodotus*, who was put to the torture, in order to make him diſcover the whole plot. *Theodotus*, when on the rack, confeſſed the crime as to himſelf; but inſtead of naming his accomplices, accuſed all the king's beſt friends, tho' innocent; and among others *Thraſo*, as the ringleader of the whole enterpriſe. He perſiſted to the laſt breath in accuſing the innocent; and his accomplices depended ſo much on his ſecrecy, that none of them left the city, or abſconded, during the whole time he was kept in priſon and racked. His depoſition being believed, all the intereſt *Thraſo* had at court could not ſave his life.

Factions at court in favour of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*.

Upon the death of *Thraſo*, the king openly declared for the *Carthaginians*, and ſent ambaſſadors to their general in *Italy*. *Hannibal* received them with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and ſent an embaſſy to *Hieronymus*. *Claudius Pulcher*, the *Roman* prætor in *Sicily*, took umbrage at the arrival of the *Carthaginian* ambaſſadors, and immediately ſent deputies to *Syracuſe*, to renew the alliance made with king *Hiero*. Before their arrival, however, the *Carthaginians* had given *Hieronymus* ſuch high notions of *Hannibal*'s victories, that he had reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to *Carthage*. When the *Roman* deputies were admitted to an audience, they began their ſpeech with explaining the motives of their deputation. *Hieronymus*, who was naturally given to raillery, interrupted them, and ſaid, "I will "aſk you but one queſtion; who were conquerors at *Cannæ*, "you or the *Carthaginians*? I am told ſuch ſurprizing things "of that battle, that I ſhould be glad to know all the particu-"lars of it." The *Romans*, tho' piqued at this ſevere reproach, only made him this reply, That when he would pleaſe to be ſerious, they would deſire another audience. At their next audience, which happened a few days after, they addreſſed him with a haughty air, and adviſed him not to change ſides too raſhly, leſt he ſhould ſoon have occaſion to repent of his conduct. To this the king replied, with an inſulting air, "Yes, "indeed, I ſuppoſe it was out of pure friendſhip that the *Ro-*"*mans*, upon a falſe report of my grandfather's death, brought

The king propoſes an alliance with the *Carthaginians*.

He receives the *Roman* ambaſſadors with contempt.

" their fleet in ſight of *Syracuſe*. Did they deſign to make
" themſelves maſters of my dominions, or to protect them?"
The ambaſſadors endeavoured to aſſure him, that it was with
a ſincere deſign to aſſiſt him; but he, with an air of raillery,
only replied, " Since then you could tack about, give me
" leave, in my turn, to take advantage of the wind. It is
" now ſet for *Carthage*, and thither I ſhall ſail." The depu-
ties then withdrew; and from this time *Rome* looked upon the
king of *Syracuſe* as her enemy.

Enters into an alliance with *Carthage*.

Hieronymus, ſoon after, concluded a treaty with the *Carthaginians* on the following conditions: that the *Carthaginian* ſhould aſſiſt *Hieronymus* with a fleet and land army; and that after they had, with their joint forces, driven the *Romans* out of the iſland, it ſhould be divided equally betwixt him and the *Carthaginians*. Two of the *Carthaginian* deputies, who were *Syracuſans* by deſcent, tho' born at *Carthage*, repreſented to the king how prejudicial the ſecond article might prove to him; and alleging that his right to all *Sicily* was indiſputable, they prevailed on him to ſend a ſecond embaſſy to *Carthage*. His ambaſſadors now urged his right to the whole iſland, and propoſed only an alliance for mutual aſſiſtance; to which the *Carthaginians* conſented. Half *Sicily*, at this time, was in the hands of the *Romans*, the *Carthaginian* part of the iſland having been ſurrendered to them upon the concluſion of the firſt *Punic* war; therefore they were in a condition to be dreaded by the *Syracuſans*. *Hieronymus*, however, when again deſired to enter into an alliance with them, returned this unpolite and provoking anſwer, " Let the *Romans* reſtore all the gold, pre-
" ſents, and corn that they drew from my grandfather, and
" conſent that the river *Himera* be the common boundary be-
" tween us, and I will renew the antient treaties with them.

The *Romans* begin hoſtilities againſt the *Syracuſans*.

The *Roman* prætor, finding the king inflexible, began hoſtilities in the territory of *Syracuſe*; and *Hieronymus*, aſſembling about 15,000 men, marched to *Leontium*, where he fixed his head quarters, ſending a detachment from thence of 2000 men to diſlodge ſome *Roman* garriſons. Mean while, the conſpirators, whoſe names *Theodotus* had concealed, even in the midſt of torments, took an opportunity of murdering him in the ſtreets of *Leontium*. The army, which was encamped without the walls, hearing of his death, cried out, that the aſſaſſins ought all to be ſacrificed to his manes; but the ſweet name of liberty, with which the conſpirators filled the city and camp ſoon appeaſed their reſentment.

Hieronymus murdered. Bef. Ch. 208.

The king was no ſooner dead, but *Soſis* and *Theodotus*, two of the conſpirators, haſtened to *Syracuſe*, to prevent the attempts of *Andranodorus*, and the others of the king's faction. *Andranodorus*, however, having notice of what had happened before their arrival, ſeized on the citadel and the iſland of *Ortygia*, and filled them with troops. Some writers are of opinion, that *Claudius*, the *Roman* prætor, was not entirely unconcerned in the plot againſt the king. But however that be, he did not

fail to give the ſenate immediate advice of all that had paſſed, and to take the neceſſary ſteps for the ſecurity of his province.

The two conſpirators entering the quarter of the city called *Tyche* about ſun-ſet, ſhewed the people the king's diadem and bloody robes; which drawing great crowds of the inhabitants round them, they invited the citizens to meet in *Acradina*, which was, as it were, the heart of the city, to take proper meaſures for the recovery of their liberty. The whole city declaring for the conſpirators, lights were ſeen in all parts; and the citizens arming themſelves with the greateſt diſpatch, took poſt in all the avenues leading to the citadel. *Andranodorus* attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of the public granaries; but the ſoldiers, whom he employed on this occaſion, revolted from him, and delivered them to the magiſtrates of the city. Freſh diſturbances in *Syracuſe*.

Next morning all the inhabitants of *Syracuſe* crowded into *Acradina*, where the ſenate was aſſembled for the firſt time ſince *Hiero*'s death. *Polyænus*, an illuſtrious citizen, addreſſed the people with great freedom and moderation, and adviſed them not to involve themſelves in civil diſcord with too great precipitation, but to deſire *Andranodorus* to reſign the citadel to the public magiſtrates. Deputies were accordingly ſent to him, with whom he entered into a conference; and reflecting on the hazard and difficulty of his undertaking, he ſeemed inclined to agree to their demand. His wife *Demarata*, however, taking him aſide, and repeating a ſaying of *Dionyſius* the tyrant, *That no man ought to quit a throne, till he is dragged from it by the heels*, adviſed him to demand time to conſider, and in the mean while to endeavour to gain the troops at *Leontium*, by promiſing them half the king's treaſures. *Andranodorus*, thinking it impracticable to put this counſel in execution, judged it moſt prudent to ſubmit; and accordingly next morning threw open the gates of *Ortygia*, and repairing to the market-place of *Acradina*, where the people were aſſembled, mounted the tribunal of harangues. After excuſing his delay from the apprehenſions he had been under, of being involved in the tyrant's puniſhment, he declared that he was come to put his life and fortune into the hands of the ſenate. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occaſion; and the reſt of the day was ſpent in feaſting and returning thanks to the gods for ſo happy a change. *Andranodorus* ſubmits to the ſenate.

On the morrow, the chief magiſtrates for governing the ſtate were elected by the people. They choſe *Andranodorus*, with the chief conſpirators, two of whom, *Soſipater* and *Dinomanes*, had ſeized on the military cheſt at *Leontium*, and cauſed it to be removed to *Syracuſe*, where treaſurers were appointed to take care of all the effects of the late king. The *Syracuſans*, as a ſign of their having entirely recovered their liberty, cauſed the wall to be beat down between *Acradina* and *Ortygia*, which was the retreat of their kings.

Hippocrates and *Epicydes*, two agents of *Hannibal*, whom *Hieronymus* had placed at the head of his troops, endeavoured

at first to conceal the king's death; but finding that impossible, and being abandoned by the troops, they came to *Syracuse*. Observing that the *Syracusans* no longer favoured them, they begged leave to return to *Italy*, and to be escorted thither, that they might not fall into the hands of the *Romans*. The magistrates being too dilatory in appointing the time for their departure, they found means to form a party against the senate of *Syracuse* and against *Rome*, stirring up the soldiers to rebellion, by telling them, that the senate designed to deliver up the state to the *Romans*, and sacrifice the public good to their private ambition. *Andranodorus* was not a stranger to the private cabals which they held at their lodgings, being continually spirited up by his ambitious wife to re-establish monarchy, and place himself on the throne.

The *Carthaginian* ambassadors beg leave to depart.

A plot formed by them,

Having consulted with *Themistus*, who had married the late king's sister, he was encouraged by him to form a design for usurping the supreme power, *Themistus* readily promising him his assistance. Their plot was soon after discovered by the imprudence of *Themistus*, who trusted the secret to one of his intimates named *Aristo*. He discovering the conspiracy to the chief magistrates or prætors, they privately passed sentence of death upon *Andranodorus* and *Themistus*, upon his deposition alone, and ordered some of the guards to fall upon them at the door of the senate-house. They were accordingly slain as they were entering the senate; which struck the other senators with great consternation. The prætors, however, introducing *Aristo* into the assembly, he made a full discovery of the designs of the conspirators. He told them, that the *Iberian* and *African* mercenaries were to have been the instruments of the intended resolution, and to have been employed in assassinating the chief citizens of *Syracuse*, whose estates they were to have for their reward.

but discovered to the senate.

The populace, in the mean time, not knowing for what reason two citizens of distinction had been so unexpectedly put to death, threatned to revenge the violence offered them. *Sopater*, however, by order of the senate, haranguing the multitude, and opening up to them the designs of the conspirators, he so inflamed their minds, that they cried out, that none of the royal family ought to be suffered to live. This cruel sentence was no sooner passed by the people, but the prætors, who ought to have checked the fury of the multitude, ordered it to be put in execution. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* being slain, the executioners went afterwards to the house of *Heraclea*, the wife of *Zoipus*, who was absent on an embassy at the court of *Egypt*. During his abode there, *Heraclea* spent her days in retirement, wholly employed in the education of the two young princesses her daughters, and had not the least concern in the conspiracy. She represented her innocence to the executioners, and entreated to be banished to her husband; but her entreaties making no impression on them, they first stabbed her in the sight of her daughters, and then dispatched them, already

Sentence of death passed on all the royal family.

ready ſtained and covered with the blood of their mother. They were ſcarce dead, when an order came from the people to ſuſpend the execution. When they underſtood that the innocent princeſſes were already executed, they exclaimed with the utmoſt rage and fury againſt the magiſtrates, who had been ſo ready to put that cruel ſentence in execution, without allowing them time to reflect on the injuſtice of it. Compaſſion for the unfortunate *Heraclea*, had greatly abated the hatred of the people to the king's party; ſo that the two ambaſſadors of *Hannibal*, who were originally *Syracuſans*, prevailed ſo much with the unſteady populace, that inſtead of leaving *Sicily*, they were choſen prætors at the next election, in the room of *Andranodorus* and *Themiſtus*.

Epicydes and *Hippocrates* elected prætors.

All theſe diſturbances were fomented by *Hannibal*, who thereby expected both to ſecure his conqueſts in *Italy*, and give *Carthage* an opportunity of recovering her antient dominions in *Sicily*, which were now in poſſeſſion of the *Romans*, and divided by them into two provinces, under the government of two prætors. As the *Carthaginians* would probably ſend hither a numerous army from *Africa*, the *Romans* now ordered *Marcellus* to tranſport the army he commanded at *Nola* into *Sicily*, and aſſiſt the two prætors, *Appius Claudius* and *Cornelius Lentulus*. The greateſt part of the *Syracuſan* prætors were ſtill inclined to keep up a good underſtanding with *Rome*, and ſent deputies to *Claudius* to renew the antient treaties between the ſirous of two republics. *Claudius* came to no concluſion with them, but an allireferred the whole matter to the conſul *Marcellus*; who, upon ance with his arrival, having heard their propoſals, and finding them ad- the *Ro*vantageous to his republic, diſpatched an embaſſy to *Syracuſe mans*, to confirm the treaty.

The *Syracuſans* deſire

The *Roman* ambaſſadors found the ſtate of affairs much altered; for the emiſſaries of *Hannibal* having induſtriouſly ſpread a report, that a *Carthaginian* fleet appeared off cape *Pachynum*, gave new confidence to the enemies of *Rome*. Beſides, *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, among their other artifices to create an averſion of the *Romans*, inſinuated by means of the mercenaries and *Roman* deſerters, that *Syracuſe* was to be delivered up to the *Romans*, and that the deſign was carrying on by the prætors, who had ſold themſelves to *Rome*. Some ſhips of *Otacilius* drawing near to *Syracuſe*, confirmed theſe ſuſpicions; and the populace, at the inſtigation of *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, ran to arms, to oppoſe the pretended deſcent of the *Romans*.

but prevented by *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates*,

In this confuſion, the wiſeſt among the prætors thought proper to ſummon an aſſembly of the people. Hot debates aroſe; but the minds of the aſſembly were at laſt ſomewhat compoſed, by a ſpeech made to them by *Apollonides*, one of the principal ſenators, who having warmly exhorted them to union among themſelves, adviſed them to declare for the *Romans*. The people, greatly moved by his diſcourſe, ordered that a certain number of military officers ſhould be joined in commiſſion with the prætors, and the chief men in the ſenate to deliberate

on his propoſal. The council determining that *Syracuſe* had no juſt reaſon to break with *Rome*, it was declared, that the treaty of peace concluded with the *Romans* ſhould be continued, and an embaſſy ſent to *Marcellus* to renew it. The conſul, however, would not accept of the alliance, unleſs *Leontium*, and the other cities that had been ſubject to the kings, were included in the treaty. A few days after, the *Leontines* being haraſſed by their neighbours, ſolicited aid of the *Syracuſans*; who thinking this a favourable opportunity to free their city of a turbulent, unruly multitude, willingly granted their requeſt, and ſent *Hippocrates* thither at the head of the mercenaries and *Roman* deſerters, to the number of 4000 men. *Hippocrates* earneſtly deſiring to embroil matters between *Rome* and *Syracuſe*, was not content to defend the *Leontines* againſt their enemies;

who begin hoſtilities againſt the *Romans*,

but made incurſions into the *Roman* province, and laid waſte the lands belonging to *Rome*. *Appius Claudius*, not being able to bear the inſults of *Hippocrates*, poſted his troops in different places on the frontiers of his province, with orders to oppoſe the *Syracuſan* prætor, and to repell force by force. This was what *Hippocrates* wanted; and accordingly pretending that the *Romans* were come to attack him, he fell upon one of the detachments of *Appius*, and cut the whole body to pieces. *Marcellus*, upon advice of theſe proceedings, repreſented to the *Syracuſans*, that if they expected peace with *Rome*, they muſt expell *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*. The *Syracuſans* ſhewed great readineſs to comply with the conſul's requeſt, and ordered *Epicydes* to be ſeized; but he fled to his collegue at *Leontium*, and they both together uſed their utmoſt endeavours to embroil the *Leontines* with the *Syracuſans*. This city had formerly been an independant ſtate, and was now inclined to throw off the

and are elected generals of the *Leontines*.

yoke of the *Syracuſans*. The diſcourſes of *Epicydes* being reliſhed by the *Leontines*, they declared him and *Hippocrates* their generals; and when the *Syracuſans* ſent and complained of the hoſtilities committed againſt the *Romans*, and demanded that *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates* ſhould be expelled *Sicily*, they received only this proud anſwer, That the republic of *Leontium* had not impowered that of *Syracuſe* to comprehend her in their alliance with the *Romans*.

The *Syracuſans* offer to aſſiſt *Marcellus*, who takes *Leontium*.

The *Syracuſans* now deſired *Marcellus* to attack the *Leontines*, and even offered to aſſiſt him, on condition, that when the city was reduced, it ſhould again be ſubject to *Syracuſe*. *Marcellus*, before he was joined by the *Syracuſans*, took *Leontium* by ſtorm; but *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* ſaved themſelves in the citadel. From thence they withdrew the night following, and retired to *Herbeſſus*, near the *Syracuſan* territories. Hearing that 8000 *Syracuſans* were marching to join *Marcellus*, they ſent ſome men of their faction to them, who pretended that they had eſcaped from the general ſlaughter at *Leontium*; which city the *Romans* had burnt to the ground, after putting all the inhabitants to death. *Marcellus* had, indeed, cauſed 2000 *Roman* deſerters, found in the place, to be beheaded; but had treated

both

both the inhabitants and the mercenary troops with his usual clemency. However, the false report made such an impression upon the *Syracusan* troops, that their officers could not prevail on them to march any farther. Soon after, discovering the cheat put upon them, they resolved to be revenged, and began their march to *Herbessus*, whither *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had retired. These two chiefs of the *Carthaginian* party, took the desperate resolution of leaving their asylum, and throwing themselves upon the mercy of the soldiers. It happened, luckily for them, that a body of *Cretans*, who were greatly attached to the *Carthaginians*, were marching at the head of the *Syracusan* army. These *Cretans* had formerly served under the *Romans*; but being taken prisoners at the battle of *Thrasymenus*, had been kindly treated by *Hannibal*, and sent home without ransom. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* addressing themselves to them as suppliants, with olive-branches, the *Cretans* immediately took them under their protection; and when the generals ordered the two prisoners to be put in irons, they unanimously refused to obey their commands.

Hippocrates and *Epicydes* received by the *Syracusan* army.

Hippocrates and *Epicydes* being now safe, invented a stratagem, worthy of *Hannibal* himself, to promote the *Carthaginian* interest. They counterfeited a letter from the two generals to *Marcellus*, in the following terms: Sosis *and* Diomenes *to the consul* Marcellus, *greeting. We are overjoyed to hear that you have put all the* Leontines *to the sword, especially the mercenaries. Our republic will never be at rest while we have any of these foreigners among us. Turn then your arms towards* Megara,, *and deliver* Syracuse *from the mercenaries we command.* This letter being designedly intercepted, and read to the soldiers, they immediately ran to arms, and would have fallen on their generals, if they had not saved themselves by flight to *Syracuse*, whither the calumny followed. For *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* having corrupted one of the soldiers who had been shut up in *Leontium*, sent him away to *Syracuse*, where, as an eye-witness, he gave a large account of the pretended cruelties of *Marcellus*. Having confirmed his relation with an oath before the senate, the greatest part of the *Syracusans* were so filled with jealousy, that they caused the gates of the city to be shut, and guarded against the *Romans* as an enemy whose avarice and cruelty could spare nothing.

Hippocrates and *Epicydes*, in the mean time, having made themselves masters of the army, so incensed them against their generals, that they even wanted to fall upon the few *Syracusan* troops that served among them; but the two *Carthaginians* reflecting that the massacre of those innocent men would have exasperated the *Syracusans*, stopped the fury of the mercenaries. They soon after arrived before *Syracuse*, and prevailed on one of the officers of the guards to open the gates; declaring, that their only design was to defend the city against the *Romans*. Some part of the army was already entered, when the *Syracu-*

san

They enter *Syracuſe* by ſurprize.

ſan prætors haſtening to the gate, commanded it to be ſhut but the ſoldiers without, and the populace within, conſpiring together, the few *Syracuſan* troops that were then under arms could not prevent the whole army from entering the city, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the quarter called *Tyche*. They ſoon after forced *Acradina*, and maſſacred all the prætors that were there, except *Soſis*, who eſcaped in the tumult, and took ſanctuary in the *Roman* camp. Thus the two partizans of *Carthage* became maſters of *Syracuſe*, where they ruled in as arbitrary and deſpotic manner, as any of the former tyrants. Foreſeeing that *Marcellus* would ſoon lay ſiege to the city, they neglected nothing that was neceſſary to put it in a poſture of defence, and prevailed on the blind multitude to elect them as the only prætors, thereby confirming the ſovereignty they had uſurped.

Are declared prætors.

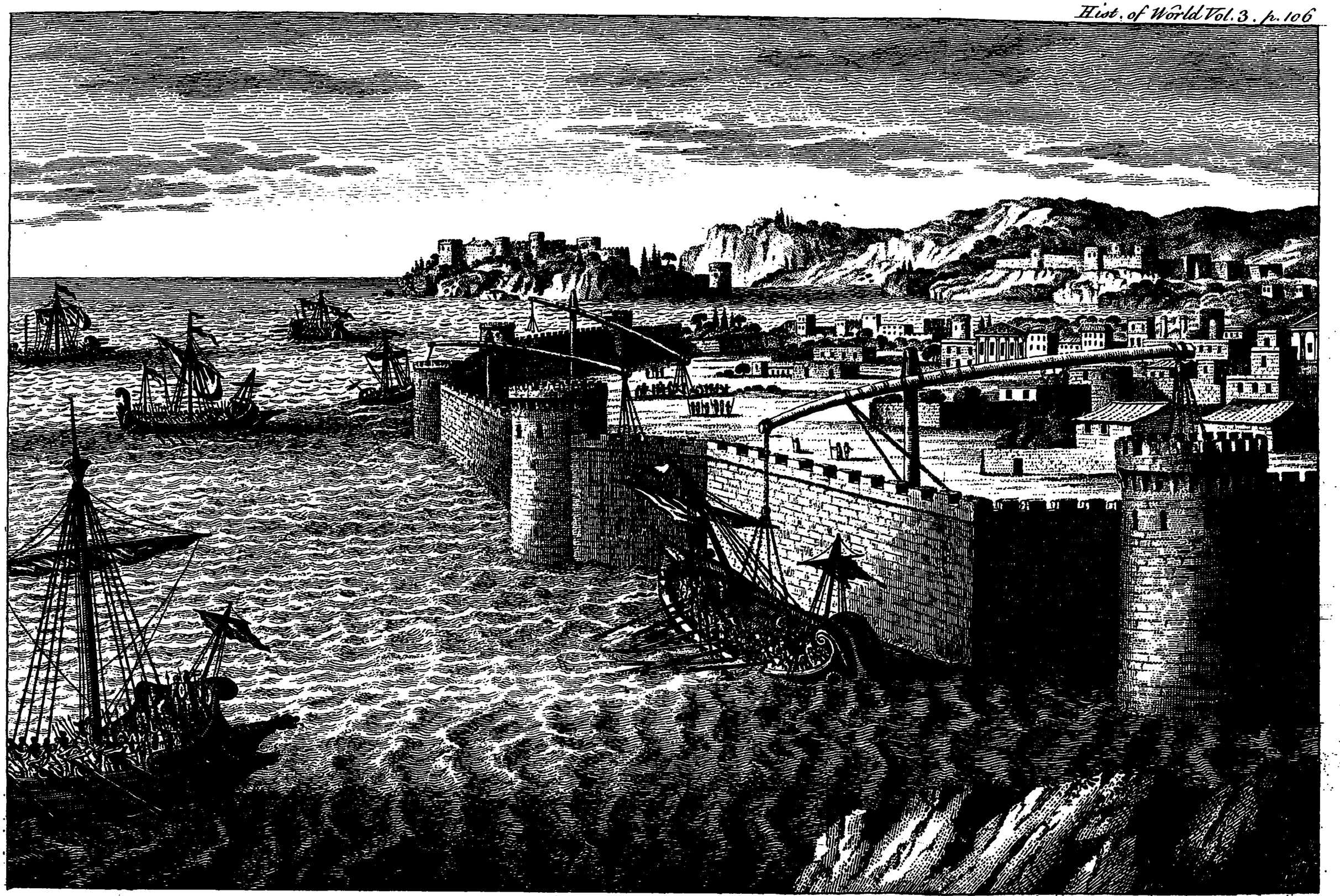
Marcellus, ſoon after, inveſted *Syracuſe*; but the prætor *Appius* ſtill endeavoured to bring about an accommodation, in which he was unſucceſsful; the *Syracuſans* having ſeized one of his gallies, which was eſcorting the embaſſadors. The conſul, however, ſent a ſecond embaſſy to the city from his camp. The *Syracuſan* prætors, not caring to admit the *Romans* into the city, came out to meet them with a numerous attendance.

Marcellus inveſts *Syracuſe*.

The *Romans* declared, that if the *Syracuſans* would ſuffer their magiſtrates, who had taken ſhelter in the *Roman* camp, to return and live at home quietly; if they delivered up into the conſuls hands the authors of the late ſlaughter, and reſtored the city to its antient liberty, *Marcellus* would make no uſe of arms; but if they did not comply with theſe juſt demands, they ſhould be obliged to treat them as enemies. To this *Hippocrates* haughtily replied, that if they intended to beſiege *Syracuſe*, they ſhould ſoon be made ſenſible of the difference between that city and *Leontium*; and that as for their demands, they would grant none of them.

Archimedes defends *Syracuſe* with his ſurprizing machines.

Marcellus, therefore, determined to beſiege the place by ſea and land; and hoping to gain it by ſtorm, ordered a general aſſault. The city being 22 miles in compaſs, *Marcellus* was in hopes of finding ſome weak place in ſo vaſt a compaſs of walls, and cauſed machines of various ſorts to be raiſed round it; but, to his great ſurprize, he found all places equally defended by the admirable art of a ſingle man. This was the celebrated *Archimedes*, who, at the requeſt of king *Hiero*, to whom he was related, had framed ſuch engines of war, as quite diſconcerted the meaſures of the *Romans*. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, finding how uſeful both the machines and the contriver might prove at ſo critical a conjuncture, prevailed on that great mathematician to undertake the defence of his country; and to his genius alone it was owing that the city held out near three years againſt the utmoſt efforts of a conſular army. The *Roman* fleet conſiſted of 60 quinqueremes, beſides a far greater number of other ſhips. In order to drive the beſieged from their ramparts, *Marcellus* invented a very formidable machine, which was called Sambuça, from its reſemblance to a muſical inſtrument



Corvus / or Crane / of Archimedes according to Polybius & Plutarch for Seizing & lifting Ships out of Water.

inſtrument of that name. It was built on eight gallies of different lengths, which were faſtened together ſideways, and made but one large body, rowed only by the oars of the two outermoſt gallies. The machine was raiſed on this float higher than the higheſt towers of the walls, and had at the top a platform guarded with parapets in front and on each ſide. As this machine was advancing ſlowly towards the walls, when the general attack was given, *Archimedes* diſcharged from one of his engines a vaſt ſtone weighing, according to *Plutarch*, 1250 pounds (A), then a ſecond, and immediately after a third; and all of them falling upon the ſambuca, not only broke its ſupports, but parted the gallies; ſo that it tumbled down with a dreadful noiſe. At the ſame time ſeveral other machines, which could not be perceived by the *Romans*, played inceſſantly upon their ſhips, and overwhelmed them with ſhowers of ſtones, rafters, and beams pointed with iron; ſo that *Marcellus* was forced, with all poſſible haſte, to retire, ordering the land forces alſo to retreat; for their ranks were broken, and they were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion by the ſtones and darts, which flew with ſuch noiſe and rapidity, that they ſtruck the *Romans* with terror, and daſhed all to pieces before them *. The *Romans*, not daunted with this unexpected misfortune, next day, before ſun-riſe, brought up their fleet cloſe under the walls, hoping that the enemy could not then annoy them. *Archimedes*, however, having prepared engines adapted to all diſtances, now overwhelmed them with a new ſhower of darts and ſtones, which falling perpendicularly on their heads, obliged them to retire with the utmoſt precipitation. As they advanced to ſea, a new ſhower of darts overtook them, while ſtones of an immenſe weight either diſabled or broke in pieces moſt of their gallies. What moſt haraſſed the *Romans* in the attack by ſea, was a ſort of crow with iron claws, faſtened to a very long chain, which was let down with a kind of lever. By this machine, which took hold of the gallies in different manners, the beſieged ſometimes drew them on ſhore, and daſhed them to pieces againſt the rocks which projected under the walls. At other times they lifted the ſhips quite up into the air, and after whirling them about with incredible rapidity, let them fall into the ſea, where they ſunk, with all that was in them.

The *Romans* obliged to retire with loſs.

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* Liv. l. xxiv. Polyb. Plut. in Marcel.

(A) Some, not without reaſon, queſtion this account of *Plutarch*, and adhere to *Polybius*, who reduces the ſtones thrown by the engines of *Archimedes*, to the weight of ten pounds. This again ſeems too ſmall for the effect aſcribed to them. Some, therefore, inferring from various paſſages of *Suidas*, *Pollux*, and *Feſtus*, that the talent of *Sicily* was near ten pounds, have concluded the ſtones to be about 100 weight each, that is, ten talents.

In

The *Romans* struck with terror.

In the ſecond attack, the land-forces ſuffered no leſs than the fleet. When the whole army was formed, the laſt files, as well as the firſt, were overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts and flints, againſt which they could not poſſibly defend themſelves. Their mantelets and covered galleries were broke to pieces; and if any brave ſoldier ventured to draw near to the wall, iron hooks were immediately let down from above, which taking hold of his cloaths, or ſome part of his body, lifted him up in the air, and daſhed out his brains with the fall. Thus one ſingle man repulſed two *Roman* armies by mere dint of genius, without having any occaſion to make uſe of the ſword. The *Romans* were ſo terrified, if that they only ſpied a ſmall cord, or piece of wood, above the walls, they immediately fled, crying, that *Archimedes* was going to diſcharge ſome terrible engine upon them.

The ſiege turned into a blockade.

Marcellus and *Claudius* ſeeing their troops thus diſheartened, and having no hopes of making a breach in the walls, turned the ſiege into a blockade, *Marcellus*, in the mean time, marching off with two thirds of the army, to reduce thoſe cities that had revolted from the *Romans*. *Elorum* and *Herbeſſus* ſubmitting without oppoſition, were kindly treated by the conqueror; but *Megara* having ſtood a ſiege, was taken and razed to the ground. After the conſul had reduced a great many cities without oppoſition, *Hamilco* entered the port of *Heraclea* with a numerous fleet ſent from *Carthage*, and landed 20,000 foot and 3000 horſe, and 12 elephants. Soon after his arrival, he retook *Agrigentum* from the *Romans*, with ſeveral other cities lately reduced by *Marcellus*, which filled the *Syracuſan* garriſon with great hopes, and an eager deſire to join him. *Hippocrates* accordingly, in the night, broke through the *Roman* lines with 10,000 foot and 500 horſe, and advanced to *Acrillæ*, a ſmall town to the ſouth of *Syracuſe*. *Marcellus*, in the mean time, was returning with his army to *Syracuſe*, and as he approached *Acrillæ*, perceived the enemy buſy in fortifying their camp. While they were not expecting an enemy, he fell upon them before they had time to draw up, and cut 8000 of them in pieces. *Hippocrates* with the cavalry, and a ſmall body of infantry, eſcaped to *Acræ*, within 24 miles of *Syracuſe*; *Marcellus* advancing to the capital, kept it more cloſely blocked up than ever.

Hamilco arrives at *Sicily* with a powerful fleet and army.

Hippocrates defeated by *Marcellus*.

The two contending republics being reſolved to make their utmoſt efforts in *Sicily*, both the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* in the iſland received reinforcements. *Bomilcar* arrived at *Syracuſe* with a fleet of 50 ſail; and about the ſame time a *Roman* legion landed at *Panormus*; and ſoon after, by marching along the coaſt, joined the main army. *Bomilcar*, upon hearing that the *Roman* fleet, which was more powerful than his, was advancing to attack him, ſet ſail directly for *Carthage*. *Hamilco* being joined by *Hippocrates*, advanced to the *Roman* camp before *Syracuſe*; but not being able to draw *Marcellus* to a battle, he marched through the country, and drew ſeveral cities off from the *Romans*. *Murgantia* betrayed the *Roman* garriſon into

Several cities revolt to the *Carthaginians*.

his

his hands; and ſeveral other cities alſo revolted to him, after having maſſacred the *Roman* garriſons.

The inhabitants of *Enna* alſo intended to act in the ſame manner; but being prevented by the vigilance of *Pinarius* the governor, who kept part of the garriſon in arms night and day, they aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and demanded of him the keys of their city. He refuſed their requeſt, and deſired to know the opinion of an aſſembly of the people; which was accordingly ſummoned to meet on the morrow. *Pinarius*, in the mean time, haranguing the garriſon in the citadel, informed them of the deſign of the *Ennenſes*, and adviſed them, in order to ſecure their own lives, to put all the citizens to death without quarter, upon a ſignal given by him. He repaired to the aſſembly; and the people inſiſting peremptorily upon the delivery of the keys, and beginning to offer violence, he ſtarted up, and giving the ſignal, immediately fell upon the unarmed multitude. The floor and ſeats of the theatre were in an inſtant covered with blood; and as many were ſtifled in endeavouring to eſcape, as fell by the ſword. The ſlaughter in the ſtreets was no leſs dreadful, the dead and wounded lying every where in heaps. None were ſpared; and the city was treated as if it had been taken by aſſault, and given up to the ſoldiers to be plundered. The *Romans* excuſed their conduct on this occaſion by ſaying, but how juſtly, may be queſtioned, that they had only been before-hand with thoſe who deſigned to treat them in the ſame manner. As the city of *Enna* was conſecrated to *Ceres* and her daughter *Proſerpine*, the *Sicilians* were highly offended at the maſſacre of the *Ennenſes*, and their revolts became daily more frequent.

Pinarius maſſacres the inhabitants of *Enna*.

Marcellus, ſoon after putting his army into winter-quarters at *Leon*, about two miles to the north of *Syracuſe*, ſent *Appius Claudius* to *Rome*, that he might ſtand a candidate for the conſulſhip. Upon the election of the conſuls, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, were choſen, and *Marcellus* was appointed proconſul in *Sicily*. The following ſpring *Marcellus* was at a loſs how to act, ſome of his officers adviſing him to attack *Hamilco* in *Agrigentum*, and others, to return to his trenches before *Syracuſe*. The proconſul foreſeeing that it would be impoſſible for him to take the city either by force, while it was defended by *Archimedes*, or by famine, while the *Carthaginian* fleet, which was returned far more numerous than before, ſupplied it with proviſions, thought that his beſt expedient would be to attempt to make himſelf maſter of the place by ſome ſecret intelligence. He diſcloſed his ſcheme to the *Syracuſans* who had taken refuge in his camp, and impowered them to offer their countrymen their lives and liberties if they ſurrendered to the *Romans*. A truſty ſlave was ſent into *Syracuſe* as a deſerter, and acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he prevailed on upwards of 80 perſons of diſtinction to engage in the plot: but before it could take effect, the names of the conſpirators were diſcovered to *Epicydes*, who cauſed them to be put to death.

A plot formed in *Syracuſe* in favour of the *Romans*. The conſpirators put to death.

Marcellus

Marcellus began now to despair of gaining the city, when an unforeseen accident revived his hopes. He seized one *Damippus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, who had been sent by *Epicydes* to demand succours of *Philip* king of *Macedon*; and *Epicydes* being extremely desirous of ransoming the prisoner, conferences were agreed to for that purpose, and held at a place called *Portus Trogilorum* near *Syracuse*. As the deputies went to and fro, one of the *Roman* soldiers narrowly considered the wall, and computing the number of stones, which he observed were all of an equal breadth, he concluded that the wall might be scaled with ladders of a moderate size. *Marcellus* being informed of this discovery, examined the place himself, and began to meditate how he might surprise the centinels of the besieged, when a deserter came and told him, that the *Syracusans* were on a certain day to begin the celebration of the festival of *Diana*, which lasted three days, and that *Epicydes*, who wanted other provisions, designed to distribute wine in great plenty among the people and soldiers. Upon this advice, *Marcellus* resolved to give a general assault in one of the nights during the festival, and to make his attack when the townsmen and soldiers, after having drunk plentifully, were in their first sleep. The *Romans* advancing silently to the foot of the wall, and applying their ladders, made themselves masters of a tower near the *Portus Trogilorum*, without being even discovered, a whole detachment of 1000 chosen men having in this manner entered the city. Several other detachments scaling the walls in different parts, and a body of men beating down one of the gates at *Hexapulum*, the *Romans* entered in great numbers, and made themselves masters of the quarter called *Epipolæ*, which was in a manner a fifth city, being encompassed with the same common wall as the other four quarters. The *Romans*, during the night, made a dreadful noise with their trumpets, in order to strike terror into the enemy.

Marcellus resolves upon a general assault.

Epipolæ taken.

Tho' the sound was not heard all over the vast city, it reached far enough to alarm all *Tyche*, and throw that quarter into the utmost consternation. *Marcellus* waiting till day-break, then broke down the stately entrance with six gates called *Hexapulum*, and entered *Tyche* with his army in battalia. *Epicydes*, who was quartered in the fartheſt part of the island *Ortygia*, on hearing that the enemy had seized on *Epipolæ* and *Tyche*, crossed *Acradina* at the head of a numerous body of mercenaries, with a design to drive the *Romans* from their posts: but when he saw, to his great surprise, all *Epipolæ* full of legionaries, he retired, after a slight skirmish, into *Acradina*, to allay the peoples fears, and prevent a tumult. *Marcellus*, considering from an eminence, the beauty and extent of this great and stately metropolis, which was now likely to be reduced by him, is said to have shed tears from his compassion of the miseries of the inhabitants. Being naturally inclined to use gentle methods, he entreated the *Syracusan* noblemen of his party to solicite their countrymen to surrender of their own accord, to prevent the

And *Tyche*.

Marcellus tries gentle methods with the inhabitants.

sacking

sacking of the city. The *Syracusans*, however, would hearken to no proposals, tho' the *Romans* were already masters of a considerable part of the city.

Acradina being guarded by the *Roman* deserters, *Marcellus* turned his arms against the citadel of *Epipolæ*, called *Euryalum*, which stood on an eminence at some distance from the sea. Having encamped between *Neapolis* and *Tyche*, he allowed his soldiers to plunder these two cities; but he enjoined them, under pain of death, not to kill or any ways abuse the inhabitants, and even posted guards in all the avenues, to see that his orders were put in execution. No city was ever plundered with so much order or less cruelty. The booty was immense; but it only raised their expectations of a greater when *Acradina* and *Ortygia* should be taken. Soon after, the governor of *Euryalum* capitulated, being allowed to march out with all his men, and join *Epicydes*. *Marcellus* now turned all his efforts against *Acradina*; but while he was blocking up this quarter, *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* advanced with the *Carthaginian* army, and attacked the *Romans* both in the city and in their camp at the same time. Tho' *Epicydes*, with the garrison and *Carthaginian* fleet both co-operated with *Hamilco*, yet this attack proved very unsuccessful, the *Carthaginians* being obliged to retire with considerable loss. *Marcellus* afterwards blocking up the city more closely than ever, the *Syracusans* were reduced to the utmost distress for want of provisions; and to complete their miseries, a plague broke out among them. The camps of *Hamilco* and *Crispinus*, the collegue of *Marcellus*, were first infected with the distemper, which next spread to the army of *Marcellus*, and soon after began to rage in *Acradina*; so that within and without the city, nothing was seen but persons dead or dying. Night and day nothing was heard but groans of dying men, and the heaps of dead bodies continually presented mournful objects to the living, who expected every moment the same fate. The distemper did not rage so much in the *Roman* armies as among the *Carthaginians*, who were almost wholly swept off, *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* being among the number of the dead. The *Sicilian* allies retired to two strong towns near *Syracuse*, and there waited a new reinforcement from *Carthage*, whither *Bomilcar* had sailed. Thus was *Marcellus* delivered from a numerous army, which for some time had besieged him as closely as he did the *Syracusans*. The *Carthaginians*, with great dispatch, fitted out 130 gallies and 700 transports, which they sent under the command of *Bomilcar* to *Sicily*. The news of his arrival raised the courage of the besieged, and greatly disheartned the *Romans*: but *Bomilcar* being prevented for several days, by contrary winds, from doubling cape *Pachynum*, *Marcellus*, in the mean time caused his fleet to be got ready, with a design to engage that of the *Carthaginians*, tho' far superior in number to his. *Epicydes*, in the mean time, fearing lest the *Carthaginians* should be surprized by the *Romans*, went to the fleet, and urged *Bomilcar* to risk an engagement.

The *Carthaginians* attack the *Romans* both in their camp and in the city.

A plague breaks out in *Syracuse*.

Bomilcar arrives at *Sicily* with a powerful fleet.

ment. The *Carthaginian* admiral, tho' his fleet was greatly ſuperior to that of the enemy, was nevertheleſs very backward to agree to a battle. *Epicydes*, however, prevailed with him to advance within ſight of the *Roman* fleet; but inſtead of engaging, he all of a ſudden ſtood for the main, and ſteered towards *Tarentum*, ſending orders to the tranſports at *Heraclea* to return to *Africa*. *Epycides* being thus diſappointed in the great hopes he had entertained, was afraid to return into a city already half taken, and fled to *Agrigentum*.

He returns to *Africa* without attempting to relieve the beſieged.

The *Syracuſans* were no ſooner informed of his departure, and of the retreat of the *Carthaginian* fleet, than they, with the *Sicilians* in the camp, unanimouſly agreed to ſurrender on the following terms; namely, that all the dominions of the kings of *Syracuſe* ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*; and that *Rome* ſhould ſuffer the *Syracuſans* to enjoy their eſtates and liberties, and to live according to their own laws. The commanders left by *Epicydes* oppoſing this treaty, the magiſtrates cauſed them to be aſſaſſinated; and then aſſembling the people in the market-place, repreſented to them that they now had it in their power to avert the calamities that threatned them, by having recourſe to the clemency of the conqueror, who offered them advantageous terms. Their diſcourſe was received with univerſal applauſe; and new magiſtrates being immediately elected, ſome of them were ſent as deputies to *Marcellus*, who gave them a kind reception, and was willing to comply with their requeſt. The chief difficulty was to preſerve tranquillity and union in the city. As great part of the garriſon conſiſted of *Roman* deſerters, theſe looked upon all conferences about a ſurrender, as ſo many ſentences of death againſt themſelves. Not being able to prevent the citizens from hearkning to the propoſals of *Marcellus*, they applied themſelves to the mercenaries, and perſuaded them, that the *Romans* would give them no quarter. The mercenaries being inſpired with the ſame fear, joined the deſerters, and both taking up arms, ran to the houſes of the new prætors, whom they maſſacred, and then diſperſing themſelves on all ſides, put to the ſword all they met without diſtinction. They appointed ſix officers as their leaders; but the tumult being appeaſed, the mercenaries were made ſenſible that they had been impoſed upon by the deſerters. The deputies returning at the ſame time from the camp of *Marcellus*, aſſured them that the *Romans* had not decreed any puniſhment againſt the foreign troops.

The *Syracuſans* propoſe to capitulate.

New diſturbances in the city.

Marcellus, ſoon after, gaining over one of the ſix new leaders, named *Mericus*, a *Spaniard*, who did not approve of the violent meaſures taken by his collegues, this officer put the *Romans* in poſſeſſion of one of the gates of *Acradina*, that ſtood near the fountain of *Arethuſa*. At the ſame time *Marcellus* cauſed a falſe attack to be made upon *Acradina*, to draw to that part all the forces that were in the iſland, and give ſome tranſports an opportunity of throwing forces into the iſland after the enemy's troops were withdrawn. The ſucceſs anſwering his

Marcellus admitted into the city by a *Spaniſh* officer. Bef. Chr. 200.

his desire, and his troops, without any opposition, making themselves masters of the island and part of *Acradina*, he caused the retreat to be sounded, lest the soldiers should, in the heat of the action, plunder the treasures of the kings of *Syracuse*, which were much magnified by fame.

Notwithstanding the infidelity of the *Syracusans*, and the high provocation they had given to the *Romans*, *Marcellus* would not now use all the rights of a conqueror, but gave signal proofs of his clemency and good-nature. Being unwilling to shed the blood even of traitors, he gave orders that the *Roman* deserters should be suffered to escape. He then called a council, made a speech to the *Syracusans*, and having granted them their lives, and ordered his quæstor to take possession of the king's treasures for the use of the republic, he gave up the rest of the booty to his troops, without reserving any part of the plunder for himself.

His clemency to the conquered.

As soon as the trumpets sounded, the *Roman* soldiers dispersed themselves all over *Acradina* and *Ortygia*, and nothing escaped their avarice. They even exceeded their orders, and adding cruelty to avarice, put many of the citizens to the sword, and amongst others the great *Archimedes*. During the sacking of *Acradina*, he was shut up in his closet, and so intent upon a demonstration of geometry, that neither the noise of the soldiers, nor the cries of the people, drew off his attention. While he was thus employed, a soldier rushing into his room, commanded him to follow him to *Marcellus*; and he refusing till he had finished his demonstration, the soldier, in a rage, slew him. Others relate, that seeing a soldier with a drawn sword at his throat, he begged him to hold his hand one moment, that he might not leave his problem unfinished; but that the soldier, unmoved at his request, killed him immediately. Others again relate, that as he was carrying a box to *Marcellus*, which contained mathematical instruments, with some of which the eye might measure the magnitude of the sun's body, the soldiers met him, and believing there was gold in the box, slew him. *Marcellus* was exceedingly concerned for his death; but not being able to repair that misfortune, he made a diligent search after his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. He likewised caused his funeral to be performed with great pomp and solemnity, and a monument to be erected to his memory among the great men who had distinguished themselves in *Syracuse* *.

Archimedes killed by a *Roman* soldier.

This great mathematician, as most of the antients tell us, was no less considerable for his noble extraction than sublime genius. According to *Plutarch*, his great genius made him be looked upon as something more than a mortal. He excelled, he says, all those who had gone before him; and it was hardly credible that any in future ages should ever rival him. He took

An account of *Archimedes*.

* Liv. l. xxv. Plut. in Marcell.

delight in no pleaſure of life but in that of ſtudy; and not to interrupt his ſtudies, he often denied himſelf the neceſſaries of life. Senſible only of the pleaſures of the mind, he ſo neglected his perſon, that his friends were obliged in a manner to force him to the public baths, to make him preſerve a decency ſuitable to his rank; and even then he employed himſelf for the moſt part in drawing mathematical figures on the walls of the ſtoves with the water in which he bathed. King *Hiero* had ſufficient influence with him to make him put his ſublime ſpeculations in practice, tho' the prejudices of that time made the ignorant look upon it as too low an employment for a great genius. *Archimedes*, when he was one day explaining to the king the wonderful effect of the motive powers, told him, that he had invented, but not made, a machine, by which he could draw the whole globe of the earth to him, provided he could find another globe or earth to ſtand upon. The king deſired him to give a proof of ſo bold an aſſertion, by removing ſome great weight with a ſmall force. *Archimedes* complied with the king's requeſt; and having cauſed one of the heavieſt gallies in the port to be drawn aſhore by a great number of men, he built his machine; and then ſitting down at a proper diſtance from the galley, drew the veſſel to him without trouble, or exerting his force in the leaſt, tho' ſhe had her full lading in her, and was crowded with men. The king, fully convinced of the wonderful talents of this great man, prevailed on him to deſcend to mechanics, and to build thoſe wonderful machines which we have already mentioned. Beſides the warlike machines, amongſt his maſter-pieces was reckoned a ſphere of glaſs, the circles of which repreſented the periodical and ſynodical motions of the ſtars and planets. *Cicero* himſelf could not help doing juſtice to the inventor of ſo fine a work; ſaying, that we ought to look upon the artificial globe, or rather little world, in which *Archimedes* had ſo happily imitated the wiſe hand of the divine architect, as the effect of a ſuperior genius. Some have imagined, that *Archimedes* ſet fire to the *Roman* fleet by means of a burning-glaſs; but the honour of this invention is aſcribed by others to *Proclus*, who ſet fire to the ſhips of *Vitalian* at the ſiege of *Conſtantinople*, in the 500th year of the Chriſtian *Æra*. It is a great misfortune that neither he, nor any after him, have given an account of the manner of building his machines. Upon his tomb, as he had ordered in his life-time, were placed a cylinder and a ſphere, ſhewing the proportion between them, which he firſt found out. In leſs than 140 years after, *Archimedes* was ſo perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithſtanding the eminent ſervices he had done his country, that they did not even know he had been buried at *Syracuſe*. *Cicero*, while he was quæſtor in *Sicily*, was led by his curioſity to make a ſearch after the tomb of *Archimedes*; but the *Syracuſans* aſſured him, there was no ſuch monument among them. He pitied their ignorance; and continuing his enquiry, at laſt obſerved, without one of the gates

of

of the city, a pillar almoſt covered with brambles, through which he could diſcern the figure of a ſphere and cylinder. Cauſing the place to be immediately cleared, the inſcription appeared ſtill legible *.

Marcellus, after plundering *Syracuſe*, and ſtripping it of all its valuable monuments, which were ſent to *Rome*, advanced to the city of *Engyum*, which ſtrongly favoured the *Carthaginian* intereſt. *Nicias*, one of their citizens, who had openly eſpouſed the party of the *Romans*, was obliged to counterfeit madneſs, and by that means eſcaped to *Marcellus*, who a few days after took the city by aſſault. *Nicias* then interceding for his townſmen, *Marcellus* not only ſpared them, but would not even ſuffer his ſoldiers to plunder the place.

Engyum taken by *Marcellus*.

After the reduction of *Syracuſe*, moſt of the *Sicilian* cities, which had ſided with the *Carthaginians*, voluntarily ſubmitted to *Marcellus*; and thoſe who had ſurrendered before the taking of *Syracuſe*, were maintained in poſſeſſion of their antient privileges. *Sicily*, nevertheleſs, was not entirely ſettled in peace. *Epicydes* and *Hanno* ſtill held *Agrigentum*; and *Mutines* kept the field at the head of a body of *Numidians*. This officer, who had been formed by *Hannibal*, and ſent by him to *Sicily*, ſoon made himſelf dreaded thro' the whole iſland, by the many advantages he gained over the cities in alliance with *Rome*. He ſeemed to be in all places where the intereſt of his republic required his preſence. *Epicydes* and *Hanno*, encouraged by the ſucceſsful expeditions of *Mutines*, ventured to take the field, and formed a camp at the river *Himera*. *Marcellus*, advancing with his army, encamped within four miles of the *Carthaginian* troops. *Mutines* wanting an opportunity to ſignalize himſelf, paſſed the *Himera*, and falling on the advanced guards of the *Romans*, ſpread an alarm thro' the whole camp. The next day *Marcellus* marched out of his lines, and attacked the camp of *Mutines*; but was repulſed with great loſs. *Mutines* ſoon after being obliged to go to *Heraclea*, to ſuppreſs a revolt among ſome *Numidian* cavalry, *Epicydes* and *Hanno*, out of jealouſy of his reputation, ventured an engagement during his abſence, tho' contrary to his advice, and were entirely defeated. *Marcellus* having killed many thouſands of the enemy, and taken eight elephants, returned victorious to *Syracuſe*, and ſoon after ſet out from thence to *Rome*, after having delivered up his army and the government of *Sicily* to *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*.

Mutines maintains the *Carthaginian* intereſt in *Sicily*.

Epicydes and *Hanno* defeated by *Marcellus*.

Soon after his departure, 8000 *Carthaginian* foot, and 3000 *Numidian* horſe, landing in the iſland, the *Carthaginians* began to recover their power in ſeveral parts. *Murgantia*, *Hybla*, and *Macella*, with many other places of leſs note, went over to them. *Mutines*, at the head of his *Numidians*, deſtroyed the country with fire and ſword, even in ſight of the *Roman* army, which, on the other hand, began to be filled with diſcontent.

New forces from *Carthage* arrive in *Sicily*.

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* Cic. Tuſc. quæſt. l. i. & v. Galen. l. iii. Tzetzes, l. xxxv.

Marcus having, with great difficulty, compoſed the ſeditious ſpirits, the following ſpring gained many advantages over the *Carthaginians*. He forced all the revolted cities to return to their obedience, and particularly *Murgantia*, which with its territory was beſtowed by the ſenate on the *Spaniards*, as a reward for their zeal in the ſervice of the republic.

The *Sicilians* complain of *Marcellus*,

The total reduction of *Sicily* was reſerved for *Marcus Valerius Lævinus*, who was choſen conſul with *Marcellus*. When the two conſuls, according to cuſtom, drew lots for their provinces, *Sicily* fell to *Marcellus*; upon which the *Sicilians* who were preſent, dreſſed themſelves in mourning, crowded to the houſes of the ſenators, and proteſted that it would be better for *Sicily* to periſh in the flames of mount *Ætna*, than to fall again under the government of her conqueror and tyrant. Theſe accuſers had been ſuborned by *Cornelius Cethegus*, who ſent them to *Rome* with a deſign to form an accuſation againſt *Marcellus*. By the letters which he wrote to the ſenate, repreſenting the bad ſtate of *Sicily*, he had prevented *Marcellus* from enjoying a triumph. *Marcellus*, who was not a ſtranger to the ſecret plots of his enemies, declared, that if his collegue was willing to change provinces, he would not be againſt it.

who is cleared by the ſenate.

Before either of the conſuls ſet out for their reſpective provinces, the *Sicilians* were heard in the ſenate, and *Marcellus* cleared. His proceedings in *Sicily* were declared regular, the pillage of *Syracuſe* approved of, and his regulations ratified. It was alſo decreed, that *Rome*, for the future, ſhould conſult the intereſt of *Syracuſe*. When the decree was paſſed, the *Sicilians* were brought into the ſenate to hear it; and *Marcellus* coming in after them, took his ſeat as conſul. The *Sicilians* then, confounded at what they had done, threw themſelves at his feet, and begged him to pardon the attempts which the preſent ſenſe of their miſery had induced them to make againſt his honour. He received them very graciouſly, promiſed them his protection, and obtained of the ſenate, that the *Syracuſans* ſhould be reinſtated in their antient liberties, and treated as allies of *Rome*. Hence proceeded the gratitude of the *Syracuſans* to *Marcellus* and his poſterity. They enacted a decree, ordaining, that whenever any of his family ſet foot in *Sicily*, the people ſhould walk before him crowned with garlands, and celebrate that happy day with ſacrifices. From thenceforth the *Sicilians* became clients of the illuſtrious family of the *Marcelli*.

Mutines delivers up *Agrigentum* to the *Romans*.

Lævinus, on his arrival in *Sicily*, found the whole iſland reduced by the prætor, except *Agrigentum* and its territory. After ſettling the government of *Syracuſe* and its dependancies, he turned his arms againſt *Agrigentum*, which was defended by a numerous garriſon under the command of *Hanno*, whoſe imprudent conduct was of the utmoſt ſervice to the enemy. The *Carthaginian* general, from envy of the merit of *Mutines*, had deprived him of his commiſſion, and put his own ſon in his room. His having no command did not at all leſſen the credi-

of *Mutines* among the ſoldiers, eſpecially the *Numidians*, who were more attached to him than ever; ſo that all the odium of his removal fell on the general. *Mutines*, on the other hand, reſolved, at all events, to be revenged on *Hanno* for the affront put upon him; and accordingly entered into a private correſpondence with the conſul, adviſing him to bring his army before *Agrigentum*. When the *Romans* approached the city, *Mutines* placed himſelf at the head of the *Numidians*, and having ſeized one of the gates, put the *Romans* in poſſeſſion of it. The legionaries then mixing with the *Numidians*, cut the *Carthaginian* guard in pieces, and advanced in order of battle into the center of the city. *Hanno*, not having perfect information of what had happened, haſtened to the market-place; but perceiving the *Romans* mixed with the *Numidians*, he turned ſhort, and made the beſt of his way out of the city, and embarked with *Epicydes*, and a ſmall number of officers, on board a veſſel that was ready to ſail. *Lævinus* having poſted guards in all the avenues and paſſages, the reſt of the army were all cut to pieces. The chiefs of the *Agrigentines* were firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. The common people were ſold as ſlaves to the beſt bidder; and the ſpoils of the pillaged city were put to ſale, the money being returned to the public treaſury. After the taking of *Agrigentum*, and flight of *Hanno* and *Epicydes*, moſt of the *Sicilian* cities ſubmitted to the *Romans* of their own accord, and others were betrayed or taken by force. *Lævinus* having now no enemy to contend with, ſettled peace throughout the whole iſland, making it all but one province. This fruitful country, the cultivation of which had been long interrupted by wars, produced corn 100 fold; hence from this time it became the granary of *Rome*.

All *Sicily* reduced to a *Roman* province, but diſtinguiſhed above other provinces.

All *Sicily* being now become a *Roman* province, it was not treated as the other countries which *Rome* ſubdued afterwards, upon which a certain tribute was impoſed; but was ſuffered to enjoy its antient privileges, and retain all its former rights. Had not *Sicily* ſupplied the *Romans* with proviſions for their armies, and afforded a ſecure retreat to their fleets, they could not have ſo eaſily reduced the formidable power of *Carthage*. Hence *Scipio Africanus*, after having deſtroyed *Carthage*, thought himſelf obliged to adorn the *Sicilian* cities with ſome of the richeſt *African* ſpoils, that the *Sicilians* might have ſome monuments among them of thoſe victories to which they had greatly contributed *.

Bef. Ch. 198.

The various fortune of the other free cities of *Sicily*.

Beſides *Syracuſe*, there were ſeveral other free cities in *Sicily*; namely, *Leontium*, *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, *Meſſana*, *Himera*, *Catana*, *Ætna*, *Apollonia*, *Selinus*, *Taurominium*, *Agyris*, and *Centuripe*. Theſe underwent the ſame viciſſitudes as *Syracuſe*, being ſometimes governed by their own laws, and at others enſlaved by their domeſtic tyrants, till the conqueſt of the iſland by the

* Liv. l. xxvi. Zonar. l. ix. Cic. in Ver.

Romans. *Phalaris* tyrant of *Agrigentum*, was noted for his cruelty. He uſurped the ſovereignty of that city in the 2d year of the 52d Olympiad, and maintained it for 16 years. We have ſtill remaining ſome letters of *Abaris* to this tyrant, and his anſwer; tho' ſome aſcribe them to *Lucian*. *Perillus* the *Athenian*, to flatter the cruelty of *Phalaris*, made the famous brazen bull for tormenting of criminals, and was the firſt that ſuffered in it for having demanded too great a reward for his contrivance. The *Agrigentines*, at length unable to bear his tyrany, made a general inſurrection, ſeized on the tyrant, and put him to death; ſome ſay by ſhutting him up in his beloved bull *. The moſt material tranſactions relating to the other cities of *Sicily*, we have delivered in the hiſtory of *Syracuſe*, with which their reſpective hiſtories are interwoven.

BOOK IX.

The CARTHAGINIAN Hiſtory.

CHAP. I.

A deſcription of the CARTHAGINIAN *territory in* Africa.

SUCH has been the infelicity of this republic, that tho' it long contended with *Rome* for the empire of the world, we have but very ſhort and imperfect memoirs of the great tranſactions in which it was concerned. Scarce a fragment of any of its own hiſtorians has reached us; and thoſe accounts of the *Carthaginian* affairs that are yet extant, cannot be entirely depended upon. For having been handed down to us by authors who entertained wrong ſentiments of this people, we may juſtly ſuppoſe that theſe writers ſuppreſſed or diſguiſed many facts that might frequently have given us juſter ideas of them. We ſhall, however, exhibit to our readers the moſt remarkable paſſages in the *Greek* and *Roman* writers bearing any relation to the *Carthaginian* ſtate.

Carthage, when founded.

Carthage, according to *Velleius*, was founded 65 years before *Rome*; *Juſtin* ſays 72 years. *Livy* places its foundation 20 years

* Lucian dial. iii. de Poet. Euſeb. chron. Cic. Offic. l. ii.

higher

higher than theſe; and *Solinus* exceeds him 27 years*. According to *Timæus*, *Carthage* and *Rome* were both founded 38 years before the firſt Olympiad. *Joſephus*, from *Menander* the *Epheſian* and the *Tyrian* annals, ſays, that it preceded the *Roman* æra 140 years†. Which of theſe accounts is in the right, it is impoſſible to determine. According to *Petavius*, who has been very particular on this ſubject, *Dido* began to build *Carthage* 137 years before the foundation of *Rome*, if we reckon with *Varro*, that *Rome* was built in the third year of the ſixth Olympiad; but if with archbiſhop *Uſher* we prefer the account of *Fabius Pictor*, the moſt antient of the *Roman* hiſtorians, who places the building of *Rome* five years later, *Carthage* preceded *Rome* 142 years‡.

All authors agree, that *Carthage* was founded by the *Phœnicians* or *Canaanites*. The poet *Nonnus* aſſures us, that *Cadmus* made a very ſucceſsful expedition into theſe parts. *Euſebius* and *Procopius* are poſitive, that the *Canaanites*, who fled from *Joſhua*, retired hither. According to *Philiſtus* of *Syracuſe*, who lived 350 years before Chriſt, the firſt traces of *Carthage* were owing to *Zorus* and *Charchedon*, two *Phœnicians*, 30, or according to ſome, 50 years before the deſtruction of *Troy*§. In confirmation of this opinion, *Virgil* ſeems to hint, that *Dido* was rather the finiſher than the founder of this city, by telling us, that before her time, the ground on which it ſtood was occupied by people who dwelt in cottages‖. What renders the account of *Philiſtus* not a little probable is, that the *Greeks* always called *Carthage Charchedon*; for which no reaſon ſo proper can be aſſigned, as that the perſon who firſt ſettled with a colony on this ſpot of ground, was known by that name.

The *Carthagians* deſcendants of the *Phœnicians*.

It is the concurrent voice of antiquity, that *Eliſa*, or *Dido*, ſiſter of *Pygmalion* king of *Tyre*, in the 7th year of his reign, fled from *Tyre* with her brother *Barca*, and fixed her reſidence at *Carthage*, either founding or much enlarging this noble city. If ſhe did not lay the foundations of it, the wealth of her huſband *Sichæus*, and the *Tyrians* who accompanied her, enabled her to enlarge and beautify the place; to wall it round; to build a ſtrong citadel in it; to lay the baſis of a moſt flouriſhing and extenſive commerce, and to introduce a form of government which ſeemed, in *Ariſtotle*'s opinion, by his expatiating ſo largely upon it, to have been one of the moſt perfect that had ever been known in the world¶.

Eliſa the founder or enlarger of *Carthage*.

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* Vell. Pat. hiſt. Rom. l. i Juſtin, l. xviii. Liv. l. li. Epit Solin. c 29. † Cont. Appion. Dion Halicarn. l. i. ‡ Petav. ration. temp. l. ii. xiii. Bochart de col. Phæn. § Non. in Dion l. xiii. Euſeb. Chron. l. i. Procop. bell. vand. l. ii. Appian. in Lybic. Joſeph. Scal. animad. in Euſeb. ‖ Virg. Æn. i. Ruæi not. in Æn. iv. ¶ Ariſt. de rep. l. ii.

How this city came to be called *Carthage*, authors are not agreed. *Solinus* tells us, that its true name was *Carthada*, which in the *Carthaginian* language signifies *the new city*. *Salmasius*, *Schindler*, *Bochart*, and others who follow him, deduce it from two oriental words, *Charta Hadatta*, which are of the same import. According to Dr. *Hyde*, the name was derived either from *Chadre Hanacha*, that is, the *chamber* or *place of rest*; or from *Chard Haneca*, the *new city*; because *Plautus*, in his *Pœnulus*, intimates, that it was called by the natives *Chaedreanech* *. However, according to *Servius*, the *Carthaginians* themselves, who must be supposed to be the best acquainted with their own origin, said, that it received its name from *Charta*, a town not far from *Tyre*, to which *Dido* bore a near relation. This town, by *Cedrenus*, is called *Chartica*, or *Chartaea*; that is, *Charta Aca*, or *Aco*; the city of *Aco*, a celebrated sea-port of *Phœnice* near *Tyre*, in the territory of the tribe of *Asher*, tho' possessed by the *Phœnicians*. In support of the authority of *Servius* and *Cedrenus*, it may be observed, that the *Tyrians* and *Canaanites* frequently prefixed the word *Kiriath*, *Cariath*, or *Charta*, that is, *city*, to the proper names of towns. Farther, the true name of this city among the antient *Romans*, who undoubtedly received it from the *Carthaginians* themselves, was *Cartaco*, as is evident from the *Columna rostrata* of *Duilius* †.

The *Carthaginians* were called by the *Greeks* sometimes *Libyans*, on account of the country they possessed, and sometimes *Phœnicians*, from their mother country. The *Romans* also stiled them *Pœni*, or *Phœnicians*, for the same reason; and every thing belonging to them or their city, *Punic*, or *Pœnic*, that is, *Phœnician*.

According to *Stephanus* and *Eustathius*, this city was antiently named in *Punic Caccabe*, from an horse's head which was found by the *Tyrians* while they were digging for the foundations of *Byrsa*, or the citadel. This was looked upon as a happy omen portending the martial disposition of the inhabitants, and the future greatness of the city. On account of this event, the *Carthaginians* had frequently, upon the reverses of their coins, either an horse's head, or the half of the body of an horse, or an horse entire, with Victory upon him ‡.

Description of *Carthage*.

Carthage stood at the bottom of a gulf upon a peninsula 360 stadia, or about 40 miles in circumference, the isthmus joining this peninsula to the continent being near three miles in breadth. On the west side there projected from it a long tract of land half a stadium broad, which was strongly fortified on all sides by rocks and a single wall. In the middle of the city stood the fortress, or citadel, erected by *Dido*, called *Byrsa*, having

* Scind. Pentaglot. Hyde in not. ad Peritsol. † Petr. Ciacon. In Column. rostr. ap Græv. Thesaur. l. iv. p. 1810. ‡ Virg. Æn. i. Justin, l. xviii.

ing on the top of it a temple ſacred to *Æſculapius*, to which the aſcent was by 60 ſteps. On the ſouth ſide, towards the continent, the city was ſurrounded with a triple wall 30 cubits high, excluſive of the parpets. It was flanked with towers at equal diſtances, each interval being 80 fathoms. Every tower had its foundation ſunk 30 feet deep, and was four ſtories high. In the lower ſtories were ſtalls large enough to hold 300 elephants, with their fodder, *&c.* In the ſecond ſtories, which were on a level with the ground, were ſtables for 4000 horſes, and lofts for their food. There was likewiſe room enough in the walls to lodge 20,000 foot and 4000 horſe. On the weſtern ſide of the city were two harbours, which were ſo diſpoſed as to have a communication with each other, and had one common entrance 70 feet broad, and ſhut up with chains. The firſt was appropriated to the merchants, and included in it a vaſt number of places of refreſhment. The ſecond, or inner port, was deſigned chiefly for ſhips of war, and was lined all round, as well as an iſland called *Cothon* in the middle of it, with large keys, in which were diſtinct receptacles for ſecuring and ſheltering from the weather 220 galleys. On theſe keys were built magazines or ſtore-houſes, wherein were lodged all neceſſary naval ſtores. Upon the iſland was the admiral's palace; and as it ſtood oppoſite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence diſcover whatever was doing at ſea, tho' no one there could ſee what was tranſacting in the inward part of the harbour.

The city conſiſted of three parts, *Byrſa*, *Megara* or *Magaria*, and *Cothon*. *Byrſa*, according to *Servius*, was near three miles in circumference; but *Eutropius* makes it ſomewhat leſs. It was not preciſely in the middle of the city, but inclined to the ſouth, or iſthmus, as is obſerved by *Appian*. The word *Byrſa* is only a *Greek* corruption of the true *Punic Buſra*, or *Botſra*, that is, a fortreſs or citadel, as has been demonſtrated by *Scaliger*, *Bochart*, and others verſed in the oriental languages*. This was juſtly looked upon as the interior part of *Carthage*, ſurrounded by the *Magaria*, which in the *Phœnician* tongue imports houſes or towns. *Strabo* calls the ſmall iſland in the ſecond harbour *Cothon*; but *Appian* applies this name likewiſe to the harbour itſelf. The word *Cothon*, which probably was pronounced by the *Carthaginians Kathum*, or *Kathom*, ſignifies *a port not formed by nature*, but *the effect of labour and art*.

The number of inhabitants which this city contained at the beginning of the third *Punic* war, was 700,000. The forces they could bring into the field, as well as their power by ſea, when they had a mind to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner, was very formidable. Their riches were likewiſe immenſe, as may be collected from what *Scipio* carried off at the final deſtruction of the city after it had been throughly plundered.

The number of its inhabitants.

* Scal. in not. ad Feſt. Bochart de col. Phæn. Salmaſ. in Solim.

dered. When the place was believed wholly exhauſted and conſumed, he carried off near a million and a half ſterling. According to *Livy*, the city was 23 miles in extent; and *Suidas* affirms, that it was the greateſt and moſt powerful city in the world. The dominion of the ſea, which it enjoyed for 600 years almoſt without interruption, together with the genius of its people for commerce, aggrandized it in a moſt amazing manner.

Preſent remains of *Carthage.*

Dr. *Shaw*, who was himſelf upon the ſpot, has obſerved, that the greateſt part of *Carthage* was built upon three hills, ſomewhat inferior in elevation to thoſe upon which *Rome* was erected. All the remains of this once famous city, according to this traveller, are the area of a ſpacious room with ſeveral ſmaller ones at a little diſtance from it, and the common ſewers and ciſterns, which time hath not in the leaſt injured or impaired.

Strabo obſerves, that the *Carthaginians* poſſeſſed 300 cities in *Africa* before the beginning of the third *Punic* war; which may eaſily be believed, if we conſider that the dominions of this

Vaſt extent of the *Carthaginian* territories in *Africa.*

ſtate, about that time, extended from the weſtern confines of *Cyrenaica*, to the pillars of *Hercules*, or ſtraits of *Gibraltar*, a tract of land extending, according to the obſervations of Dr. *Shaw*, 1420 miles in length. When its power was at its greateſt height, the beſt part of *Spain* and of *Sicily*, and all the iſlands of the *Mediterranean* to the weſt of *Sicily*, were ſubject to it.

We ſhall now give our readers an account of the proper territory of this ſtate. The deſcription of the other dominions which the *Carthaginians*, at certain intervals, poſſeſſed, falls under the hiſtories of thoſe reſpective countries. Theſe acquiſitions were ſometimes of a larger and ſometimes of a narrower extent, according as the republic met with ſucceſs or misfortune in the management of its affairs.

Africa Propria.

According to *Mela* and *Ptolemy*, *Africa Propria* contained all the countries ſituated between the river *Ampſaga* and the borders of *Cyrenaica*, which *Pliny* tells us were inhabited by 26 different nations. This, however, includes *Numidia* and the *Regio Syrtica*, which were countries diſtinct from the proper territory of *Carthage*. Its proper limits, according to other authors *, ſeem to have been the river *Tuſca* on the weſt, the *Mediterranean* on the north, the deſarts of *Lybia* interior and the frontiers of the *Garamantes* on the ſouth, and the *Mediterranean* with the leſſer *Syrtis* on the eaſt. It was divided into

Its diviſion.

two provinces, the *Regio Zeugitana*, and *Byzacium*; and theſe two, according to Dr. *Shaw*'s account, nearly correſpond with the preſent kingdom of *Tunis*, which extends from the 33d deg. 30 min. to the 37th deg. 12 min. of north latitude, and is above 3 deg. of longitude.

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* Plin. l. v. Herod. l. iv. Cellar. geog. antiq. l. iv. Shaw's geogr. deſcrip. of the kingdom of Tunis.

Zeugitana

Zeugitana extended from *Tuſca*, on the borders of *Numidia*, as far as *Adrumetum*. The ſummer circuit of the kingdom of *Tunis*, including the fruitful country about *Keff* and *Baijah*, and ſeveral other diſtricts, anſwers at preſent to this province, which was the *Regio Carthaginienſium* of *Strabo*, and the *Africa Propria* of *Solinus* and *Pliny*. *Zeugitana.*

One of its moſt conſiderable cities next to *Carthage* was *Utica*, which *Ariſtotle* ſays, from the authority of *Phœnician* hiſtorians, was built 287 years before *Carthage*. Other authors, ſuch as *Velleius*, *Juſtin*, *Mela*, and *Stephanus*, agree in the opinion of its being more antient than *Carthage*. It was ſeated on the weſtern promontory of the bay of *Carthage*, from which, according to the itinerary, it was 27 *Roman* miles diſtant. After *Carthage* was razed by the *Romans*, it had a grant made to it of all the country lying between *Carthage* and *Hippo*, and was for a conſiderable time the metropolis of *Africa*. *Utica.*

On the eaſt of *Carthage* ſtood *Tunes*, or *Tuneta*, the *Tunis* of the moderns. This town was undoubtedly of great antiquity, being taken particular notice of by *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Livy*, and others. It was ſeated near the mouth of the river *Catada*, 15 *Roman* miles from *Carthage*; and was fortified both by nature and art, and ſurrounded with a wall. The city is now the capital of a powerful kingdom. The greateſt part of it is ſituated upon a riſing ground along the weſtern banks of a lake of the ſame name. Some time ſince it was noted for its corſairs; but of late the inhabitants have applied wholly to trade, and are now become the moſt civilized and polite people in *Barbary*. *Tunes.*

About 24 miles ſouth-eaſt of *Tunis* ſtood *Maxula*, or *Mazula*, on the eaſt ſide of the *Catada*, now the *Miliana*, being the ſame, according to Dr. *Shaw*, with the preſent *Mo-raiſah*. *Maxula.*

Carpis, or *Carpi*, was another city of this diſtrict; and according to our learned traveller, occupied the ſame ſpot on which *Gurbos*, or *Hammam Gurbos*, now ſtands. *Carpis.*

Miſua, or *Niſua*, a town taken notice of by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, ſtood between *Carpis* and *Clypea*. The ruins of this place are ſtill to be ſeen at the ſanctuary of *Seedy Doud*, about five leagues north-eaſt from the promontory of *Hercules*. *Miſua.*

Aquilaria, mentioned by *Cæſar*, and ſaid by him to ſtand in the neighbourhood of two promontories, is ſaid by *Shaw* to have ſtood not far from the cape of *Mercury*, called by the *Moors* the *Raſ-adder*, and by the *Franks* cape *Bon*. Many fragments of antiquity are ſtill extant here; but amongſt them nothing remarkable. *Aquilaria.*

Clypea was ſituated upon the ſmall promontory *Taphitis*, five leagues ſouth-eaſt of the promontory of *Mercury*, and got its name from its figure, which reſembled a ſhield. A mile diſtant from the ground where the old city ſtood, is a collection of huts or cottages, called by the inhabitants *Clubea*. *Clypea.*

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Curubis. About 21 miles ſouth-weſt and by weſt of *Clypea* ſtood *Curubis*, *Curobis*, or *Curabis*. It is ſuppoſed to have been antiently a conſiderable place, and is at preſent called *Gurba*.

Neapolis. *Neapolis*, a famous emporium of the *Carthaginians*, was ſeated in the ſouth-eaſt part of *Zeugitana*, five leagues to the north-eaſt of *Curubis*. *Thucydides* ſays, that the paſſage from hence to *Sicily* was very ſhort, being eaſily performed in two days and a night. It appears to have been antiently a large city, and among its preſent ruins are ſeen a great number of inſcriptions upon ſtones ſix feet in length and three in breadth; but they are either ſo unfortunately defaced, or ſo filled with mortar, that it is a difficult thing to copy them.

Hippo. *Hippo* is the laſt remarkable city in this province which we ſhall mention. It ſtood towards the north-weſt borders, and was a ſort of frontier town on the ſide of *Numidia*. It was ſometimes denominated *Hippo Diarrhytus*, or *Zarytus*, from the navigable lake on which it was built, and ſometimes from the promontory near it; the antients called it *Acra*, *Hippuacra*, and *Hippagreta*. *Appian* tells us, that it was a great city, had a port, a citadel, and repoſitories for naval ſtores. The modern name is *Biſerta*, which is a corruption of the *Hippo Zarytus* of the antients. It is at preſent about a mile in circuit, and is pleaſantly ſituated upon a canal eight miles to the ſouth and by weſt of cape *Blanco*, betwixt an extenſive lake and the ſea. *Bochart* proves its origen to have been *Phœnician*, and derives the name *Hippo* from the *Syriac* or *Phœnician Uppo*, a gulf.

The inland towns. The inland towns of this province, *Ulizibima*, *Medicaara*, *Tucma*, *Cerbica*, *Saſura*, *Cilma*, *Vepillium*, *Vina Valli*, *Cigiſa*, and others equally obſcure, enumerated by *Ptolemy*, the itinerary, and *Peutinger*'s table, were never very conſiderable, and were for the moſt part, if not entirely, modern in compariſon to the *Carthaginian* times. There ſeems to be ſome traces of the antient appellation of this province in the preſent name of the city *Zowan*, or *Zagwan*, built upon the north-eaſt extremity of a conſpicuous mountain of the ſame name.

Byzacium. *Byzacium*, according to *Pliny*, was inhabited by the *Libyphœnicians*; that is, by a mixture of aborigines or native *Africans* and *Carthaginians*. It was about 250 *Roman* miles in circumference, and of ſo great fertility, that the earth made a return of 100 fold. The limits of this province ſeems impoſſible to be preciſely defined; becauſe the antients have paſſed over the interior part of it bordering upon *Libya*, in a very ſlight manner, and have greatly miſtaken the courſe of the river *Triton*. It is ſuppoſed not to have differed much in extent and ſituation from the preſent winter circuit of the *Tuniſeens*.

Adrumetum. Its capital was *Adrumetum*, or *Hadrumetum*, antiently a city of conſiderable note. It was known by various names; ſuch as *Adryme*, *Adrymetus*, *Hadrumetum*, *Hadrito*, and others. Tho' not large, it was very ſtrong, and was built upon an hemiſpherical promontory, two leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of the moraſs which

which divided the province from *Zeugitana*. Adjacent to the city was a cothon, being either a port or little iſland in imitation of that of *Carthage*, ſo called. According to *Salluſt* and others, it was founded by the *Phœnicians*; and *Bochart*, with great appearance of truth, derives its name from two *Phœnician* words, importing the land returning 100 fold. It is at preſent but a barren and uncultivated tract, being partly of a dry ſandy nature, and partly incommoded with moraſſes and ſaltiſh plots of ground called *ſhibkahs*, which are overflowed in the winter, but dry all the ſummer.

Leptis Minor, now *Lempta*, ſtood on the coaſt about 18 miles from *Adrumetum*, and was of *Phœnician* extraction. The city paid every day a talent to the *Carthaginians* by way of tribute; and all authors agree that the neighbouring country was exceeding fruitful; which has induced *Bochart* to derive *Emporia*, its name in *Livy* and *Polybius*, from two oriental words ſignifying the fruitful mother. *Leptis Minor.*

Betwixt *Adrumetum* and *Leptis Minor* ſtood *Ruſpina*, which is ſuppoſed to be the preſent village of *Sabaleel*, about a mile from the ſea. *Ruſpina.*

Agar, a town taken notice of by *Hirtius*, was a few miles to the weſtward of *Leptis*. *Agar.*

Thapſus, a maritime town of this province, was ſeated, according to *Dido*, upon a ſort of iſthmus betwixt the ſea and the lake. *Peutinger's* table makes it eight miles ſouth from *Leptis*. It is at preſent called *Demaſs*; and there is ſtill remaining in its neighbourhood a great part of the cothon built in frames. It conſiſts of ſmall pebbles and mortar, which are ſo well cemented and knit together, that a ſolid rock could not be more hard and durable. *Thapſus.*

Turris Hannibalis was a fort or country ſeat belonging to *Hannibal*, not far from *Thapſus*, according to *Livy*. *Turris Hannibalis.*

Thena, or *Thenæ*, a town on the coaſt of the leſſer *Syrtis*, is known at this time among the *Tuniſeens* by the name of *Thainee*. It was near two miles in circuit; and there is neither fountain or rivulet in the neighbouring country, which is dry and barren. *Thena.*

Uzita, a town of ſome note near *Leptis Minor*, is mentioned by *Hirtius*, *Ptolemy*, and *Dio*. *Bochart* derives the name from *Zaith*, or *Zail*, an olive, or place where olives are produced; and according to *Hirtius*, the neighbourhood of this city was famous for its production of olives. *Uzita.*

Thala, a city of great extent, taken notice of by *Sailuſt*, was ſurrounded by mountains and deſarts; though there were ſome fountains without the city. By theſe particulars, it ſeems to have been the ſame with the preſent *Ferre-anah*, in the ſouth-weſt part of this province. *Thala.*

Twelve leagues to the ſouth-eaſt by eaſt of this place is *Gafza*, the *Capſa* of the antients, and one of the ſtrong caſtles of *Jugurtha*. It is built on a riſing ground, encloſed almoſt in every direction with mountains and deſarts; and as its name *Capſa.*

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in the eaſtern languages ſignifies *ſtreightly environed*, we ma conclude it was founded by the *Phœnicians*. There ſeems t have been two more cities of this name, one in *Numidia*, an the other in *Libya* interior. There are many other towns men tioned in this province; but nothing is now known of them except their names.

Lakes. The chief lakes of this region taken notice of by the an tients, beſides the lake *Hipponitis*, and the *Palus Siſara* joined to it, were the *Palus Tritonitis*, the *Palus Pallas*, and the *Palu Libya*, which are now known to be different branches of the ſame lake, the modern name of which is the *Shibkah-El-Lowdeah*, or lake of marks; ſo called from a number of trunks of palm-trees placed at proper diſtances to direct the caravans. This lake extended itſelf near 20 leagues from eaſt to weſt, and is interſperſed with ſeveral dry ſpots which appear like iſlands in it. According to *Scylax* and *Herodotus*, it ſerved as a boundary to the *Libyan* nomades or ſhepherds.

Rivers. The moſt famous river in *Africa Propria*, was the *Bagrada*, *Bagadras*, or *Bagada*, for it went by all theſe names. Its ſtream flows in a direction almoſt from weſt to eaſt; and at this day it is called the *Ne-jerdah*. By running thro' a rich and fertile country, it becomes ſo well ſaturated with ſoil, that it appears in colour like the *Nile*, and ſeems to have no leſs the property of making encroachments upon the ſea. *Bochart* thinks the *Phœnicians* pronounced the name *Bragda*, or *Bractha*, that is a pond; and produces ſeveral authorities that render his opinion very probable.

The *Catada* of *Ptolemy*, now the *Miliana*, is famous for nothing but for having *Tunis* ſeated upon the mouth of it.

Curioſities. Among the principal curioſities of this country are to be ranked the *Hammam Leef*, a noted hot bath very much reſorted to by the citizens of *Tunis*; the hot bath, with ſome ruins at the creek of *Gurbos*; the ſalt lake near *Tobulba*; the *Stagnum Salinarum* of *Hirtius*; the *Jibbel Haddeffa*, an entire mountain of ſalt, ſituated near the eaſtern extremity of the lake of Marks, the ſalt of which is as hard and ſolid as ſtone, and of a reddiſh or purple colour.

African iſlands. On the *African* coaſt were ſeveral ſmall iſlands, which may be looked upon as part of the proper territory of *Carthage*. The iſland of *Coſſyra*, or *Coſſyrus*, was, according to *Strabo*, 150 ſtadia in circumferrnce, and lay about midway betwixt *Clypea* and *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*. According to *Ptolemy*, it had a city of the ſame name. The *Tarichiæ* of *Strabo*, were certain ſmall iſlands, now called the *Jowries*, lying over againſt *Leptis Minor*. *Lopaduſa*, oppoſite to *Thapſus*, was ſix miles long, according to *Pliny*. *Æthuſa*, or *Æguſa*, another little iſland mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, lay a little to the weſtward of the former. The *Inſulæ Dracontiæ* of *Ptolemy* were to the north of *Hippo*. *Ægimurus* was a ſmall iſland in the gulph of *Carthage*, about 30 miles from that capital. Near this iſland were two rocks, called the *Aræ Ægimuri*; ſo named, becauſe on them the *Romans* and

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Carthaginians concluded a treaty, and made them the limits of their reſpective dominions.

The moſt antient inhabitants of this country were, according to *Herodotus*, the *Auſes*, ſituated to the weſt of the river *Triton*, whoſe capital was probably *Auza*, or *Auzate*, ſaid by *Menander Epheſius* to be built by *Eth-baal* king of *Tyre*; the *Maxyes*, a *Libyan* nation; the *Machlyes*, another *Libyan* nation near the lake *Tritones*; the *Zaueces* and the *Zygantes*, who took a particular delight in bees, and making of honey.

CHAP. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, cuſtoms, arts, learning and trade of the CARTHAGINIANS.

THE *Carthaginians* are univerſally allowed by all the *Greek* and *Roman* writers, to be the deſcendants of the old *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*. One of the *Punic* names, according to *Plautus*, was *Chaeddreanech*, or *Chadreanak*, which *Bochart* imagines to allude to their *Canaanitiſh* extraction. For *Anak* and his family, upon account of their gigantic ſtature and great valour, being eſteemed both by ſacred and profane writers the moſt famous of the *Canaanites*, from him part of the nation bordering on the ſea-coaſt near the place of his reſidence, might probably receive a new denomination. The *Phœnician* colonies in this country, without doubt, early intermixed with the native *Africans*, and their poſterity were called *Libophœnicians*, as is generally ſuppoſed; tho' *Bochart* and ſome others have imagined that the *Libophœnicians* were a nation diſtinct both from the *Libyans* and *Carthaginians*, and inhabited a different tract. *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians*.

The firſt government ſettled at *Carthage*, was probably monarchial; but on the death of *Dido*, or rather in her life-time, it changed into a republic. According to *Ariſtotle*, this republic was partly ariſtocratical and partly democratical. *Polybius* ſays, that monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy all centered in it; and *Iſocrates* makes the civil government to have been oligarchical, and the military monarchical. *Ariſtotle* intimates, that the *Cretan*, *Lacedæmonian*, and *Carthaginian* republics, were the moſt perfect and beſt modeled of any in the world; and that in many reſpects they agreed, tho' in ſeveral reſpects he gives the preference to the *Carthaginian*. Its great excellency appeared to him from hence, that notwithſtanding the great ſway the people bore in *Carthage*, there had been no inſtance, from the foundation of the city to his time, of any popular commotions capable of diſturbing the public tranquillity, nor any tyrant who had been able to introduce oppreſſion. The principal powers of which the conſtitution of *Carthage* was compoſed, were The form of government at *Carthage*.

were the ſuffetes, the ſenate, and the people; who while they kept within their proper bounds, were a check upon each other. But when, by an unaccountable fluctuation of power, the people got the aſcendant over the ſenate, prudence was baniſhed their counſels, nothing but cabals and faction took place, and ſuch precipitate ſteps were taken, as firſt rendered this formidable ſtate weak and contemptible, and ſoon after completed its deſtruction.

The Suffetes. The ſuffetes, who were two in number of equal power and dignity, were the chief magiſtrates of *Carthage*. They were annually elected out of the nobleſt families, and were always ſuch perſons as moſt attracted the public regard by their virtue and great talents as well as wealth. For this reaſon, *Ariſtotle* prefers the ſupreme magiſtrates of *Carthage* to thoſe of *Lacedæmon*, who were perpetual, and had a hereditary right of ſucceſſion. As for the *Roman* conſuls, they had not only a chief hand in the adminiſtration of civil, but likewiſe in conducting of military affairs; whereas from *Livy*, *Polybius*, and others*, it would appear that the ſuffetes were, generally ſpeaking, confined to the former. Their province was to aſſemble the ſenate, in which they preſided, to propoſe ſubjects for deliberation there, and to tell voices. According to ſome authors, they had the power of life and death, and of puniſhing all crimes whatſoever. Their concurrence in all points with the ſenate was neceſſary, in order to prevent any debate from coming before the people. It is remarkable, that moſt, if not all, the cities of note in the *Carthaginian* dominions had their ſuffetes as well as the metropolis.

The ſenate. The ſenate was a moſt auguſt aſſembly, compoſed of perſons venerable for their age and experience, as well as moſt illuſtrious on account of their birth, their riches, and above all their merit. By whom they were elected, or of what number they conſiſted, we know not. From *Juſtin* we may infer, that their number greatly exceeded that of the ſenate of *Sparta* or *Rome*: for according to this author, 100 were ſelected from it, and appointed as judges to enquire into the conduct of their generals. In this grand council, every thing relating to peace and war, to negotiations and alliances, and, in ſhort, to all affairs of conſequence, whether foreign or domeſtic, were debated, and for the moſt part determined. When the ſuffetes agreed with the ſenate, their joint determinations had the force of laws: but if the ſuffetes refuſed their aſſent, then the people had the ultimate determination of the affair in queſtion; they being, in all emergencies of this nature, the dernier reſort of power. This, as *Ariſtotle* obſerves, was a flaw in the conſtitution, which was at laſt attended with fatal effects. For during the ſecond and third *Punic* wars, the populace at *Carthage* prevailed over the ſenate, whilſt the ſenatorial authority at

* Gronov. antiq. Græc. v. i. p. 1504.

Rome

Rome was in its full bloom and vigour; which, according to *Polybius*, was the principal cauſe of the riſe of one and the fall of the other. The office and dignity of ſenator were perpetual, and none were elected ſenators but perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit. According to *Livy*, there was a council formed of ſuch ſenators as were the moſt venerable and eminent for their wiſdom, who were called *ſeniores*, *ſeniorum principes*, or ſimply *principes* *.

What ſway the people had at *Carthage* while the conſtitution remained in its original form, does not appear. It is likely that they had a vote at the election of magiſtrates, and in every thing that bore any relation to them. In *Ariſtotle*'s days, the commonwealth ſeems to have deviated from its original perfection, having too ſtrong a tendency to popular government. However, the ſenate ſtill kept up a good degree of authority, and the power of the people was far from being uncontrolable. About 100 years after, in the time of *Hannibal*, the conſtitution was threatened with a total ſubverſion; for little attention was paid to the ſenate, and the people arrogated to themſelves almoſt the whole power; ſo that the moſt advantageous meaſures were obſtructed by a few ambitious demagogues. From this period the ſtate of *Carthage* began to decline, and in the courſe of a few years loſt not only its liberty, but its very being.

Power of the people at *Carthage*.

The centumvirate conſiſted of 104 perſons; and according to *Ariſtotle*, this tribunal enjoyed a very extenſive power, tho' confined chiefly to things of a judicial nature. Out of this tribunal were ſelected five judges, whoſe juriſdiction was ſuperior to that of the reſt. They had the power not only of filling up all vacancies in their own body, but likewiſe of chuſing thoſe perſons who compoſed the tribunal of 100. They were at the head of the tribunal under the ſuffetes, and had in a great meaſure the lives, fortunes, reputations, &c. of all the citizens depending upon them. Their office was, in all probability, perpetual till the time of *Hannibal*; by whoſe influence a law paſſed, whereby it was enacted, that all the judges ſhould be choſen annually; with a clauſe, that none ſhould continue in office beyond that term. According to *Ubbo Emmius*, the ſuffetes preſided in this council and in the centumvirate, as well as in the ſenate, being the chief magiſtrates concerned in the adminiſtration of juſtice. *Selden* and *Bochart*, with great probability, derive their name from the *Hebrew* word *Sophetim*, judges or magiſtrates; which was the title given to the *Iſraelitiſh* governors from the time of *Joſhua* till the election of *Saul* †.

The centumvirate and quinquevirate.

The civil officers, next to the ſuffetes, were the prætor, the quæſtor, and the cenſor. The great *Hannibal*, who was the

The civil officers at *Carthage*.

* Liv. l. xxx. Juſtin, l. xi. c. 31. † Ubbo Em. ap Gronov. ut ſupra. Selden de diis Syris. Bochar. Chan. l. i.

moſt illuſtrious of the *Carthaginians* both on account of his noble extraction and glorious atchivements, had the prætorſhip conferred upon him in the 5th year after the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war; from whence it is evident that this muſt have been one of the firſt employments in the ſtate. The perſon, inveſted with this high dignity, had a great influence not only in paſſing, but alſo in repealing, of laws; as may be inferred from *Hannibal*'s impeaching the judges while he was in this office. He moreover received the tribute paid by the different nations under the *Carthaginian* power, and had the direction of every thing relating to the public revenues. A tranſition from the office of ſuffetes, after it became annual, to the prætorſhip, was not uncommon in *Carthage*; of which there are many inſtances.

The quæſtor was an officer belonging to the bench of judges; who tho' ſubordinate to them, had a very conſiderable degree of power. He likewiſe collected and managed the public money under the prætor; which induced *Livy* to give him the name of quæſtor. At the expiration of his office, he was ſometimes at leaſt, if not of courſe, admitted into the bench of judges.

We find another civil officer eſtabliſhed at *Carthage*, whoſe buſineſs it was to inſpect into the manners of the citizens; on which account he is ſtiled by *Cornelius Nepos* the præfect of manners, or the cenſor. *Hamilcar*, the father of *Hannibal*, tho' the firſt man in the republic, could not eſcape the inſpection of this magiſtrate *.

The *Carthaginian* laws.

As to the *Carthaginian* laws, they have long ſince been buried in oblivion, and only a few fragments of them remain. 1. There was a law of a very long ſtanding among the *Carthaginians*, by which they were enjoined to ſacrifice to *Saturn* only children nobly born. 2. By another law, *Ceres* and *Proſerpine* were admitted into the number of the *Carthaginian* deities. Magnificent ſtatues were erected in their honour, prieſts were ſelected from among the moſt diſtinguiſhed families of the city for their ſervice, and ſacrifices, after the *Greek* manner, were offered up to them. This was done in order to appeaſe the anger of theſe goddeſſes, whoſe reſentment they feared, becauſe *Himilco*, the *Carthaginian* general, had plundered their temples in the ſuburbs of *Acradina*. 3. About this time likewiſe a law was enacted at *Carthage*, by which all the inhabitants were prohibited learning either to write or ſpeak the *Greek* language. This law was occaſioned by a *Carthaginian* traitor, who gave ſecret intelligence in *Greek* to *Dionyſius*, the enemy of his country. However, this law was afterwards either repealed, or totally neglected. For the great *Hannibal* himſelf underſtood this language ſo well, that he compoſed in it an hiſtory of the actions of *Manlius Vulſo* †. 4. A ſort of ſumptuary law was made by the *Carthaginians*, to reſtrain all

* Corn. Nep. in Vit. Hannib. † Idem ibid.

kinds

kinds of exceſſes at marriage. This was occaſioned by a deſign of *Hanno*, the principal perſon in the city, who intended to make himſelf maſter of the commonwealth upon the day of his daughter's marriage. So great was the influence of *Hanno* in the city, that the ſenate, upon the diſcovery of this plot, did not think proper to puniſh him for it, but contented themſelves with paſſing the law above-mentioned *.

Excellencies of the *Carthaginian* conſtitution.

The two following regulations were looked upon as excellencies in the *Carthaginian* conſtitution: 1. They had public meals or entertainments, which ſeem to have been appointed in imitation of the ſame inſtitution at *Lacedæmon*. 2. There was a laudable cuſtom among them of ſending colonies from time to time into different parts of their dominions; which not only contributed to the preſervation of the public tranquillity, by drawing off the idle and indigent, but alſo became a great means of aggrandizing the ſtate.

Its defects.

Ariſtotle has taken notice of ſeveral defects in their conſtitution; one of which was, that merit and a conſpicuous birth, were not ſufficient qualifications for a man to fill the firſt poſts, without riches. This, in his opinion, not only excludes oftentimes perſons of the moſt exalted merit from having any ſhare in the government, but opens a door to avarice and all kinds of corruption. The experience of after ages ſhewed this reflection of his to be well grounded.

He alſo blames the common practice at *Carthage*, of allowing the ſame perſon to aſſume to himſelf ſeveral employments; as public affairs are managed with more ſpirit and expedition, when the different branches of buſineſs are lodged in different hands; and the welfare of every ſtate is highly promoted by an equal diſtribution of places amongſt its members.

Religion of the *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthaginians* being deſcended from the *Tyrians*, their religious worſhip muſt of courſe have agreed in all points at firſt with that of the *Phœnicians*, an account of which we have formerly given. In proceſs of time, by their intercourſe with the *Greeks*, eſpecially thoſe of *Sicily*, they came to take a liking to the ſuperſtition of that nation, and adopted ſeveral of their deities. The *Carthaginians* likewiſe, by reaſon of their extended commerce, muſt have been in ſome ſort acquainted with the different kinds of ſuperſtition eſtabliſhed in moſt nations, with which, doubtleſs, they tinctured their own. As the *Greek* and *Roman* writers have affixed the names of their own gods to thoſe of the *Carthaginians*, their accounts and obſervations on this head have been rendered thereby more imperfect and leſs valuable. For tho' it appears that the *Egyptian*, *Phœnician*, *Greek*, *Roman*, and *Carthaginian* deities did in the main agree; yet we are well aſſured, that each of thoſe nations had not only ſome particular modes of worſhip, but likewiſe ſome particular deities peculiar to itſelf.

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* Juſtin, l. xxi.

Saturn the principal deity in *Carthage.*

Chronus, the ſame with the *Saturn* of the *Latins*, was adored by the *Carthaginians* in a particular manner *. The ſacrifices offered up to him, were children of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families; and they had a brazen ſtatue or coloſſus of him, the hands of which were extended in act to receive, and bent down in ſuch a manner, as that the child laid thereon immediately dropped into an hollow, where was a fiery furnace. The ſolemnities obſerved at offering up of human victims to this *Carthaginian* god, anſwered pretty nearly to thoſe obſerved by the *Canaanites* on the like occaſion; which is a great preſumption that the *Phœnician Molock* and this deity were the ſame †. *Baal*, *Bal*, or *Bel*, was the great god of the *Carthaginians*; and as it is apparent from Scripture that he was delighted with human ſacrifices, and as he was alſo the *Chronus* of the *Greeks*, we may conclude that the god named *Chronus* by *Diodorus*, and ſaid by him to be the principal deity of the *Carthaginians*, was nothing elſe than *Baal* or *Moloch* ‡. This is alſo conjectured from ſome traces to be found in the proper names of *Carthage*. *Hannibal*, *Aſdru-bal*, *Maher-bal*, &c. are thought to point out *Baal* or *Bal*; as *Himilce*, *Hi-milco*, *Ha-milcar*, *Melicus*, *Malchus*, &c. do *Moloch* or *Milchom*.

The goddeſs *Cæleſtis* worſhiped by the *Carthaginians.*

The goddeſs *Cæleſtis*, or *Urania*, was held in the higheſt veneration by the *Carthaginians*. The prophet *Jeremiah* calls her *Baaleth Shemaim*, the queen of Heaven; that is *Juno Olympia*. *Megaſthenes* in *Euſebius* gives her the name of *Beltis*, or queen *Beltis*; *Sanchoniatho* that of *Dione* and *Baaltis*; and *Heſychius* that of *Belthes*. According to this laſt author, the word was applied both to *Juno* and *Venus*; and indeed in the *Phœnician* theology, we ſcarce find any diſtinction betwixt theſe two deities. St. *Auguſtin* ſays, that *Carthage* was the place where *Venus* had eſtabliſhed her reign; and *Virgil* informs us, that *Juno* preferred that ſpot to all others, even to *Samos* itſelf §.

Baal, or *Jupiter.*

Beſides the firſt *Belus* already taken notice of, ſeveral others of a later date were in great repute amongſt the *Phœnicians*, and of courſe amongſt the *Carthaginians*. *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, had all of them this name. That *Jupiter* was worſhiped by this people under the denomination of *Belus*, or *Baal*, appears from *Polybius*, *Menander Epheſius*, and *Dius*. To him they addreſſed their oaths, and placed him, as there is reaſon to believe, for the moſt part at the head of their treaties. *Mars*, according to the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, compared with *Homer* and an antient author cited by *Euſebius* ‖, was dignified with the title of *Belus* by the *Perſians*, *Aſſyrians*, and probably by the *Carthaginians*, as he was a favourite divinity in

* Diod. l. xx. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 3. † Plut. de Superſtit. Selden ut ſupra. Voſius de idolat. ‡ Hiſt. of Phœn. V. Suid. ſub voce Beel. Iſidor. orig. l. viii. § Jer. vii. 18. Euſeb. Chron. & de præp. evang. ‖ Euſeb. de præp. Evan. l. ix. Joſeph. antiq. l. i.

their ſtate, eſpecially amongſt their generals. *Bacchus* was called *Belus* by the poet *Nannus*, and, in all probability, this nation had ſome knowledge of him *. *Apollo*, or the Sun, went frequently either by this name ſimply, or by others, in which this made one part of the compoſition. *Neptune* was alſo one of the gods of the *Carthaginians* of the firſt claſs. It cannot well be doubted, but that he was the *Baal* of *Sidon*, called *Thalaſſius*, or the ſea *Baal*, taken notice of in a former part of this hiſtory. Under what form the *Carthaginians* worſhiped their ſeveral deities is no where ſaid. If they agreed with the *Greeks* and *Romans* in this particular, which is very probable, our readers, who deſire a full view of this ſubject, will find it fully treated in *Albricus* †.

Baalſamen, or as the *Hebrews* would have written it, *Baal Shemaim*, that is, the Lord of Heaven, or the Sun, had, according to St. *Auguſtin*, religious honours paid him by the *Carthaginians*. They probably had no repreſentation of him, becauſe they could not forbear beholding him daily in all his glory; *Damaſcius* calls him *El Bolathes*, &c. and makes him to have been the ſame with *Saturn*, ‡. *Baalſamen*, or the Sun.

Beſides *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, which they worſhiped, the *Carthaginians* deified *Dido*, with her ſiſter *Anna*. It appears alſo, that they paid divine honours to *Mercury* the God of induſtry and commerce, under the name of *Aſumes* or *Aſoumes* §. *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*. *Mercury*.

Nothing is more celebrated in antient hiſtory, than the *Tyrian-Hercules*, whoſe worſhip was brought to *Carthage* by *Dido*, and diffuſed itſelf afterwards over all the coaſts of *Africa*, as far as *Gades* or *Cadiz*, where he had a magnificent temple. The *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians* ſuppoſed him to preſide over gold, ſilver and all ſorts of treaſures; and the latter never failed for a conſiderable time, to ſend to *Tyre*, the firſt fruits of their revenues, and the tythe of the ſpoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to *Hercules*. Public diverſions were inſtituted in honour of him, at *Tyre*, which were celebrated every four years. At *Carthage*, no doubt the ſame cuſtom prevailed, as likewiſe, that of offering, annually, human victims up to him ||. *Iolaus* comes next to *Hercules*, as being either related to him, or one that introduced ſome of his relations into the iſland of *Sardinia*. *Hercules* and *Iolaus*, according to *Voſſius*, had jointly, divine honours paid them in this iſland, either, becauſe he was *Hercules*'s near relation, or aſſiſted him in deſtroying the *Hydra*, by ſearing the wound with a red hot iron, when any of the heads was cut off, to prevent others from ſprouting out in its room. *Ovid* pretends, that at the interceſſion of *Hercules*, *Hebe* reſtored him to youth, when he was grown extremely decrepit. As the *Carthaginians* were long in poſſeſſion of this *Hercules*. *Iolaus*.

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* Nannus in Dionyſ. ap. Selden de diis Syr. Bochart. Sir Iſaac Newt. Chron. † De Deor. imag. Baſ. 1570. ‡ Damaſ. in vit. Iſodor. § Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. xxv. Bochart. || Polyb. in excerpt. Legat. Plin.

island, it is supposed they borrowed him from the *Sardi*; for that he was one of their principal deities, we are informed by *Polybius*.

Dea Syria. *Hendrich* intimates that the *Dea Syria*, or *Syrian* Goddess, was a deity of the *Carthaginians*.

Æsculapius. The people of *Carthage*, likewise addressed themselves to *Æsculapius*, whom *Servius* calls *Pænigena*, because he supposes his mother to have been a *Carthaginian*. The best authors suppose him to have been originally, either a *Messenian*, or an *Egyptian*. According to *Vossius*, the *Carthaginians* received him immediately from the *Tyrians*, to whom, either the *Syro-Macedonians* or *Egyptians* communicated him.

Herebus. *Herebus*, another *Carthaginian* deity, mentioned by *Silius* and *Polybius*, seems to have been *Pluto* or *Dis*. All we know of him is, that he was invoked as the God of Hell, and represented under an human shape, with long loose hair *.

Triton. *Triton* the Sea God, was also one of the deities of *Carthage*, as appears from the treaty concluded betwixt *Philip* the son of *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, and the *Carthaginians* †.

Mopsus. *Mopsus*, a famous augur or soothsayer, after his death became a sort of oracle at *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* erected temples to him, from whence responses were given, as from so many oracles ‡.

Rivers and water gods, and Rivers, meads, waters, *&c.* or rather, the supposed genii of all these inanimate parts of the creation, were also esteemed as objects of adoration by the *Carthaginians*, as well as most other idolatrous nations §.

fire worshiped by the *Carthaginians.* *Scaliger*, probably upon the authority of *Leo Africanus*, acquaints us, that the old *Africans* paid a religious homage to fire, which was, perhaps, likewise the custom at *Carthage*.

Also the air. The air and winds, also shared divine honours, the air being esteemed by the *Carthaginians* superior to the other elements, having them, as it were, under its government and direction ‖.

Anna Perenna. The *Carthaginians* sometimes swore by the manes of *Dido*, as *Silius* relates; and *Anna* her sister, passed for a goddess, under the name, according to some, of *Anna Perenna*. The *Romans*, *Ovid* says (Fast. L. III.) paid her divine honours, as well as the *Carthaginians*.

Sichæus. According to the same author (Heroid. VII.) *Dido* in her life-time, conferred divine honours upon her deceased husband *Sichæus*.

Tellus. *Tellus*, or the earth, was worshiped by the *Carthaginians*, as appears from the treaty of peace with *Philip*, mentioned by *Polybius*. Our readers will find a full account of this deity in *Vossius*.

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* Voss. Theol. Gent. Hendreich. lib. ii. † Polyb. lib. vii. ‡ Hendr. Apul. de deo Socrat. § Voss. Sil. Ital. lib. i. ‖ Hendr. Jul. Firm. prof. Rel.

Hamilcar,

Hamilcar, one of their generals, who was defeated and ſlain by *Gelon* king of *Syracuſe*, before *Himera*, was alſo deified by them, according to *Herodotus*, they imagining he had turned a God, becauſe his body could not be found after the engagement *. *Hamilcar*,

It is not unlikely, that the *Carthaginians* adopted other favourite generals into the number of their gods. Nay, we are aſſured by *Silius*, that *Hannibal*, notwithſtanding the infamous treatment he met with from his countrymen, at laſt was adored by them in his life-time.

The *Carthaginians* alſo ranked among their gods, the two brothers *Philæni*, who in a treaty with the *Cyrenians*, fraudulently extended the frontiers of the republic of *Carthage*, rather than give up their new claim, made an agreement with the *Cyrenians*, to ſuffer themſelves to be buried alive, in the place which they had pitched upon for their boundary. Two altars were afterwards erected to their memory, on that ſpot, which ſerved as land-marks to the *Carthaginian* territories, on that ſide, for many ages †. and the *Philæni* worſhipped by them.

Some of the *Carthaginian* divinities, St. *Auſtin* ſays, had the name of *Abaddires*, and their prieſts, that of *Eucaddires*. This claſs, in all probability, was derived from the ſtone which *Jacob* anointed with oil, after it had ſerved him for a pillow, the night he had his viſion. From *Bethel*, the name of this pillar, came the *Bætylus* of *Damaſcius*, which we find called *Abaddir* by *Priſcian*. This *Abaddir* is the *Phœnician Aban-Dir*, that is, the ſpherical ſtone, exactly anſwering to the deſcription of the *Bætylus* given us by *Damaſcius* and others. The *Canaanites* ſeem firſt to have worſhiped the individual ſtone itſelf upon which *Jacob* had poured oil, and afterwards to have conſecrated and worſhiped others of that form, which falſe worſhip continued even to the time of St. *Auſtin* ‡.

It was a cuſtom among the *Carthaginians* to carry about with them ſome ſmall images, repreſenting certain gods, in covered chariots, or, as *Euſtathius* calls them, temples carried by oxen. They were a ſort of oracle, and their reſponſes were underſtood by the motions impreſſed upon the vehicle. The tabernacle of *Moloch*, with which St. *Stephen* reproaches the *Jews*, ſeems to have been a machine of this kind. Portable temples in uſe among them.

It is remarkable, that in the treaty with *Philip*, ſo often cited, mention is made of the Dæmon or Genius of *Carthage*. The Pagans looked upon theſe dæmons as intelligences, who were the miniſters of the gods, and had the adminiſtration of the world committed to them, and on this account they beſtowed upon them religious honours. The Genius of *Carthage*.

The *Cabiri*, or *Samothracian* gods, were alſo worſhiped by the *Carthaginians*, who, with almoſt all the other pagan na-

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* Herod. lib. vii. † Salluſt. Jugurth. Mela, lib. i. Val. Max.
‡ Priſcian gram. Damaſ. ap. Phot. Heſych.

tions of antiquity, had a moſt profound reverence for their myſteries. Biſhop *Cumberland*, the Abbé *Banier*, and *Aſtorius*, have been very full upon this ſubject; *Reland* alſo has publiſhed a diſſertation upon the *Cabiri*, and concludes that they were the gods of the dead. The *Carthaginians* alſo worſhiped gods of an inferior order, named *Anaces*, *Anactes*, or *Dioſcuri*, and others named *Pataeci*, which were a kind of houſhold gods *.

Their barbarous cuſtom of offering human ſacrifices.

The moſt barbarous cuſtom of offering up human ſacrifices did not expire with the city of *Carthage*; but continued among the *Africans* till the proconſulate of *Tiberius*. This practice had been retained with little or no intermiſſion from the foundation of the city. For though, to avoid drawing upon themſelves the indignation of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, they might for a few years ſuſpend it, or at leaſt pretend to do ſo; yet it is certain, that in the time of his ſucceſſor *Xerxes* they reſumed it. Nay, to ſuch a pitch of ſavage barbarity did they arrive, that mothers made it a merit to view their own offspring thrown into the devouring flames, without ſo much as a groan. They even, by kiſſes and embraces, huſhed the cries of their children, before they were laid upon the brazen ſtatue of *Saturn* abovementioned, imagining the efficacy of the ſacrifice would have been entirely loſt, if any thing, that might have been interpreted as a mark of the leaſt reluctance or regret, had been ſhewn. They uſed a drum, or a tabret, among other inſtruments, to drown the ſhrieks and outcries of the unhappy victims. In times of peſtilence, or other public calamities, the *Carthaginians* endeavoured to appeaſe their offended gods by vaſt numbers of ſuch oblations. The *Carthaginian* women, like thoſe of *Babylon* and *Phœnicia*, publicly proſtituted themſelves in honour of *Venus*; but inſtead of preſenting to the goddeſs the money earned by their infamous commerce, they applied it to their own uſe.

Their women proſtituted themſelves to *Venus*.

The very learned *Selden* imagines, that ſome traces of the *Succoth Benoth*, mentioned in ſcripture, may be found in *Sicca Venerea*, the name of a city in *Numidia*, not far from the borders of *Africa Propria*. *Sicca*, or *Succa*, ſignifies a tabernacle; and at this place was a temple, where women were obliged to purchaſe their marriage-money by the proſtitution of their bodies. The author of the Itinerary ſometimes calls it ſimply *Sicca*, and *Solinus Venerea*.

Their language the ſame at firſt with the *Phœnician*.

The language of the *Carthaginians* was at firſt the ſame with that of the *Phœnicians*, which differed originally very little from the *Hebrew*. In after ages, however, the *Punic* deviated in ſome reſpects from the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*, which is not to be wondered at, conſidering how diſtant the *Carthaginians* were from their mother country *Phœnicia*, and the people they were incorporated among. *Selden* and *Scaliger*, and after them, *Petit* and *Bochart* have treated largely of the analogy between the *Phœnician* and *Punic* languages.

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* Cumberland in append. de Cabir. Voſſius. Bochart.

Bochart

Bochart has produced a collection of *Punic* words from different authors, and traced them up to the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*. All theſe ſerve as ſo many proofs, that the *Carthaginian* language agreed, in the main, with thoſe eaſtern tongues. The *Punic* tongue had likewiſe a tincture of the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, as we learn from *Priſcian* and St. *Auſtin* *. M. *Maius*, profeſſor of the *Greek* and oriental languages in the *Ludovician* univerſity of *Geiſſen*, publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe in the year 1718, in which he ſhews, that the preſent language of the *Malteſe* contains a great deal of the old *Punic* in it. A miſſionary jeſuit, and native of *Malta*, who very well underſtood the language of the *Malteſe*, having reſided many years among them, furniſhed the materials for this treatiſe, which is very curious, and contains proofs that this iſland was, for a conſiderable period of time, ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, and that the *Punic* language, notwithſtanding the ſeveral revolutions in the iſland, had ſtill continued among ſome of the inhabitants.

In ſupport of what has been advanced by *Maius*, it may be obſerved that *Joannes Quintinus Heduus*, an author, who lived in *Malta* about the middle of the 16th century, was of the ſame opinion. This writer affirmed, that the iſland of *Malta* was formerly ſubject to the *Carthaginians*; that the *Punic* tongue was ſpoken there in his time; that there were then extant ſome pillars in the iſland, which had *Punic* inſcriptions on them; and that the *Punic* words, to be found in *Plautus*, *Avicenna*, and others, were perfectly underſtood by the *Malteſe*, which he urges as an argument, that the *Punic* tongue was not even then much corrupted. Upon the whole, it appears, that the antient *Punic* language muſt have approached nearer the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* than the *Arabic*, though perhaps it was not remote from the latter of theſe languages. In the time of *Arnobius*, the *Punic* language was ſtill ſpoken in that part of the country bordering upon the *Garamantes*. More northerly the *Latin* tongue was uſed, and beſides theſe two, no leſs than twenty-two languages, or rather dialects, prevailed. It is certain, that the *Carthaginians* ſpoke both the *Punic* and *Libyan*.

The *Punic* letters were anciently the ſame with the *Phœnician*, and though they altered conſiderably through length of time, yet they always retained a great reſemblance to their originals, as appears from a compariſon of the characters upon the moſt elegant *Phœnician* and *Punic* coins.

Little can be ſaid as to the progreſs of the liberal arts and ſciences among the *Carthaginians*; for if *Carthage* could ever have boaſted of any famous productions of this kind, they are all now loſt. Some of their generals were moſt eminently famous for military ſkill, though even in this they ſeem to have been very deficient, till put into a right method by *Xantippus* Little regard paid to the liberal arts by the *Carthaginians*.

* Priſcian, lib. v. Auguſt. ſuper Joan tract. 15. t. 9.

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the *Lacedæmonian*; but philoſophy, we have reaſon to apprehend, was always at a low ebb among them.

Cuſtoms of the *Carthaginians.*

The following were ſome of their principal cuſtoms. They ſuffered no private injury offered by any perſon whatſoever to another to go unpuniſhed. This maxim of equity they received from their firſt anceſtors, and were very ſtrict on all occaſions in the obſervance of it.

No one was permitted to carry the news of any near relation's death to another, but ſome perſon convicted of a capital crime, for which he was ſoon to ſuffer.

If any remarkable misfortune happened to the city, the walls were all hung with black §. They uſed dogs fleſh for food till the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*: but upon that prince's conceiving ſome diſguſt at this practice, they left it off, at leaſt for a certain period of time *.

The ſoldiers were prohibited, under the ſevereſt puniſhment, whilſt in the field to taſte wine; a laudable inſtance this of their temprance and ſobriety.

Every ſoldier, at leaſt every officer, wore a number of rings anſwering to the number of campaigns he had made; which doubtleſs was intended to excite a noble ſpirit of emulation among them, inſpire them with a thirſt after military glory; and conſequently led them on to the greateſt atchievements †.

Their generals, tho' perfectly innocent, upon any diſaſter were frequently put to death; which was a moſt imprudent and barbarous cuſtom ‡.

The populace and the ſenators had diſtinct baths appointed them §.

It was uſual with many of them to have ſtatues or buſts of their lovers or intimate friends in their bedchamber, that they might, in ſome meaſure, ſee and converſe with them when abſent ‖.

Their anniverſary feſtivals were obſerved with great ſolemnity, particularly the day on which the *Tyrians*, under the conduct of *Dido*, began to lay the foundations of *Carthage*. This, according to *Silius*, was celebrated yearly, even till the deſtruction of the city, with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence.

There were no public inns amongſt them, and they entertained ſtrangers as friends in their own private houſes.

Before any enterpriſe of importance was taken, and upon all emergencies, they conſulted their augurs and vates. According to St. *Auguſtin*, theſe vates were in great repute about thoſe parts long before the deſtruction of *Carthage*; ſince one of them, named *Albicerius*, was very famous there in his time for the reſponſes he gave. The magiſtrates, while in office, were obliged to abſtain from wine; but that this inſtitution was always ob-

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§ Hendre. ut ſupra in Cap. de leg. & conſuetud. Diod. Sic. Livy. Oroſ. l. iv. * Juſt. l. xix. † Hendr. ubi ſupra. Livy. Plato de leg. ‡ Liv. Diod. Sic. Sil. Ital. § Val. Max. l. ix. ‖ Sil. Ital.

ſerved,

ſerved, we cannot affirm. The *Phœnicians* are ſaid to have repreſented their gods as carrying large bags full of money; becauſe gold among them was the emblem of power, and ſymbol of dominion. The *Carthaginians*, perhaps, repreſented theirs in the ſame manner; which, together with the vaſt quantities of treaſure continually rolling into their coffers, and the great variety of the moſt precious commodities brought from all parts of the world in their ſhips, might occaſion that inſatiable avarice.

Their minds were entirely ſet upon amaſſing of wealth, being mean-ſpirited, groveling, and ſordid to an incredible degree; and to gratify their avarice they ſtuck at no law, not to ſay infamous arts. This muſt be underſtood of the *Carthaginians* in the later periods, and towards the decline of their ſtate; for it is not to be queſtioned but that they were of a better turn of mind in the earlieſt ages, and that even to the laſt they had many perſons of generous and heroic ſentiments amongſt them. The ardour and public ſpirit the women themſelves ſhewed, juſt before the laſt ſiege of *Carthage*, as well as during that ſiege, ſufficiently prove this. We find, indeed, ſuch a contraſt of good and bad qualities in this people, that it is almoſt impoſſible to determine which of them were predominant. However, as the characters we have of the *Carthaginians* come handed down to us chiefly from the *Romans*, their implacable enemies, we muſt not pay too great a regard to them. The *Romans* were at pains to deſtroy not only the *Punic* archives, but almoſt every thing the *Punic* writers had produced, that had any appearance of literature or true hiſtory. Character of the *Carthaginians*.

Polybius complains, that both *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*, and *Fabius Pictor* the *Roman* hiſtorian, were ſo partial in their relations, that no great credit could be given to either of them. The *Carthaginians* were noted for their perfidiouſneſs and black ingratitude; and according to *Plutarch*, they were of a moroſe, ſaturnine, and ſavage diſpoſition, utterly averſe to every thing that had the leaſt appearance of wit or raillery. The great *Hannibal*, however, was an exception to this general character of their nation given by *Plutarch*. For he improved his natural talents by the moſt polite education which that age afforded, had a great fund of natural wit, and was diſtinguiſhed for his ſmart turns and repartees. Some of the *Carthaginians* were filled with an intolerable ſpirit of arrogance and moſt vicious ambition, by which they were prompted to deſire divine honours. Of this, *Hanno* affords us a flagrant inſtance; who, as we are told by *Ælian*, taught birds to ſay, *Hanno is a god*; though this did not anſwer his end, ſince after their flight from him they returned to their former notes again. The minds of the *Carthaginians* were ſo entirely engroſſed with commerce, the army, and the marine, that they had no leiſure or inclination to purſue the liberal arts and ſciences. They muſt, however, have at leaſt known ſomething of the rudiments of aſtronomy; ſince without this they could not have been tolerably verſed in the

the art of navigation. The *Edomites*, *Phœnicians*, and *Egyptians*, were famous among the antients for their ſuperior knowlege in celeſtial ſciences. The *Carthaginians*, therefore, could not have been void of a competent knowlege herein. That they had ſome notion likewiſe of ſculpture and painting, is plain from the *dii Patæci* they carried along with them in their voyages; as likewiſe from the pictures with which their ſhips of war and other veſſels were adorned. As a ſeafaring and mercantile people are always ingenious in contriving a variety of commodities to ſupply the neceſſities or luxury of other nations; it is alſo probable that they were very well acquainted with the inferior mechanical arts, eſpecially if we conſider that the *Tyrians*, from whom they were deſcended, were celebrated above all other nations for their mechanical ſkill in very early ages. But the ſuperb temples, magnificent palaces, rich furniture, great variety of arms, *&c.* in *Carthage*, put this point beyond diſpute. So famous was *Carthage* for its artificers, that any ſingular invention, or exquiſite piece of workmanſhip, ſeems to have been called *Punic* even by the *Romans*, their implacable enemies. Thus the *Punic* beds or couches, the *Punic* windows, the *Punic* wine-preſſes, the *Punic* lanterns, were, of all others, eſteemed the moſt neat and elegant by that people*.

Few perſons of learning among the *Carthaginians*.

Notwithſtanding the great havock made by the *Romans* in the writings of this people, yet the names of ſome of their writers have been tranſmitted to poſterity. *Hannibal*, the moſt renowned general *Carthage* ever produced, was well verſed in the *Greek* language; in which, according to *Cornelius Nepos* and *Plutarch*, he wrote ſeveral pieces †.

Mago, another celebrated general of the *Carthaginians*, acquired as much glory to his country by his writings as by his military atchievements. He wrote 28 volumes upon huſbandry; which the *Roman* ſenate had in ſuch eſteem, that after the taking of *Carthage*, when they preſented the *African* princes with the liberaries found there, they ordered theſe books to be tranſlated into *Latin*, tho' *Cato* had before written copiouſly on that ſubject. The libraries above-mentioned, are a farther proof that learning was not entirely baniſhed *Carthage* ‡.

Philinus, tho' a *Sicilian*, being born at *Agrigentum*, is reckoned by *Polybius* as a *Carthaginian* hiſtorian.

Himilco, a ſea commander, having ſailed to the weſtern ſhores and ports of *Europe* by orders from the ſenate of *Carthage*, wrote a journal of his voyage, together with an account of his diſcoveries; which were inſerted in the *Punic* annals. *Feſtus Avienus* has entirely followed this author in his deſcription of the weſtern coaſts of the world; and intimates, that he ſaw the original journal itſelf in thoſe annals. From *Feſtus* it appears

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* Val. Max. Cato de re ruſt. Ovid. El. vi. Plaut. Aulul. † Corn. Nep. Plut. in Scip. ‡ Cic. l. i. de orat. Plin. l. xviii.

that

that the *Carthaginians* were acquainted with the *Britannic* iſlands, which he calls *Oeſtrymnides*.

Hanno, another *Carthaginian* general, by order of the ſenate, ſailed with a conſiderable fleet round *Africa*. He entered the ocean by the *Straits* of *Gibraltar*, and made many important diſcoveries; but was prevented from continuing his navigation for want of proviſions. He wrote a relation of his voyage, a fragment of a *Greek* verſion of which is ſtill remaining. Mr. *Dodwell* has, with the greateſt appearance of truth, fixed his time ſome where betwixt the 92d and 129th Olympiad *.

Silenus was an hiſtorian who wrote of the *Carthaginian* affairs in the *Greek* language. Some authors take him to have been the ſame with *Philinus* above-mentioned; but of this there is no ſufficient proof †.

Clitomachus, called in the *Punic* language *Aſdrubal*, was a great philoſopher. He ſucceeded the famous *Carneades*, whoſe diſciple he had been, and maintained in *Athens* the honour of the *Academic* ſect. *Cicero* ſays, that he was a more ſenſible man, and fonder of ſtudy, than the *Carthaginians* generally were. He compoſed ſeveral books, in one of which he conſoled the unhappy citizens of *Carthage*, who by the ruin of their city were reduced to ſlavery ‡.

We ſhall here ſubjoin what *Pliny* tells us of *Hanno*; namely, that he was the firſt man that dared to touch, and could tame a lion. The ſame author adds, that he was condemned, which probably implies either death or baniſhment, on account of this art; his countrymen being perſuaded, that he, who had power of ſoftening the fierceſt of beaſts, muſt likewiſe be capable of influencing the minds of his fellow-citizens in ſuch a manner, as to become maſter of their freedom §. *Hanno* the firſt who tamed a lion.

With regard to trade and navigation, no nation was ever more famous for theſe, nor enjoyed them in a larger extent than the *Carthaginians*. They were perfectly acquainted with all the ports in the *Mediterranean*; and they puſhed their diſcoveries and commerce weſtward farther, in all probability, than any other nation. *Britain* and the *Canaries* were known to them, and according to ſome, *America* itſelf. It appears from *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, not to mention many other authors, that ſcarce any people made ſo great a figure by ſea as the *Carthaginians*. They inherited from the *Tyrians* their great diſpoſition for commerce, and in proceſs of time eclipſed the glory even of their anceſtors. *Carthage*, by the natural fertility of its ſoil, the ſurpriſing ſkill of its artificers, and by its happy ſituation, became the centre of traffic of the moſt remote nations. The trade and navigation of the *Carthaginians*.

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* Plin. l. ii. Athen. Deipnoſ. l. iii. Mela. l. iii. Dodwell. diſſert. de peripl. Hannon. Ariſt. de admirand. audit. Juſtin, l. xxii. † Cic. de divinat. ‡ Plut. de fort. Alex. Diog. Laert. in Clitom. § Plin. ut ſupra.

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The commodities they ſupplied other countries with in great abundance, ſeem to have been corn and fruits of all kinds; divers ſorts of proviſions and high ſauces, wax, honey, oil, the ſkins of wild beaſts, &c. all the natural produce of their own territories. Their ſtaple manufactures were utenſils, toys, cables made of the ſhrub *ſpartum*, a kind of broom, all kinds of naval ſtores, and the colour from them called *Punic*, the preparation of which ſeems to have been peculiar to them. From *Egypt* they fetched fine flax, paper, &c. from the coaſts of the *Red-ſea*, ſpices, frankincenſe, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious ſtones; from *Tyre* and *Phœnicia*, purple, ſcarlet, with ſtuffs, tapeſtry, coſtly furniture; and from the weſtern parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, they brought back iron, tin, lead, copper, &c. No branch of their commerce ſeems to have been more beneficial to the *Carthaginians* than that which they carried on with the *Perſians*, *Garamantes*, and *Ethiopians*. Theſe remote nations, beſides other rich commodities, brought with them carbuncles, of almoſt ineſtimable value, to *Carthage*. Theſe wares, from the plenty of them in this city, were called by the antients *Charchedonian*, or *Carthaginian*, as *Pliny* relates. From *Polybius* it appears probable, that the *Carthaginian* merchants, at the ſale of their wares, had a cryer and ſecretary, or clerk, to attend them. No profeſſion was reckoned more honourable in this ſtate than that of the merchant; and the moſt conſiderable perſonages in the city were not aſhamed to apply themſelves to it.

CHAP. III.

The hiſtory of the CARTHAGINIANS *from the foundation of their city, to the total deſtruction thereof by the* ROMANS.

Eliſa with a great many *Phœnicians* leave *Tyre*.

ELISA, or *Dido*, on account of the cruelty and inſatiable avarice of her brother *Pygmalion*, fled to *Tyre* in the 7th year of his reign. This prince had murdered her huſband *Sichæus*, in hopes of obtaining poſſeſſion of his great wealth. *Dido* diſſembled her reſentment, and kept up the appearance of affection for her brother, till an opportunity offered of aſſembling her friends, and concerting with them the proper meaſures for ſpeedily abandoning *Tyre*, and carrying off her immenſe treaſure, which was concealed under ground. The principal of her aſſociates were her brother *Barca* and ſeveral ſenators; who hating *Pygmalion*, and apprehending themſelves every moment in danger of being ſacrificed by a prince who had broken thro' all the ties of nature and humanity, engaged to follow her at all adventures. Her deſign being ready for execution, ſhe applied to the king for veſſels to carry her and

Barca, with their effects, to *Charlica*, a maritime town in his dominions, under the pretext of an intention to reſide there. To this *Pygmalion* readily agreed; as imagining, that by ſuch a ſtep, he ſhould become maſter of what had ſo long been the object of his deſires. *Dido*, as ſoon as ſhe was got at a proper diſtance from land, cauſed to be thrown into the ſea ſome bags filled with ſand, pretending that they contained her huſband's wealth; and then, in a doleful tone, entreated his manes to accept of thoſe riches as an oblation. She then repreſented to her aſſociates, that there was nothing terrible they might not fear from the tyrant's reſentment if ever they fell into his hands, for being inſtrumental in defeating his avaricious purpoſe; and having by this means fixed them more firmly in her intereſt, ſhe purſued her voyage, and got out of her brother's reach before he was apprized of her reſolution.

Pygmalion, after her departure, hearing of her deſign, gave orders to fit out a fleet with all poſſible expedition in order to purſue her; but he was diverted from this reſolution by the entreaties of his mother and the menaces of the augurs, who threatened him with the indignation of the gods if he offered, in any manner, to obſtruct the grand project *Eliſa* was gone upon *. *Pygmalion* prevented from purſuing her.

The firſt place our heroine touched at, was ſome port in the iſland of *Cyprus*; poſſibly *Salamis*, which was then in its infancy; ſince according to *Virgil* and *Servius*, *Teucer* and *Mettinus*, *Eliſa*'s father ſeized upon a port of *Cyprus* not very long before, when the former of theſe built *Salamis*. Here a prieſt of *Jupiter* offering to attend her with his whole family, and partake of her future fortune, ſhe readily received him; and looking upon his voluntary offer as a good omen, ſhe ſettled the prieſthood of *Jupiter* in his family.

It was a prevailing cuſtom in this iſland, at the time of *Eliſa*'s arrival, for the maids to go on certain ſtated days to the ſeaſide, there to look for ſtrangers that might poſſibly arrive on their coaſts, in order to proſtitute themſelves for gain, and thereby acquire a dowry. Out of theſe the *Tyrians* ſelected a certain number, *Juſtin* ſays 80, and carrying them on board, found them very ſubſervient to their deſign of planting a new colony.

From hence they proceeded for the coaſt of *Africa*, and at laſt happily landed not far from *Utica*, a *Phœnician* city of great antiquity in *Africa*. The inhabitants received their countrymen with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and adviſed them to build a city upon that ſpot, to which the fates had conducted them. *Eliſa* hearkning to their advice, applied herſelf to cultivate a good underſtanding with the natives; to which they *Eliſa* and her followers land in *Africa*. She cultivates a good underſtanding with the natives,

* Juſtin. l. xviii. Tacit. annal. xvi. Sil. Ital. l. i. Appian in Lib. Herodian. l. v. Liv. xxxiv. Vel. Pat. l. i. Virg. Æn. l. i. Strabo, l. xvii. Plin. l. v. &c.

they at firſt were by no means averſe, perceiving the advantage that would naturally flow to them from an eſtabliſhed commerce and harmony betwixt the two nations. She purchaſed of them a tract of land for her and her followers to ſettle upon *Juſtin*, *Appian*, *Virgil*, *Euſtathius*, and others, intimate, that the *Phœnicians* impoſed upon the *Africans*, when a bargain was made betwixt them, in the following manner: They deſired, for their intended ſettlement, only ſo much ground as an ox's hide would encompaſs. This requeſt the *Africans* firſt laughed at; but were ſurpriſed when, upon their granting it, they found *Eliſa* cut the whole hide into one narrow thong, and with that ſurrounded a large extent of territory, on which ſhe built a citadel, from this incident called *Byrſa*. The learned, however, unanimouſly agree in exploding this fable. *Appian* ſeems to inſinuate, that at firſt *Eliſa* met with ſome oppoſition from the natives, which poſſibly may be true; ſince it is certain that the *Africans* exacted an annual tribute for the ground which the *Tyrians* poſſeſſed, and the latter paid it for many years.

and makes a ſettlement on that coaſt.

Many of the neighbouring people in a ſhort time incorporating themſelves with the *Phœnicians*, *Dido*, encouraged by the encreaſe of her ſubjects, began to build a new city, or at leaſt much enlarged the old one, which could make no very conſiderable figure before. This new city ſoon became very populous, and made itſelf reſpected by all its neighbours. We are told by *Juſtin*, that in digging for the foundations of the city, the workmen firſt found an ox's head; which tho' judged a ſymbol of fertility of ſoil, at the ſame time preſaged, as they imagined, continual toil and ſervitude to the city. Upon this they removed to another ſpot, where in digging they diſcovered a horſe's head, and, according to *Euſtathius*, with it, a branch of palm; which they interpreted as a happier omen, portending the future martial genius of the inhabitants, and accordingly choſe this ſpot for the ſituation of their city. In alluſion to this it was that the *Carthaginians* had, in after ages, a horſe's head, or a horſe and a palm tree ſo frequently upon the reverſes of their coins.

The *Carthaginians* are ſometimes called *Sidonians*, and their city *Tyre*, by antient authors. *Euſebius* ſeems to affirm, that its moſt antient name was *Origo*; but as *Carthage* and its foundreſs are both mentioned in that paſſage, and as her name *Eliſa* imports the ſame thing in *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* as *Virago* in *Latin*, *Bochart* takes the word *Origo* to be a corruption of *Ouirago*, and conſequently ſuppoſes it to refer not to *Carthage*, but to *Eliſa* or *Dido* *. It is likewiſe denominated by *Stephanus Oenuſa*, or *Oennſſa*, by *Euſtathius Cadmea*, and by *Suidas Aphrice*. According to St. *Jerom*, the name *Tarſhiſh* in Scripture ſometimes denotes *Carthage*; and in one paſſage particularly this

* Sall. bell. Jugurth. Ov. Ep. Her. Bochart, Chan. & Phal.

word

word ſeems ſo plainly to point at that city, that it is rendered in the Vulgate verſion *Carthago* †.

The new colony flouriſhing in a moſt remarkable manner, *Dido* *Jarbas*, a neighbouring prince, was tempted to make himſelf ſought in maſter of it without any effuſion of blood. In order to this, marriage he deſired that an embaſſy of ten of the moſt noble *Carthagi-* by *Jar-* *nians* might be ſent to him. He propoſed to theſe ambaſſadors *bas.* a marriage with *Eliſa*, or *Dido*; which laſt, in all probability, was the name ſhe went by after her departure from her native country, and threatned them with a war in caſe of a refuſal. The ambaſſadors being afraid to deliver the meſſage, told their ſovereign, with *Punic* ſubtlety, that *Jarbas* deſired ſome perſon might be ſent to him who was capable of civilizing his *Afri-* *cans*; but that it would be impoſſible to find any of her ſubjects who would leave his relations to converſe with ſuch barbarians. The queen reprimanding them, and aſking them if they were not aſhamed to refuſe living in any manner that might be be-neficial to the country, they then opened to her the king's command, adding, that according to her own deciſion of the point, ſhe ought to ſacrifice herſelf to her country's welfare. Being thus enſnared, ſhe called upon her huſband *Sichæus* with tears and lamentations, and at laſt anſwered, that ſhe would go where her own fate and that of her city called her. Requir-ing three months for the execution of her deſign, ſhe in the mean time cauſed a pile to be erected in the fartheſt part of the city, and when the time was elapſed ſhe aſcended it; and look-ing round upon her ſpectators, told them, ſhe was now going to her huſband as they had ordered her; and immediately, with a dagger, ſhe gave herſelf a mortal wound. Her death.

This is *Juſtin*'s account of her death, which is different from that of *Virgil*. *Cedrenus* and Sir *Iſaac Newton* favour *Virgil*'s notion, tho' they do not in all points agree with him. The former of theſe relates, that *Æneas* the *Phrygian*, after the de-ſtruction of *Troy*, came to *Africa*, and reſided ſome time with *Dido* there; but perceiving that *Jarbas* king of the *Numidi-* *ans*, the *Mauritanians*, the *Maſſyli*, and the *Getulians*, took umbrage at this, he thought proper to retire, as dreading the effects of his power and reſentment. This paſſage of *Cedrenus* ſeems greatly to ſupport Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s opinion in relation to *Æneas* and *Dido*'s being cotemporaries, and likewiſe to evince that *Virgil* and *Trogus*, whom *Juſtin* epitomiſed, agree in their chronology.

How long *Dido* reigned in *Carthage*, or when ſhe came to the violent death above-mentioned, cannot be determined. She appears to have been a woman of an uncommon genius, as her brother *Barca* and ſiſter *Anna*, who attended her to *Africa*, committed every thing to her management and direction. This likewiſe may be concluded from the ſecreſy and prudence with

† Ezek. xxvii. 12. Theodoret. Hieronym. Euſeb. in Chron.

which her grand enterprize was conducted. That she was a lady of most attractive charms, as well as a rare pattern of chastity, is attested by the best authors *.

A chasm in the history of *Carthage*.

After the tragical death of *Dido*, there is a chasm in the *Carthaginian* history for above 300 years. During this period, *Justin*, and he only, gives us to understand, that *Carthage* was much agitated by civil dissensions, and sometimes harassed with the plague. From *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, it appears that this republic had got a strong footing in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and made considerable acquisitions elsewhere in very early times. *Thucydides* and *Herodotus* also put it beyond dispute that it was formidable by sea in the time of *Cyrus* and *Cambyses*. Almost all their exploits, however, in this early period, are now buried in oblivion.

Carthage formidable at sea in the time of *Cyrus*.

That they were early formidable at sea, appears particularly from a naval engagement that happened between the united fleets of the *Carthaginians* and *Etruscans*, against that of the *Phocæans*, a very considerable maritime power in the reign of *Cyrus*. The *Phocæans*, indeed, gained the victory; but almost their whole fleet was either sunk or disabled; insomuch that they durst not venture a second engagement, but abandoned the island of *Cyrnus*, now *Corsica*, to the *Carthaginians* and *Etruscans*. The combined fleet consisted of 120 sail, and the *Phocæan* of 60.

Towards the conclusion of the reign of *Cyrus*, or that of his uncle *Cyaxares*, the *Carthaginians* carried on a war with the neighbouring *African* princes, wherein they obtained great advantages; which, according to *Justin*, were chiefly owing to the conduct and bravery of their general *Machæus*. The same general, soon after the conclusion of this war, was sent with a powerful fleet and a great body of forces into *Sicily*, and reduced a good part of that island to the obedience of the republic. Notwithstanding the happy situation of their affairs abroad, the same author insinuates that they were very much agitated by civil dissensions at home, and afflicted with other evils, of which the pestilence then raging dreadfully in *Carthage* seems to have been the most terrible. This they attributed to the anger of the gods, and endeavoured to appease them with human sacrifices. Nay, in order to render them more propitious to their city, they scrupled not to offer up their own children on this melancholy occasion. This inhumanity, however, did not bring success to their arms. On the contrary, having soon after invaded *Sardinia*, they received a notable defeat from the *Sardi*, in which above half their army was cut to pieces; which so enraged them against *Machæus*, who had commanded in that expedition, that they banished him, with the remainder of the army under his command. *Machæus*, who had hitherto been successful and victorious, and had greatly enlarged the territo-

They reduce a good part of the island of *Sicily*.

Banish their general *Machæus*.

* Reinec. hist. Jul. tom. 1. Sil. Ital. Justin. Tertul. Macrob. Auson.

ries

ties of the republic both in *Sicily* and *Africa*, highly reſented this ungrateful treatment. He ſent to *Carthage* firſt in an amicable manner, begging the ſenate not to impute to him and the troops the misfortune that had befallen them, but to permit them to return home quietly; which not being granted, he threatned to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms. The ſenate not regarding his threatning, he embarked his army, and came and inveſted the city; his troops appealing to the gods above for the purity of their intentions, and declaring in the preſence of gods and men, that their deſign was not to hurt their fellow-citizens, but only to demonſtrate to them what wrong ſentiments they had entertained of their valour. The citizens ſtill rejecting an accommodation, were ſoon reduced by the army to great diſtreſs. During the ſiege, *Cartalo*, the general's ſon, who was prieſt of *Hercules*, and had been at *Tyre* with the tenth of an immenſe quantity of ſpoil taken by his father in *Sicily*, returned to *Carthage*. As he paſſed by the camp to enter the city, he was ordered by his father to come to him immediately; but he evaded complying with this command, under pretence that he muſt perform the public offices of religion, before he could give an inſtance of filial duty. Soon after, having obtained leave, he came out to the camp dreſſed in his pontifical robes. *Machæus*, who was greatly enraged at his inſolent contempt of his command, took him aſide, and reproached him in the following terms: "Haſt thou the aſſurance, moſt "abandoned wretch, to appear in this rich and ſplendid habit "before ſo many miſerable citizens, and a camp overwhelmed "with woe? Was there no place for thee to diſplay thy pride "and haughtineſs in, but in this ſpot of ground which is the "ſcene of thy father's miſery and diſgrace? How came you "ſo lately to deſpiſe, with ſuch an inſolent air, the command "of your father, but the general of your fellow citizens? "Since, therefore, you have conſidered me not as a father, "but an exile, I in return will behave to you not as a father "but a general." He accordingly immediately cauſed a high croſs to be erected, and crucified him thereon in his ſacred veſtments, in the ſight of all the citizens. The city ſurrendering ſome days after, *Machæus* convened the ſenate and people, and complaining of the injury and indignity offered him, excuſed the hoſtile manner in which he had behaved towards them, as not being the effect of choice but neceſſity. He made no alterations in the eſtabliſhed form of government, but contented himſelf with putting to death ten of the ſenators, by whoſe advice the late violent reſolutions againſt him and the army had been taken *.

He beſieges *Carthage*.

Crucifies his his ſon *Carthalo*.

Reduces the city.

The republic, for a ſhort time, enjoyed ſome repoſe; but *Machæus*, puffed up with the late advantages he had gained, ſoon endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution, and introduce

* Juſtin & Oros.

He is afterwards put to death for an attempt to introduce arbitrary power.

arbitrary power. His pernicious views, however, being happily discovered, his scheme was defeated, and he received the punishment due to so great a crime.

Herodotus informs us, that *Cambyses*, in the 6th year of his reign, resolved upon an expedition against the *Carthaginians* but that he was forced to drop his project, because the *Phœnicians*, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him therein. This is a plain proof that the whole naval power of the *Persian* empire at that time, without the assistance of the *Tyrians*, was not able to cope with that of the *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthaginians* conclude their first treaty with the *Romans*. Bef. Chr. 503.

In the year after the expulsion of the kings from *Rome*, the *Carthaginians* sent ambassadors thither, and concluded a treaty with the *Romans*. This treaty chiefly related to navigation and commerce, and was to be seen in the time of *Polybius* on the base of a column in the antient *Roman* language. By this treaty, which was signed 28 years before *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, it appears that the whole island of *Sardinia*, and part of that of *Sicily*, were then subject to the *Carthaginians*. From hence we learn also, that the *Carthaginians* were then very well acquainted with the coasts of *Italy*, had visited several of the petty nations seated there, and even made some attempts upon them, before this period. Next, it appears that this nation was tolerably versed in the art of fortification, and made it a common practice to build forts or castles upon their making a descent in any country. The treaty also makes it manifest, that the *Carthaginians* were particularly careful to exclude the *Romans* from all the territories subject to them, as well as from the knowlege of what was transacting in them, as though, even at that time, they had taken umbrage at the growing power of the *Romans*. Lastly, the *Carthaginians*, according to *Polybius*, would not allow the *Romans* to sail beyond the promontory called *the fair Promontory*, lying to the north of *Carthage*, lest they should discover the fruitfulness of the land, and be tempted to make a settlement there. This, doubtless, was a wise precaution, and shewed, that the *Carthaginians* were not only a people of foresight, but likewise acquainted with the enterprizing genius of the *Romans* long before they came to blows with them.

Mago succeeds *Machæus*, and leaves his high offices to his two sons.

The republic being delivered from the ambitious designs of *Machæus*, conferred all the high offices he had filled upon *Mago*, who, if we may judge from the good effects of his administration, was a person of most consummate merit and abilities. *Justin* says, that he was the first who introduced military discipline among the *Carthaginian* soldiery. In his time the dominions of *Carthage* were also much enlarged, its commerce rendered more extensive, and its riches encreased, virtue alone being countenanced both in the army and state. His two sons *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, succeeded him in his high employments.

The two brothers inheriting their father's virtues, the republic sent them with an army against *Sardinia*, which had revolted.

volted. There is no account given of the ſucceſs of this war. We are only told, that towards the cloſe of it, *Aſdrubal* was mortally wounded, and was greatly lamented by the *Carthaginians*, as indeed they had good reaſon. For he had been eleven times one of the ſuffetes, and diſcharged the duties of that high office with great applauſe, and had, moreover, triumphed no leſs than four times.

The *Carthaginians*, about this period, had a mind to ſhake off the *African* yoke, that is, to diſcontinue the tribute, which by their original contract with that people they were obliged to pay. The *Africans*, however, were ſo ſucceſsful in this war, that a peace was concluded to their advantage, and the payment of the tribute was continued.

The *Carthaginians* in vain endeavour to ſhake off the *African* yoke.

About this time *Darius Hyſtaſpis* king of *Perſia*, ſent an embaſſy to *Carthage*, requiring the people of that city to abſtain from human ſacrifices, and eating dog's fleſh; to burn their dead, and not to bury them; and laſtly, to furniſh him with a body of troops to ſerve in the war he was going to declare againſt *Greece*. Every thing, except the laſt article, was complied with, at leaſt in appearance, for ſome time, till all apprehenſions of feeling his reſentment were vaniſhed. *Juſtin* obſerves, that the *Carthaginians*, at this juncture, were much embroiled with their neighbours; which ſeems to ſuggeſt, that either the war with the *Sardi* and *Africans* above-mentioned, or ſome other, was then carried on. It is no wonder *Darius* ſhould apply to the people of *Carthage* for aſſiſtance againſt the *Greeks*, ſince both the *Perſians* and *Carthaginians* looked upon that nation as their common enemy.

They receive an embaſſy from *Darius Hyſtaſpis*.

Some few years afterwards, the *Greeks* of *Sicily* being extremely haraſſed by the *Carthaginians*, ſollicited ſuccours from the *Lacedæmonians*; but could not obtain their requeſt. *Gelon*, tyrant of *Syracuſe*, however, ſupported himſelf without the aſſiſtance of the *Greeks*, and even gained ſome advantages over the *Carthaginians**.

Gelon gains ſome advantages over the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*.

Although the *Carthaginians* could not ſupply *Darius* with any ſuccours againſt the *Greeks*, yet, from *Juſtin*, it appears extremely probable, that an offenſive and defenſive league was made betwixt theſe two powers towards the cloſe of that prince's reign. It is at leaſt moſt certain that an alliance was formed between *Xerxes* the ſucceſſor of *Darius*, and the ſtate of *Carthage*; by which treaty the *Carthaginians* were to invade *Sicily* with all their forces, and to endeavour to drive the *Greeks* from thence and from *Italy*, while he invaded *Greece*.

The *Carthaginians* reduce part of *Spain*.

Before this treaty, it appears that the *Carthaginians* had got a conſiderable footing in *Spain*. We are no where preciſely told when this happened; nevertheleſs there is good reaſon to believe from *Diodorus* and *Juſtin*, that it was very early. The former of theſe aſſerts, that the great nerve of the *Carthaginian*

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* Herod. l. vii. Juſtin, l. xix.

power were the mines of *Spain*, which enabled them to equip ſuch powerful fleets, and make ſuch great conqueſts in *Sicily* and *Africa*. Hence it is apparent that the firſt *Carthaginian* ſettlement in *Spain*, muſt have long preceded not only the reigns of *Xerxes* and *Darius*, but even that of *Cyrus* himſelf. *Juſtin* intimates, that the *Carthaginians* firſt entered *Spain*, when the city of *Gades*, or *Cadiz*, was in its infancy. The neighbouring *Spaniards* attacked this new city with all their forces, inſomuch that the inhabitants were obliged to call in the *Carthaginians* to their aid. The *Carthaginians* not only repulſed the *Spaniards*, but likewiſe made themſelves maſters of almoſt the whole province in which the new city ſtood *.

This happy beginning inſpired the *Carthaginians* with thoughts of ſubduing the whole country, to which they were alſo ſtrongly excited by its rich mines. It appears, however, from *Livy* and *Polybius*, that the greateſt part of *Spain* remained unſubdued till the wars of *Hamilcar*, *Aſdrubal*, and *Hannibal*. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the *Carthaginians* planted a colony in the iſland *Ebuſus*, or *Ereſus*, now *Yvica*, on the coaſt of *Spain*, 160 years after the foundation of their city. The city *Ereſus*, the capital of the iſland, built by this colony, was ſurrounded with a good wall, and had a commodious harbour for ſhips. It was inhabited by a variety of barbarous nations, as *Diodorus* calls them; but the moſt numerous of theſe were the *Phœnicians*, or *Carthaginians*. It is highly probable, therefore, that about this time the *Balearic* iſlands, at preſent known by the names of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, were likewiſe either planted or reduced by the ſame people. The name itſelf is *Phœnician*, or *Punic*, and they are not 100 miles diſtant from *Ebuſus*, which itſelf, according to *Vitruvius*, was reckoned to belong to the *Balearic* iſlands. As the diſtance from *Yvica* to the continent of *Spain* is but very ſhort, we may therefore conclude that they became acquainted with that coaſt much about the ſame time that they planted *Yvica*; that is, about 160 years after the foundation of their city; which may well be ſuppoſed one of their moſt early foreign tranſactions. The *Carthaginians* were excited to extend their conqueſts in *Spain* not only on account of its rich mines, but alſo becauſe they ſupplied their armies with a great number of brave recruits from that country.

They plant a colony in the iſland *Ebuſus*, or *Yvica*.

Carthage, as we have ſeen, was early in poſſeſſion of *Sardinia* and the *Balearic* iſlands. It is alſo very probable that *Corſica* was poſſeſſed by them, either wholly or in part, in very antient times. This iſland was called by the *Greeks Cyrnus*, and by the *Romans* and natives *Corſica*. It had a large harbour, and two conſiderable cities; *Calaris*, or *Aleria*, built by the *Phocæans*, and *Nicæa* by the *Etruſcans*. *Herodotus* informs us, that the *Cyrnians*, or *Corſicans*, were one of thoſe nations out of which

Corſica and the *Balearic* iſlands probably planted by them about this time,

* Juſtin, l. xliv. Diod. l. v.

the

the *Carthaginians* formed that vaſt army with which they invaded *Sicily* in the days of *Gelon*.

It appears from *Diodorus*, that the ſmall iſlands of *Melita* and *Gaulos*, now *Malta* and *Gozzo*, were at firſt either peopled by the *Carthaginians*, or their anceſtors the *Phœnicians*. and alſo *Melita* and *Gaulos*.

As *Sicily* lay neareſt to *Carthage*, the *Carthaginians* probably made ſome ſettlements upon it very early. Tho' *Gelon*, tyrant of *Syracuſe*, gained ſeveral advantages over them; yet they might ſtill have ſome ſmall footing in the iſland when they concluded their alliance with *Xerxes*. In conſequence of this treaty, they made great preparations for a war with the *Greeks* of *Sicily* both by ſea and land. The preparations for this war were ſo prodigious, that it was three years before they were completed, notwithſtanding *Xerxes* ſent vaſt ſums of money to *Carthage* for that purpoſe. Having raiſed, with the *Perſian* ſubſidies, great numbers of mercenaries in *Africa*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Liguria*, *Corſica*, &c. the *Carthaginians* at laſt ſet ſail with an army of 300,000 men, and a fleet of above 2000 ſhips of war, with 3000 tranſports, being confident of making an entire conqueſt of *Sicily* the firſt campaign *. The general who commanded in this expedition was *Hamilcar* the ſon of *Hanno*, or, according to *Juſtin*, of *Mago*, a perſon of great authority both in the army and the city, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions in the ſervice of his country. In his paſſage from *Carthage* to *Sicily*, his horſes and chariots, with the veſſels they were on board, periſhed in a ſtorm; which doubtleſs was looked upon as ominous by the *Carthaginians*, who were extremely addicted to ſuperſtition. The *Carthaginians* ſend a powerful army to *Sicily*.

Hamilcar landing his troops at *Palermo*, halted three days to refreſh them, and repair the damage his fleet had ſuſtained, and then marched againſt *Himera*, which he cloſely inveſted. *Gelon*, tyrant of *Syracuſe*, came with an army of 55,000 men to the relief of the place; and having, by a ſtratagem, ſurprized the *Carthaginians*, ſlew *Hamilcar*, and cut off the greateſt part of his army. The *Carthaginian* fleet being alſo deſtroyed, thoſe who remained were all made priſoners, and ſold for ſlaves, as we have already related in the hiſtory of *Syracuſe*. According to *Diodorus*, *Hamilcar* was ſlain in his camp in the beginning of the engagement; but *Herodotus* relates, that during the whole engagement, which laſted from morning till night, *Hamilcar* was employed in throwing heaps of victims upon a flaming pile; but ſeeing his troops put to the rout, he himſelf ruſhed into the fire, and was entirely conſumed; on which account he was deified by the *Carthaginians*, becauſe his body could not be found among the ſlain. According to *Polyænus*, he was ſlain by ſome *Syracuſans* as he was approaching to a place where he uſed to ſacrifice. The *Carthaginians* had been encouraged to invade *Sicily* on this occaſion by *Terillus* tyrant of *Himera*; who Their army entirely defeated at *Himera* by *Gelon*.

* Diod. Sic. l. xi. Herod. l. vii. Ephor. ap. Schol. Pind..

having been expelled by *Theron* the ſon of the tyrant of *Agrigentum*, hoped, by means of the *Carthaginians*, to recover his dominions, and ſent his ſons to *Carthage* as hoſtages of his fidelity. Of the numerous *Carthaginian* fleet, only one ſmall boat eſcaped with a few men in it, who brought the melancholy news of the defeat to *Carthage*, which ſtruck the city with general conſternation. The *Carthaginians*, to prevent the victorious army from landing in *Africa*, as they expected, immediately ſent ambaſſadors to *Sicily* to beg a peace; which was generouſly granted them by *Gelon* on the following terms: That they ſhould pay 2000 talents of ſilver towards defraying the expences of the war; that they ſhould build two temples, in which the articles of the treaty ſhould be depoſited; and that for the future they ſhould abſtain from offering human ſacrifices. The *Carthaginians*, in gratitude to *Demarata*, the wife of *Gelon*, who had influenced her huſband to conſent to a peace, ſent her a crown of gold valued at 100 talents of that metal. Being incenſed at *Hamilcar*, to whom they imputed all their misfortune, they baniſhed his ſon *Giſco*, who returned to *Selinus*, where he died for want of neceſſaries. From this time to the cloſe of the 92d, or the beginning of the 93d Olympiad, we ſcarce find any mention of the *Carthaginians* or their affairs in the *Sicilian* hiſtory. In the mean time, ſeveral remarkable incidents mentioned by *Juſtin*, *Salluſt*, and *Valerius Maximus*, ſeem to have happened.

They beg a peace, which is granted to them.

The *Carthaginians* carried their arms againſt the *Moors*, *Numidians*, and other *African* nations, and greatly extended their frontiers in *Africa*. They likewiſe ſhook off the tribute, and rendered themſelves abſolutely independant.

The *Carthaginians* render themſelves independant in *Africa*.

They had warm diſputes with the people of *Cyrene*, a *Greek* colony, occaſioned by the want of a regulation of limits between the two ſtates. As the *Cyreneans* were very powerful, much blood was ſhed on this occaſion. The differences were at laſt accommodated in the following manner: Both ſtates being ſo exhauſted by their continual hoſtilities, that they were afraid of becoming a prey to ſome foreign invader; they conſented to a ceſſation of arms, and afterwards agreed that each city ſhould appoint two commiſſaries, who ſhould ſet out from their reſpective towns upon the ſame day; and that the ſpot they met upon, ſhould be the common boundary of both ſtates. In conſequence of this agreement, two brothers, called *Philæni*, were diſpatched from *Carthage*, who advanced with great celerity, whilſt the *Cyreneans* proceeded more ſlowly. Whether the delay of the latter was to be imputed to their lazineſs, or to ſome accident intervening, is not certain. However, the laſt is not improbable; ſince thoſe ſandy regions, at certain ſeaſons of the year, are agitated by ſtormy winds, like the ſurface of the ſea, and thereby rendered impaſſible. *Valerius Maximus* intimates, that the *Philæni* acted perfidiouſly, by ſetting out before the appointed time. Be this as it may, the *Cyreneans* finding themſelves too tardy, and fearing to be called

Diſputes betwixt them and the *Cyreneans*.

to

to an account for their conduct, accuſed the *Carthaginians* of breach of faith, by beginning their journey before the ſtipulated time. The *Philæni*, on the other hand, talked with much ſeeming calmneſs and moderation, and deſired the *Cyreneans* to propoſe ſome expedient for removing the differences between them; promiſing to ſubmit to it, whatever it might be. The latter then propoſed to them, either to retire from the place they had fixed upon for the limit of their dominions, or ſuffer themſelves to be buried alive there. The *Carthaginian* brothers, to the aſtoniſhment of the *Cyreneans*, conſented, without heſitation, to this propoſal, laid down their lives, and gained a large extent of territory by that means to their country. The *Carthaginians*, ever afterwards, celebrated this as a moſt heroic action, paid divine honours to the *Philæni*, and erected two altars on the ſpot where they were buried. If the account of *Valerius Maximus* be true, it is ſurpriſing that any civilized nation could be ſo far prejudiced by intereſt, as to juſtify fraud, perfidy, and a violation of public faith, by conferring honours on thoſe who deſerved rather the ſevereſt puniſhment.

A new war betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſans*. Bef. Chriſt 412.

The *Carthaginians* were again encouraged to attempt the conqueſt of *Sicily*, on account of ſome diſſenſions betwixt the inhabitants of *Selinus* and *Egeſta*; the latter of whom implored their aſſiſtance. They promiſed ſuccours to the *Egeſtines*; but before they directly engaged in the war, they made an eſtimate of the prodigious ſums neceſſary to ſupport it and the numerous body of forces requiſite to carry it on with vigour. They appropriated certain funds to the defraying of the expences of the war, and impowered *Hannibal*, whom they declared general, to raiſe an army equal to the undertaking, and to equip a ſuitable fleet. *Hannibal*, who was then one of the ſuffetes of *Carthage*, and had great intereſt in the republic, ſailed the following ſpring with a powerful army to *Sicily*, and landing in the iſland, encamped at a place called *the well of* Lilybæum, where the city of *Lilybæum* was afterwards built. According to *Ephorus* the hiſtorian, his army conſiſted of 200,000 foot and 4000 horſe; but *Timæus Siculus*, and after him *Diodorus*, makes the number of his troops to be about 100,000. *Hannibal*, ſoon after his landing, began his march for *Selinus*, and in his way took *Emporium*, a town ſeated on the river *Mazara*, by ſtorm. Having inveſted *Selinus*, he divided his army into two parts, and carried on the approaches with great vigour. The *Selinuntines* defended themſelves with the utmoſt bravery; but their city was at length taken and plundered by the *Carthaginians*, who exerciſed all manner of cruelty upon the inhabitants. Sixteen thouſand citizens were ſlain, 2600 eſcaped to *Agrigentum*, and about 5000 women and children were carried away captives. Some *Syracuſans*, who had arrived at *Agrigentum* on their way to ſuccour the beſieged, ſent to intreat *Hannibal* to ſpare the temples of *Selinus*; but he replied, that the gods, provoked at the wickedneſs of the inhabitants,

Hannibal ſails with a powerful fleet to *Sicily*.

He takes and plunders *Selinus*.

habitants, had forſaken both the city and the temples, whence it would be no ſacrilege to ſtrip them of their ornaments. This anſwer is a clear demonſtration of the *Punic* genius at that time. *Hannibal* accordingly having razed the city to the ground, plundered the temples of all their wealth: but the *Syracuſans* ſending a ſecond embaſſy to him, and at the head of it *Empediones*, a *Selinuntine*, who had always been in the intereſt of the *Carthaginians*, *Hannibal* received him with great affection, reſtored to him his eſtate, pardoned all the priſoners related to him, and permitted all the *Selinuntines* who had fled to *Agrigentum* to rebuild their city, upon paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians*.

He inveſts *Himera*, which he alſo reduces.

Twenty thouſand *Siculi* and *Sicani* ſoon after joining *Hannibal*, he next marched againſt *Himera*, which after an obſtinate ſiege he alſo took and razed, murdering almoſt the whole inhabitants without diſtinction of ſex or age. *Hannibal*, after the reduction of theſe two cities, diſmiſſed the *Siculi* and confederates, and diſbanding the *Campanians*, who went back to *Italy*, he embarked the greateſt part of his troops and returned to *Carthage*. He was received by the whole city with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general who had performed greater things, in ſo ſhort a time, than any ever before him.

The *Carthaginians* ſend new troops to *Sicily*.

The *Carthaginians* being now filled with hopes of making an eaſy conqueſt of *Sicily*, joined *Imilcar* the ſon of *Hanno*, in commiſſion with *Hannibal*, and hired a great number of mercenaries. They alſo took a body of *Campanians* into their pay, and received a conſiderable number of auxiliaries from the princes and ſtates with whom they were in alliance; namely, the *Mauritanians*, *Numidians*, and even the nations bordering on *Cyrenaica*. After the junction of all theſe troops with the national forces, the *Carthaginian* army, according to *Ephorus*, conſiſted of 300,000 men; but according to *Timæus*, of only 120,000.

They found a new city in that iſland.

At the ſame time they drew together, out of *Carthage* and other cities in *Africa*, all perſons who were willing to tranſplant themſelves, and with them peopled a new city which they had built near the hot baths in *Sicily*, which was from thence called, by the *Greeks*, *Therma*.

Hannibal inveſts *Agrigentum*.

The grand fleet was compoſed of 1000 tranſports, beſides a numerous ſquadron of gallies; and the troops being embarked, were landed in *Sicily* near *Agrigentum*; which city they immediately inveſted. They divided their army into two bodies; one of which, conſiſting of 40,000 *Africans* and *Iberians*, encamped on certain eminences at ſome diſtance from the town, while the other carried on the ſiege. The *Agrigentines*, as well as the other *Sicilians*, upon hearing of the great preparation the *Carthaginians* were making for invading their iſland, had carefully provided all things neceſſary for their defence. The *Carthaginians* raiſed a mount, and brought two towers of a monſtrous ſize, with ſeveral battering engines, againſt the walls. The *Agrigentines*, however, in a ſally, burnt and deſtroyed the machines

The *Agrigentines* make a vigorous defence.

of

of the beſiegers, and made a great ſlaughter in their camp. Soon after, the plague broke out among them, and carried off a great number of the ſoldiers, and the general *Hannibal* himſelf. The *Carthaginian* ſoothſayers interpreted this diſaſter as a puniſhment inflicted by the gods; becauſe *Hannibal*, to form his mounts, had cauſed the tombs round the city to be deſtroyed. *Imilcar*, after attoning, as he imagined, for the ſacrileges of *Hannibal*, continued the ſiege with great vigour. Hearing that the *Syracuſans* were on their march to the relief of the beſieged, he detached part of his army, with orders to engage them in the plains of the river *Himera*. This *Carthaginian* detachment was routed by the *Syracuſans*, with the loſs of 6000 men, and purſued by them to the very walls of *Agrigentum*. The *Agrigentines* perceiving them flying to that part of their camp which lay next to the city, concluded that they had been defeated, and preſſed their officers to ſally out upon them before they recovered from their confuſion. The commanders were, however, deaf to theſe ſollicitations; on which account, ſoon after, when the *Syracuſans* arrived, and the matter was again canvaſſed, four of them were ſtoned to death by the enraged multitude. *Imilcar*, about the ſame time, was reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions, ſo that his mercenaries became very mutinous; but a few days after he intercepted a large *Syracuſan* fleet with proviſions, by which he not only relieved his own army, but reduced the *Agrigentines*, who had now held out eight months, to the greateſt extremity. The *Campanians* in their ſervice deſerting to the *Carthaginians*, and *Dexippus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, who was one of the chief officers in the town, being alſo bribed by *Imilcar*, they were at laſt obliged to abandon the city in the night, and make their eſcape to *Gela*. The *Carthaginians* next morning entering the city, put all whom they found to the ſword, not ſparing even ſuch as fled to the temples. The plunder they found in the place was immenſe, and ſuch as might be expected in one of the moſt opulent cities in *Sicily*, which contained 200,000 inhabitants, and had never before been taken by an enemy. *Imilcar* did not immediately deſtroy the city, but allowed his troops to take up their winter quarters in it.

The *Syracuſans* defeat the army of the *Carthaginians*, who nevertheleſs make themſelves maſters of the place.

Mean while the *Syracuſans* were greatly alarmed; and the *Agrigentine* refugees complaining againſt the commanders of their army, as tho' they had betrayed *Agrigentum* into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, great commotions were raiſed in the city, which gave *Dionyſius*, one of their citizens an opportunity of ſeizing the ſovereignty. *Dionyſius* having ſettled ſome diſturbances among the *Geleans*, who were apprehenſive of being attacked by the *Carthaginians* in the ſpring, ſo raiſed his reputation, that the *Syracuſans*, who had then no ſuſpicion of his future deſign of depriving them of their liberties, declared him generaliſſimo of all their troops and thoſe of their allies.

Dionyſius ſeizes the ſovereignty at *Syracuſe*.

Imilcar lays siege to *Gela.*

On the return of the spring, *Imilcar* razed the city of *Agrigentum*; and after ravaging the territories of *Camarina* and *Gela*, invested this last city with his whole army. As he expected that *Dionysius*, who had now assumed the title of king of *Syracuse*, would attempt to relieve the place, he fortified his camp with a ditch and a wall. The *Geleans*, tho' their city was but indifferently fortified, defended themselves a long time with great resolution. They made several successful sallies; and when the *Carthaginian* rams had broke down any part of their walls, they repaired it again with incredible dispatch (A).

He defeats *Dionysius.*

Dionysius, in the mean time, having raised an army of 50,000 foot, according to some, tho' *Timæus* makes them only 30,000, and 1000 horse, with these forces, and 50 sail of ships, he advanced to the relief of *Gela*. Having made an unsuccessful attempt to relieve the place, he persuaded the inhabitants, as the only means of safety, to leave the city. They accordingly marched off in the night, under the protection of his army.

The *Geleans* obliged to abandon their city to the *Carthaginians.*

The *Carthaginians*, upon finding the place deserted, immediately took possession of it; and having put to the sword or crucified all whom they found left behind, thoroughly plundered it, and then marched towards *Camarina*. The *Camarineans*, however, were persuaded by *Dionysius* to remove with their wives and children to *Syracuse*. The *Carthaginians* also plundered this city; but being extremely weakned, partly by the casualties of war, and partly by a plague which broke out among them, *Imilcar* did not think himself in a condition to continue the war, and sent a herald to *Syracuse* with offers of peace. *Dionysius*, who with difficulty had just quelled an insurrection of the *Syracusans*, willingly hearkned to the proposal of *Imilcar*, and a truce was concluded; by which the *Carthaginians*, besides their antient acquisitions in *Sicily*, were still to possess the countries of the *Sicani*, the *Selinuntines*, the *Himereans*, and *Agrigentines*; and the people of *Gela* and *Camarina* were allowed to re-inhabit their cities, upon their paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians*. *Imilcar*, after this treaty was concluded, returned with the remainder of his army to *Carthage*, having lost above one half of his army by the plague, which likewise made a dreadful havock in *Africa*. The *Campanians*, who were left by him to defend his conquests in *Sicily*, soon after, at the request of *Dionysius*, marched to *Syracuse* and relieved the tyrant, who was besieged in a part of the city by the *Syracusans*. *Dionysius*, after he had, by the assistance of the *Campanians*, quelled the insurrection, and taken proper means to prevent any future rebellion, began to make the necessary preparations for renewing the war with the *Carthaginians*, in hopes of stripping them of their *Sicilian* conquests, which he would annex to his new kingdom. He employed a considerable

Imilcar concludes a peace with *Dionysius.*

Dionysius makes preparations for a new war against the *Carthaginians.*

(A) Our readers will find a particular and full description of the various kinds of this machine, in *Vitruvius* and *Lipsius*.

time

time in raiſing a formidable army of mercenaries, in building and equipping a numerous fleet, and making immenſe warlike preparations, filling not only the porches of the temples, but the ſchools, piazzas, and even the private houſes at *Syracuſe* with workmen, who were continually employed in making arms and armour.

He treacherouſly began hoſtilities with allowing the *Syracuſans* to maſſacre all the *Carthaginians* who were reſiding in their city and to plunder their effects. This horrid example of perfidiouſneſs and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole iſland of *Sicily*. Finding the *Syracuſans* no leſs deſirous of war than himſelf, he next ſent a herald to *Carthage* with a letter to the ſenate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not immediately withdraw their garriſons from all the *Greek* cities in *Sicily*, the people of *Syracuſe* would treat them as enemies. The *Carthaginians*, who had ſuffered greatly from the plague, were not a little diſconcerted with this letter. But inſtead of complying with the demands of *Dionyſius*, they ſent officers into all parts with conſiderable ſums, to raiſe troops with the utmoſt diligence, and appointed *Himilco* commander in chief of all their forces.

The *Carthaginians* ſettled at *Syracuſe* are maſſacred.

Dionyſius, without waiting for the anſwer of the *Carthaginians*, advanced with his army to *Motya*, a *Carthaginian* city, built on a peninſula, in the weſtern extremity of the iſland, not far from mount *Eryx*. As the *Carthaginians* kept all their ſtores and proviſions in this city, it was very ſtrongly fortified. *Dionyſius* therefore, finding that he could not immediately ſucceed in this attempt, left his brother *Leptines* before the place, with the fleet, which conſiſted of 200 gallies, beſides tranſports, and part of his troops, and marched himſelf with the reſt of his army to reduce the other cities in alliance with the *Carthaginians*. All theſe, except five, ſubmitted to him; but not being able to reduce *Egeſta* and *Entella*, two of theſe five cities, he returned to *Motya*, and puſhed the ſiege of that place with the utmoſt vigour. Mean while the *Carthaginian* admiral arrived at *Syracuſe* with 10 gallies, and entering the harbour in the night, ſunk moſt of the veſſels he found there, and returned to *Carthage* without the loſs of a ſingle man. They hoped, by this means, to cauſe part of the *Syracuſan* fleet to withdraw from *Motya*; but *Dionyſius* continued the ſiege with his whole fleet and army, and at length, after the moſt deſperate efforts, made himſelf maſter of the city. After the reduction of *Motya*, *Dionyſius* returned with his army to *Syracuſe*.

Dionyſius inveſts *Motya*, which is taken by ſtorm.

The *Carthaginians*, who had made an unſucceſsful attempt to relieve *Motya*, by endeavouring to deſtroy the *Sicilian* fleet in the port of that city, now reſolved to raiſe ſuch an army, as ſhould be able to cope with the tyrant in the field. They accordingly aſſembled an army of 300,000 foot and 4000 horſe, and a fleet of 200 gallies, with upwards of 600 ſhips of burden, laden with proviſions and engines of war, among which were 400 armed chariots. This is the account given by *Ephorus*; but

The *Carthaginians* ſend a powerful army to *Sicily*.

but *Timæus* affirms, that not above 100,000 *Carthaginians* acted in *Sicily* the following campaign, but that these, upon their landing there, were joined by 3000 *Sicilians*.

Before these troops had arrived in *Sicily*, *Dionysius* had again taken the field, and ravaged the *Carthaginian* territories in a dreadful manner. The *Egestines* refusing to submit to him, he laid siege to their city; but the besieged, in an unexpected sally, setting fire to part of his camp, by which many of his soldiers perished, he withdrew his army, and again wasted the country.

Part of their fleet defeated by *Leptines*.

In the mean time, *Leptines*, who commanded the *Syracusan* fleet, fell in with the *African* transports off the coast of *Panormus*, and sunk 50 of them, with 500 men, and 200 chariots on board; but upon the approach of the *Carthaginian* gallies, he thought fit to retire. *Himilco*, having landed his troops, and directed the fleet under *Mago* to attend the motions of his army, marched along the coast, and quickly made himself master of *Eryx* and *Motya*.

Himilco retakes _Motya_.

Dionysius, instead of marching against the *Carthaginians*, and venturing a battle, as his own troops earnestly desired, retreated towards *Syracuse*. *Himilco*, having no body to oppose him, advanced towards *Messana*, being desirous of possessing himself of this city, on account of its situation and capacious harbour. Before he invested the place, he concluded a treaty with the people of *Himera* and *Cephaledium*, and reduced the city of *Lipara*, the capital of the islands of that name, exacting 30 talents from the inhabitants. His fleet, by the favour of a strong gale, having entered the harbour of *Messana*, he made himself master of the place without much opposition, and ordered it to be razed to the ground. The *Carthaginians* not only destroyed all the houses, but threw the rubbish into the sea; so that, after their departure, it was hard to discover where the city had stood.

The *Siculi* abandon *Dionysius*.

The *Siculi* were encouraged, by these successes, to declare for the *Carthaginians*, which so alarmed *Dionysius*, that he presented all the slaves and servants at *Syracuse* with their liberty, and took care to fortify the castles of the *Syracusans* on the frontiers, and to store them with provisions. He marched with his army, consisting of 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, about 20 miles north from *Syracuse*, his fleet attending him under the command of *Leptines*. In the mean time, the *Carthaginian* fleet, under *Mago*, arrived at *Catana*, while their army was marching southward through the middle of the country against *Syracuse*. *Dionysius* seized this opportunity of attacking their fleet, and advancing to *Catana*, ordered his brother *Leptines* to attack *Mago*, charging him at the same time not to break his line on any account. *Leptines* most imprudently neglected this advice, and notwithstanding the superiority of the *Carthaginians*, advanced against them with 30 of his best gallies. Being quickly surrounded by the *Carthaginian* gallies, the battle became most bloody and obstinate, both parties fighting for a long time hand

to

to hand as on firm ground. The *Syracuſans* were at length totally defeated, with the loſs of 100 gallies and 20,000 men.

Dionyſius, apprehenſive leſt the victorious fleet ſhould ſurprize *Syracuſe*, haſtily marched back to the defence of his metropolis. *Himilco* ſoon after arrived with his fleet and army before *Syracuſe*, and having blocked up the city by ſea, ravaged the country for many miles round, cutting down groves, and deſtroying all before him. He at length cloſely blocked up the place by land, and took the quarter of the city called *Acradina* by aſſault. The *Syracuſans*, receiving ſome reinforcements from *Greece* and *Italy*, ventured out to ſea, and gained ſome advantages over the *Carthaginians*, taking 25 of their gallies, and damaging ſeveral others.

The *Carthaginians* lay ſiege to *Syracuſe*.

This defeat was ſoon attended with a much more ſevere misfortune; and the *Carthaginians*, who had made a conqueſt of almoſt the whole iſland, were ſoon obliged to return in a ſhameful manner to *Africa*, a ſtriking inſtance of the inconſtancy of worldly proſperity. The paſt ſucceſſes of *Himilco* were, in a manner, all rendered fruitleſs by the plague, which now broke out in his army, and made dreadful havock among his ſoldiers. This infection was looked upon by the ſuperſtitious as a puniſhment inflicted upon them by the gods, for their having plundered the temples of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, and demoliſhed the tombs round the city; but was aſcribed by others to the extraordinary heats and the unwholeſome exhalations of the fens in the neighbourhood. Before ſun-riſing the patients were ſeized with a convulſive ſhuddering, which was in part occaſioned by the freſh breezes from the ſea; but towards noon they were almoſt ſuffocated with the heat, which rendered them exceſſively weak and faint, and gave freſh force and malignity to the diſeaſe. In the firſt ſtage of the diſtemper they were afflicted with catarrhs, ſwellings of the throat, &c. and theſe were ſucceeded by violent dyſenteries, raging fevers, acute pains in all parts of the body, and loathſome ulcers. Some were even ſeized with madneſs, falling upon all thoſe that came in their way, and tearing them to pieces. No relief could be had from the phyſicians, ſo that thoſe infected with the malady expired on the fifth or ſixth day in exquiſite torture. Beſides thoſe who in the beginning of the diſtemper were buried, *Diodorus* informs us, that 150,000 carcaſes were left on the ground without interment.

The plague breaks out in the *Carthaginian* army.

Dionyſius, being appriſed of the deplorable condition to which the *Carthaginians* were reduced, made a general attack upon their camp, while his fleet fell upon their gallies in the harbour. The *Syracuſans* quickly broke into the harbour, and ſet fire to the *Carthaginian* fleet, which ſtruck their troops with ſuch conſternation, that *Dionyſius*, without much oppoſition, forced their entrenchments, and made a great ſlaughter among them. He reſolved next morning to renew the attack; but *Himilco*, finding himſelf unable to ſuſtain a freſh aſſault, made a private agreement with *Dionyſius*, giving him 300 talents, and obtaining from him a permiſſion to depart in the night, with all the

They are attacked by *Dionyſius* and defeated.

ſurviving

Himilco with difficulty escapes to *Carthage*,

surviving citizens of *Carthage*. He accordingly embarked the *Carthaginians* on board 40 gallies that had escaped the flames, and leaving the rest of his army to the mercy of the *Syracusans*, set sail for *Africa*, being pursued by some *Corinthians*, who had observed his departure, and sunk several of his vessels in the rear by the beaks of their gallies. The *Sicilian* allies, finding themselves abandoned by *Himilco*, immediately went home; but all the rest, except the *Iberians*, who entered into the service of *Dionysius*, were either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners, the plunder of their camp being delivered up to the *Syracusan* soldiers. Thus ended the campaign, one of the most remarkable for the variety of incidents, and vicissitudes of fortune, observable in it, to be met with in history.

The inhabitants of *Carthage*, hearing of the terrible fate both of their land and sea forces in *Sicily*, were overwhelmed with sorrow and despair. Every street was filled with lamentations, the shops and temples were shut up, an entire stop was put to every kind of business, and even to their religious worship. In a short time the melancholy accounts they had received were confirmed, by the landing of the remains of their troops. *Himilco*, upon his arrival at *Carthage*, went directly to his own house, and shutting the doors against the citizens, and even his own children, laid violent hands on himself, to shew that he did not survive his countrymen, who perished in *Sicily*, out of a fondness for life, but merely to preserve the remains of the troops.

where he kills himself.

The *Africans* revolt from the *Carthaginians*.

When it was publickly known in *Africa*, that *Himilco* had saved only the citizens of *Carthage*, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy, the cities and states, which had sent them auxiliaries, taking up arms, marched directly against *Carthage*, their numbers amounting to upwards of 200,000 men. On their march *Tunis* surrendered to them, which struck the *Carthaginians* with the greatest consternation. They, nevertheless, ventured to engage them when they approached to the city, but being defeated, were obliged to save themselves within their walls. Their superstition now prevailing, they resolved to atone for the outrage offered to *Ceres* and *Proserpine* in *Sicily*, by adding them to the number of their deities. They then applied themselves to the necessary preparations for reducing the rebels, and punishing those who supported them.

They are obliged to disperse.

Happily for the *Carthaginians*, the rebel army wanted a general, and subordinate officers of experience, and had neither warlike engines to carry on a siege, nor provisions to support so vast a multitude. On this account dissensions arising among them, the *Carthaginians* took that opportunity of bribing several of their leaders, and a famine prevailing in their camp, they soon found themselves obliged to disperse; by which means *Carthage* was delivered from one of the most imminent dangers that had ever threatned it.

Mago defeated by *Dionysius*.

During these proceedings in *Africa*, *Mago*, who had been left in *Sicily* by *Himilco*, to take care of the affairs of the republic

lic in that iſland, treated the *Sicilians* in the *Carthaginian* intereſt with great lenity, and granted his protection to all thoſe who were perſecuted by *Dionyſius*. Having alſo ſtrengthened himſelf by alliances with ſeveral *Sicilian* free cities, he formed an army, and made an incurſion into the territory of *Meſſana*, which city, after the departure of *Himilco*, had been rebuilt by *Dionyſius*. Soon after he was defeated by *Dionyſius* near *Abacænum*, a city of his confederates, whither he had retired with his booty.

The *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding the great loſſes they had received in the courſe of this war, could not forbear making new attempts on the iſland of *Sicily*. They accordingly levied forces in *Africa*, *Sardinia*, and *Italy*, and the following year ſent 80,000 men to *Mago*, who took the field, with the deſign of determining the fate of *Sicily* by a battle. Many of the *Siculi* declaring for him, he marched into the country of the *Agyrinæans*, to bring over that people to his intereſt. However, *Agyris*, prince of the *Agyrinæans*, was prevailed upon by *Dionyſius* to declare for him, the tyrant promiſing him a larger extent of territory, in caſe their arms were attended with ſucceſs in the war. As *Agyris* was next to *Dionyſius* in power of all others in the iſland, *Mago*, who had imprudently advanced into his territories, ſoon found himſelf reduced to great difficulties, and was obliged to propoſe a peace, which was accordingly concluded. The new treaty agreed in all points with the former; only by an additional article, the city of *Tauromínium* was given up to *Dionyſius*, who drove the ancient proprietors from thence, and placed the choiceſt of his mercenaries in their room.

The *Carthaginians* ſend another army to *Sicily*. Bef. Chr. 392.

Mago, the general, concludes another treaty with *Dionyſius*,

From this time, for nine years, hiſtory is ſilent as to any tranſactions of the *Carthaginians*. But in the 2d year of the 99th Olympiad, *Dionyſius*, having plundered a rich temple in *Etruria*, began to raiſe a formidable army, which alarming the ſenate of *Carthage*, they alſo made preparations for war. *Dionyſius* induſtriouſly ſought an opportunity of a rupture; and obſerving that the *Carthaginian* ſubjects in *Italy* were inclined to a revolt, he entered into a league with them; in conſequence of which his troops were admitted into their cities. The *Carthaginians*, having in vain remonſtrated againſt this proceeding, had recourſe to arms, and ſent *Mago* with a powerful army into *Sicily*, ſending at the ſame time another army againſt the *Greek* ſtates in *Italy*. *Mago*, ſoon after his arrival in *Sicily*, was attacked and routed by *Dionyſius* at a place called *Cabala*. *Mago* himſelf was ſlain with 10,000 of his men, and 5000 were taken priſoners. The remains of the army ſuing for peace, *Dionyſius* would grant them no other terms, but that they ſhould engage to evacuate *Sicily*, and pay all the expences of the war. They pretended a readineſs to comply with theſe terms; but alledging that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they poſſeſſed in *Sicily*, without the expreſs orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, which was to laſt till the return of an

who violates the treaty, and renews the war.

The *Carthaginians* defeated by him;

expreſs from *Carthage*. During this interval they buried *Mago*, and appointed his ſon, of the ſame name, his ſucceſſor.

The new general, who was very young, but had given ſignal proofs of his prudence and valour, in the time of the truce raiſed and diſciplined new troops; ſo that at the return of the expreſs from *Carthage*, he took the field, and attacking *Dionyſius* near *Cronion*, gained a complete victory, killing 14,000 *Syracuſans* on the ſpot, and among the reſt *Leptines*, the tyrant's brother. Great ſlaughter was alſo made of the *Syracuſans* in the purſuit; and *Dionyſius*, in the utmoſt conſternation, fled to *Syracuſe*, where he expected to be beſieged. The *Carthaginian* general, however, uſed his victory with great moderation, and retiring to *Panormus*, offered *Dionyſius* the following terms of peace, which he readily agreed to. The terms were, that both parties ſhould keep what they had at the breaking out of the war, excepting only that *Dionyſius* ſhould deliver up to the *Carthaginians* the city and territory of *Selinus*, with part of the territory of *Agrigentum*, and beſides, ſhould pay 1000 talents to defray the expences of the war.

but afterwards gain a compleat victory,

and procure an advantageous peace.

The *Carthaginians* ſend a fleet and army to *Italy*.

About three years after the concluſion of this laſt war, the *Carthaginians* landed an army in *Italy*, and reſtored the inhabitants of *Hippo*, or *Hipponium*, to their city, from whence they had been for ſome time expelled.

A plague in *Carthage*.

Immediately after the arrival of their troops from this expedition, the plague broke out afreſh in *Carthage*, and ſwept away an infinite number of the inhabitants. This ſeems to have raged with greater violence than any diſtemper the city was ever viſited with before; for ſuch vaſt multitudes were carried off by it, that the whole country was in a manner depopulated. The *Africans* and *Sardi*, encouraged by the extreme weakneſs of the *Carthaginian* ſtate, attempted to ſhake off their yoke; but were, with ſome difficulty, again reduced to their obedience. This peſtilence was of a very ſingular nature, for panic terrors, and violent fits of frenzy, ſeized on a ſudden the heads of thoſe afflicted with it, they ſallying out of their houſes ſword in hand, as if the enemy had taken the city, killing or wounding all who unhappily came in their way. *Juſtin* ſeems to intimate, that the *Carthaginians* laboured under this grievous ſickneſs a conſiderable time with little or no intermiſſion.

Dionyſius again renews the war.

The domeſtic calamities of the *Carthaginians* encouraged *Dionyſius* to attack their ſettlements in *Sicily*. Having no juſt cauſe to allege for his hoſtilities, he was obliged to have recourſe to a downright falſity, and accuſed the *Carthaginians* of making incurſions into his dominions. To revenge this pretended injury, he entered their territories with an army of 30,000 foot, and 3000 horſe, attended by a navy of 300 ſail. Having made himſelf maſter of *Selinus*, *Entella*, and *Eryx*, he plundered the adjacent country, and laid ſiege to *Lilybæum*, which, however, baffled all his efforts. The *Carthaginians* ſoon after ſurpriſing 30 of his beſt gallies, which he had laid up at *Eryx*, *Dionyſius* thought

thought proper to agree to a truce, and died a few months after.

About this time, one *Suniator*, or *Suniates*, a perſon of great authority in *Carthage*, giving *Dionyſius* ſecret intelligence of the deſigns of the ſtate by writing to him in *Greek*, his treaſon was diſcovered, and a law was paſſed, prohibiting the inhabitants from learning the *Greek* language. The uſe of the *Greek* language prohibited at *Carthage*.

Much about this period the *Carthaginians* concluded their ſecond treaty with the *Romans*, in which, according to *Polybius*, the people of *Utica* and *Tyre*, were included. The *Romans* alſo were not permitted to build towns, or ravage the country in any part beyond the *Fair Promontory*, *Maſtia*, and *Tarſeium*. From this treaty it farther appears, that both the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* applied themſelves then with great diligence to commerce. Soon after this event, the *Romans* having gained a ſignal victory over the *Samnites*, the *Carthaginians* complimented them on their ſucceſs, and made a preſent of a crown of gold of 25 pounds weight to *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

Great diſſenſions in the mean time happening at *Syracuſe*, on account of the weak and tyrannical government of *Dionyſius* II. who had ſucceeded his father of the ſame name, the *Carthaginian* governor of *Minoa*, a city in the territory of *Agrigentum*, gave a kind reception to *Dion*, the brother-in-law of the late king, who marching from thence, dethroned the *Syracuſan* tyrant, and reſtored liberty to his country. *Dionyſius*, after an exile of ten years, again recovered the ſupreme power in *Syracuſe*; but was a ſecond time attacked by *Icetas*, who not having the ſame patriot views with *Dion*, but aiming at the ſovereignty for himſelf, entered into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*, by which it was agreed, that he and they ſhould join their forces in order to expel *Dionyſius*, and after his expulſion, they ſhould divide all *Sicily* between them. The *Carthaginians*, who had already fitted out a formidable fleet, in hopes of extending their conqueſts in *Sicily* during the diſtractions in *Syracuſe*, readily entered into the treaty with *Icetas*; but the *Syracuſans*, ſoon beginning to ſuſpect their deſign, applied for ſuccours to the *Corinthians*. This ſtate, which had always bore a great averſion to tyrants, ſent a body of troops, under the conduct of *Timoleon*, a general of conſummate abilities, and a great friend to liberty, to the aſſiſtance of the *Syracuſans*. The *Carthaginians* intermeddle with the affairs of *Syracuſe*.

Timoleon, having eſcaped the *Carthaginian* fleet, which wanted to intercept him, landed with 1000 men at *Tauromimium*. The *Carthaginian* general threatned *Andromachus*, the tyrant of that city, with his reſentment, if he did not immediately drive out the *Corinthians*; but *Andromachus*, ſlighting this menace, afforded his protection to *Timoleon*, who marching from thence in the evening next day, arrived at *Adranum*, where he defeated 5000 *Carthaginians*, under the command of *Icetas*. Then he marched to *Syracuſe*, and broke into a part of the town before the enemy had any notice of his approach. *Dionyſius* the tyrant, who ſtill held poſſeſſion of the citadel, deſpairing of being The *Syracuſans* aſſiſted by the *Corinthians* under *Timoleon*. Bef. Chr. 344.

able to recover the ſovereignty, ſurrendered to *Timoleon*, and put him in poſſeſſion of the fortreſs. *Leon*, whom *Timoleon* appointed governor of the place, ſoon after made himſelf maſter of that part of the city called *Acradina*, while *Timoleon* was abſent with great part of his troops at *Catana*, waiting for reinforcements from *Corinth*, which were detained by ſtormy weather at *Thurium* in *Italy*. *Hanno*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, waited ſome time to intercept theſe ſuccours; but at length left his ſtation, and returned to *Syracuſe*. The *Corinthians*, after his departure, marched from *Thurium* to *Rhegium*, whence they embarked and landed ſafe in *Sicily*, where they joined *Timoleon*, who ſoon after made himſelf maſter of *Meſſana*. He then directed his march to *Syracuſe*, having deſired ſome of his troops to intermix themſelves with the *Greek* mercenaries under *Mago*, and to encourage them to revolt. This ſtratagem had its deſired effect; for theſe mercenaries beginning to ſpeak favourably of the deſigns of *Timoleon* to each other, *Mago* ſuſpected they had an intention to betray him, and without hearkening to the entreaties of *Icetas*, weighed anchor, and ſet ſail for *Africa*. On his arrival at *Carthage*, reflecting on his daſtardly behaviour, he laid violent hands upon himſelf. The *Carthaginians* cauſed his body to be hung upon a gallows or croſs, and expoſed as a public ſpectacle to the people.

Mago neglects to ſuccour the *Carthaginian* party.

Timoleon makes great progreſs in *Sicily* againſt the tyrants and the *Carthaginians*.

Timoleon, after the departure of *Mago*, made great progreſs in *Sicily*, admitting many cities, dependant upon the *Carthaginians* into his alliance, and reſtoring ſeveral cities of the *Greeks* to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. The ſenate and people of *Carthage*, being highly offended at the conduct of their general officers in this campaign, deprived moſt of them of their commiſſions, and filled the vacant poſts with perſons of known merit. Being determined to carry on the war in *Sicily* with the utmoſt vigour, they ordered levies to be made in all parts of their dominions, and beſides raiſed a large body of mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, at the ſame time making immenſe naval preparations. In the following ſpring they ſent *Aſdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, two experienced commanders, over to *Sicily*, with an army of 70,000 men, 200 ſhips of war, and 1000 tranſports. Upon the firſt news of their landing at *Syracuſe*, *Timoleon*, who had reduced *Icetas*, and reſtored tranquillity to *Syracuſe*, advanced againſt him, though his forces did not amount to above 12,000 men, 1000 of whom even abandoning him, and returning to *Syracuſe*. *Timoleon*, notwithſtanding his great inferiority in numbers, attacked the *Carthaginians* on the banks of the river *Cremiſſus*, and after an obſtinate engagement gained a complete victory, the *Carthaginians* being thrown into confuſion by a furious ſtorm of hail, thunder, and lightning, that beat with great violence on their faces. *Plutarch* relates, that of 10,000 men, whom they left dead on the field of battle, above 3000 were native *Carthaginians*, of the beſt families in *Carthage*; and that, according to the *Punic* records, ſuch a number of perſons of diſtinction never fell in

A *Carthaginian* army lands in *Sicily*; but is entirely defeated by *Timoleon*. Bef. Ch. 339.

any

any battle before. Beſides the ſlain, whom *Diodorus* reckons above 12,000, there were 15,000 taken priſoners; and *Timoleon* made himſelf maſter of all their baggage, beſides 200 armed chariots, 1000 coats of mail, and 10,000 ſhields. The ſpoil, which conſiſted chiefly of gold and ſilver plate, and other furniture of great value, was, according to *Plutarch*, ſo immenſe, that the whole *Greek* army was three days in collecting it. After they had paſſed the river, and taken poſſeſſion of the enemies camp, they found there ſuch an incredible quantity of gold and ſilver, that nothing of inferior value was at all regarded. *Timoleon*, leaving his mercenaries on the enemies frontiers, in order to plunder and ravage the whole country, returned to *Syracuſe* with the reſt of his army, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy.

Icetas concludes another treaty with the *Carthaginians*.

Icetas, *Plutarch* tells us, after this formed a deſign for recovering his loſt territories; and in conjunction with *Mamercus*, tyrant of *Catana*, entered into another treaty with the *Carthaginians*, who, in conſequence of this alliance, raiſed an army of 70,000 men, and took a ſtrong body of *Greeks* into their ſervice. *Giſco*, the brother of *Hanno*, a general of great experience and bravery, was recalled from baniſhment to command the troops deſtined for this new expedition. This news occaſioned freſh commotions in *Sicily*. The *Meſſaneans* put to the ſword the gariſon left by *Timoleon* in their city, which conſiſted of 400 men. A detachment of mercenaries were drawn into an ambuſcade by the *Carthaginians* at *Hieræ*, and all cut off. While *Timoleon* was marching to *Calauria*, *Icetas*, at the head of a *Carthaginian* party, made an incurſion into the territories of *Syracuſe*, and carried off a conſiderable booty. In his return, paſſing by *Calauria*, *Timoleon* purſued after him, and attacking him upon the river *Damyrias*, defeated him, with the loſs of 1000 men. Upon this defeat, the tyrant himſelf, his ſon *Eupolæmus*, and *Euthymus*, general of his cavalry, were brought bound by their own ſoldiers to *Timoleon*, who cauſed the two firſt to be executed, and allowed the laſt to be murdered in cold blood by his ſoldiers. After this he moved with his army towards *Catana*, and defeated *Mamercus* in the plains of the river *Abolus*, with the loſs of above 2000 men. As the greateſt part of the dead were auxiliaries ſent to *Mamercus* by *Giſco*, the *Carthaginians* themſelves ſuffered in this action. At *Carthage* the warlike preparations were ſtill continued; but as *Timoleon* had greatly the ſuperiority in *Sicily*, they thought it beſt to endeavour to procure an accommodation. *Timoleon*, being apprehenſive of freſh troubles from *Mamercus* and others, againſt whom he wanted to turn his arms, agreed to a peace with the *Carthaginians*, on condition that all the *Greek* cities ſhould be ſet free, that the river *Halycus*, or *Lycus*, ſhould be the boundary between the territories of both parties, and that *Carthage* ſhould no longer give aſſiſtance to any of the *Sicilian* tyrants.

He is defeated and taken priſoner by *Timoleon*,

who concludes a peace with the *Carthaginians*.

Hanno endeavours to make himself absolute at *Carthage.*

About this time one *Hanno*, a wealthy and powerful *Carthaginian*, formed a design of usurping the sovereign power in *Carthage.* In order to accomplish his purpose, he proposed to invite the senators to a grand entertainment on the day of his daughter's marriage, and then, by mixing poison with his wine, to destroy them all. Though his scheme was discovered, yet his interest in the city was so great, that the magistrates did not dare to punish him; but contented themselves with passing a law, prohibiting too great magnificence at weddings, and limiting the expence on such occasions. *Hanno*, seeing his stratagem defeated, was resolved to have recourse to arms; and for that purpose assembled all his slaves, and fixed upon a day a second time to put his design in execution. He was a second time discovered, and to avoid punishment, retired with 20,000 armed slaves to a castle that was very strongly fortified, applying to the *Africans* and the king of the *Mauritani* for assistance, but without success. He was afterwards taken, and carried a prisoner to *Carthage*; where, being severely whipt, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broken, and he was at last put to death in presence of the people, his body being afterwards hung on a cross or gibbet. His children, and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, shared in his punishment, that not a single person of his family might be left either to imitate his crime or revenge his death *.

Not many years after, according to *Curtius*, the *Tyrians* solicited the assistance of the *Carthaginians* against *Alexander* the Great, who had laid siege to their city. The *Carthaginians* were most sensibly affected with the misery of their countrymen, for so they and the *Tyrians* always called one another; but being incapable of sending them any succours, by reason of some domestic troubles, they only dispatched some of their principal citizens to *Tyre* to express their grief, that the bad situation of their own affairs would not permit them to spare any troops. The *Tyrians* put their wives and children on board some vessels, in order to send them to *Carthage*, and then made the most strenuous efforts to drive the enemy from their walls; which however, in the end, were ineffectual, *Alexander* taking and razing the city.

The *Carthaginians* send an ambassador to *Alexander* the Great.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing of the reduction of *Tyre*, and the great progress *Alexander* made in the East, began to be under some apprehensions; but were much more alarmed, when they received advice that he had made himself master of *Egypt*, and had built *Alexandria* on the confines of *Egypt* and *Africa*, in order to rival them. They therefore chose one *Hamilcar*, or, as *Gellius* intimates, *Asdrubal*, surnamed *Rhodanus*, a person of great eloquence and address, to sound the inclinations of that prince, and to endeavour to pry into his counsels. *Hamilcar*, having obtained an audience, declared to the king, that he

* Justin. lib. xxi. Plut. in Timol. Oros.

was,

was, by the cabals of his enemies, baniſhed *Carthage*, and begged that he might have the honour of attending him in all his future expeditions. This being granted, he did his country ſignal ſervice, by communicating many important diſcoveries relating to *Alexander*'s ſchemes. Upon his return home, notwithſtanding his eminent ſervices, he was conſidered as a betrayer of his country, and was accordingly put to death at *Carthage*, by a ſentence as barbarous as it was ungrateful.

Not many years after, *Soſiſtratus*, who had uſurped the ſupreme power at *Syracuſe*, being expelled, with 600 citizens, by the popular faction, had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, who readily eſpouſed his cauſe. Hereupon, the *Syracuſans* gave the command of their forces to *Agathocles*, a man of an obſcure birth, who had been baniſhed *Syracuſe* by *Soſiſtratus*, but had acquired a great reputation for his military exploits. The *Syracuſans* ſoon began to ſuſpect the treacherous deſigns of *Agathocles*, and choſe one *Aceſtorides* for their general, who was ſent to them from *Corinth*. *Agathocles*, however, by force and fraud, again got himſelf created general, and having then ordered his troops to maſſacre all the ſenators, with many other principal citizens, he aſſumed the ſovereign power with the title of king. Having eſtabliſhed his authority in *Syracuſe*, he formed a deſign of making himſelf maſter of the whole iſland, the greateſt part of which he accordingly ſubdued within two years. According to *Juſtin*, *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian* was even at firſt inſtrumental in eſtabliſhing the authority of *Agathocles*, probably with the deſign of keeping up the diſſenſions in *Syracuſe*. However, he ſoon felt the bad effects of this conduct; for *Agathocles*, after reducing the other parts of *Sicily*, made incurſions into the *Carthaginian* territories, and thoſe of their allies. As *Hamilcar* did not offer to give him the leaſt diſturbance, the people of thoſe diſtricts were highly incenſed againſt him, and ſent letters to *Carthage*, filled with bitter complaints of his perfidious conduct. The ſenate, who were greatly exaſperated, reſolved to puniſh him in an exemplary manner; but he died before his return to *Carthage*. *Hamilcar*, the ſon of *Giſco*, was appointed to ſucceed him in the command of the army in *Sicily*. A *Carthaginian* fleet of 60 ſail ſoon after arriving at *Agrigentum*, obliged *Agathocles* to deſiſt from an attempt upon that place. Whilſt he was employed in ravaging the territories of *Agrigentum*, another *Carthaginian* ſquadron of 50 ſhips entered the great harbour of *Syracuſe*, and ſunk two tranſports, which were all the veſſels then in port. *Agathocles* growing daily more powerful in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians*, at length, reſolved to ſend over a ſtrong army to oppoſe him. They accordingly reinforced the troops intended for the *Sicilian* expedition with 2000 native *Carthaginians*, among whom were many perſons of quality, 1000 *Etruſcan* mercenaries, as many ſlingers from the *Balearic* iſlands, and 200 chariots, which were ſent along with *Hamilcar*. The fleet, conſiſting of 130 gallies, in the paſſage was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, in which *Hamilcar*

Agathocles elected general of the *Syracuſans*. Bef. Ch. 316.

He makes incurſions into the *Carthaginian* territories in *Sicily*.

loſt 60 gallies, 200 tranſports, and a great number of men. By this diſaſter, many perſons of the beſt families in *Carthage* were loſt, which cauſed a public lamentation in the city, when the walls were all hung with black, as uſual on ſuch melancholy occaſions. *Hamilcar*, notwithſtanding this loſs, being joined on his arrival by ſuch of the *Sicilians* as hated *Agathocles*, formed a numerous army, and encamped near *Himera*. *Agathocles*, in the mean time, having loſt 20 of his gallies, and perceiving the *Sicilians* well affected to *Hamilcar*, reſolved to engage him as ſoon as poſſible. Having ſurprized and plundered *Gela*, he marched towards the *Carthaginians*, and encamped on an eminence oppoſite to them. The two armies viewed each other for ſome time in ſuſpence; but at length they came to a general engagement, in which *Agathocles* was routed, with the loſs of 7000 men.

The *Carthaginians* gain a ſignal victory over *Agathocles*.

Agathocles, after this defeat, burnt his camp, and retired with great precipitation to *Gela*. Some of his troops, ſoon after, decoying 300 *African* horſe into the place, he cauſed them all to be cut off to a man. He remained ſome time at *Gela*, that he might draw the *Carthaginians* thither, and thereby prevent the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, till the inhabitants of that place had got in their harveſt. In the mean time, the people of *Camarina*, *Catana*, *Leontium*, *Tauromenium*, *Meſſana*, and *Abacænum*, ſent ambaſſadors to *Hamilcar*, imploring his protection; in ſuch perfect abhorrencé was the tyrant held by the greateſt part of the inhabitants of the iſland. *Agathocles*, perceiving that *Hamilcar* daily became more formidable, retired with his forces to *Syracuſe*, whither he was quickly followed by the *Carthaginians*, who cloſely inveſted the place.

They beſiege the tyrant in *Syracuſe*.

The tyrant, finding himſelf now abandoned by all his allies, and his capital beſieged by a victorious enemy, did not, however, deſpair; but on the contrary formed the bold deſign of transferring the war to *Africa*. Having eluded the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* fleet, he accordingly ſet ſail from *Syracuſe* with 60 gallies, and a few days after landed in *Africa* with a choſen body of troops, having left the defence of *Syracuſe* to his brother *Antandrus*. Soon after his landing on the *African* coaſt, he burnt his fleet, that his ſoldiers might be fully convinced, that their only ſafety conſiſted in victory. After he had deſtroyed his ſhips, he immediately led his troops againſt a place in the territories of *Carthage*, called *the Great City*, which he took and plundered. Soon after he made himſelf maſter of *Tunis*, in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, which he alſo plundered and razed. This unexpected invaſion threw the *Carthaginians* into the greateſt conſternation. Imagining that their army before *Syracuſe* had been defeated, and their fleet loſt, ſome of them propoſed to ſend an embaſſy to *Agathocles*, and to ſue for peace. Their fleet, that had purſued *Agathocles*, in the mean time arriving at the city, and informing them of the real ſtate of their affairs, the ſenate immediately ordered the citizens to be armed, and in a few days aſſembled an army of 40,000 foot, 1000 horſe,

Agathocles leaves *Syracuſe* and invades *Africa*.

and

and 200 armed chariots. The command of this army was given to *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, though it was well known that there was an irreconcileable enmity between the two families. This imprudent ſtep proved very fatal to their affairs; for *Bomilcar*, who aſpired at the ſovereign power, ſeized this opportunity of attempting to put his ambitious deſigns in execution. *Agathocles*, though his troops conſiſted of only 14,000 men, committed great ravages in the country, and burnt a great many villages. The *Carthaginian* army at length marching out to oppoſe him, he ventured an engagement, notwithſtanding his inferiority of number, and gained a compleat victory; which, in a great meaſure, was owing to the treachery of *Bomilcar*, who did not ſecond the efforts of his collegue *Hanno*; but, during the action, retired with the troops under his command. The ſacred cohort, even after *Hanno* was killed, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very eminent manner, and were almoſt all cut off. *Juſtin* makes the loſs to be pretty equal on both ſides, 2000 *Sicilians* and 3000 *Carthaginians*, according to him, being ſlain; but, according to *Diodorus*, only 2000 *Sicilians* were ſlain, and 1000, or, as ſome ſay, 6000 *Carthaginians*. *Agathocles* allowed his troops to plunder the *Carthaginian* camp, in which, among other things, they found 20,000 pair of fetters and manacles, which had been provided for ſecuring the *Sicilian* priſoners.

He defeats the *Carthaginians* near *Carthage*. Bef. Chriſt 309.

The *Carthaginians*, on this defeat, were extremely diſheartened, and believing the gods fought againſt them, they made it their firſt endeavour to appeaſe the offended deities, particularly *Hercules* and *Saturn*, whom they conſidered as the tutelar gods of their country. From the foundation of their city, they had, for a long time, ſent the tenth part of all their revenues annually to *Tyre*, as an offering to *Hercules*. Having diſcontinued this cuſtom for a conſiderable time, they judged that they were now puniſhed for their ſacrilegious avarice; and therefore, to expiate their guilt, they made a public confeſſion of their inſincerity, and ſent the golden ſhrines of their other deities to *Hercules* at *Tyre*, imagining that ſuch ſacred gifts would make a more effectual attonement. It had antiently been cuſtomary to ſacrifice to *Saturn* children of the moſt noble families; but, for many years paſt, children of mean extraction had been ſubſtituted in the room of thoſe nobly born. To expiate the guilt of this impious fraud, they now ſacrificed 200 children of the firſt rank to *Saturn*. Above 300 other perſons, in a ſenſe of this dreadful neglect, voluntarily offered themſelves as victims, to pacify, as they imagined, the wrath of their deity. After theſe expiations, the *Carthaginians* ſent orders to *Hamilcar* to return, with the utmoſt diſpatch, to the relief of his country. *Hamilcar*, notwithſtanding this peremptory meſſage, only ſent 5000 of his troops to *Africa*, and continued with the reſt of the army in *Sicily*.

They endeavour to appeaſe their deities by preſents and human ſacrifices, and recall *Hamilcar* from *Sicily*.

Agathocles, in the mean time, reduced many forts and caſtles in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*; and the ſucceſs that had attended his arms having induced many cities to declare for him, his

Agathocles reduces a great many *Carthaginian* cities.

his army was greatly reinforced, which encouraged him to march againſt thoſe maritime places that ſtill held for the *Carthaginians*. Leaving part of his troops in his fortified camp at *Tunis*, he marched with the reſt againſt the *New City*, which he took by ſtorm. He then advanced to *Adrumethum*; but while he was engaged in beſieging this place, the *Carthaginians* aſſembled another army, and forced his camp before *Tunis*: they even inveſted his troops in that city; which obliged *Agathocles* to withdraw, with part of his army, from before *Adrumethum*. He poſted himſelf on a mountain, from whence he could view both cities, and ordering his ſoldiers at night to make many large fires, by this ſtratagem he gained two points. The *Carthaginians* before *Tunis*, imagining that he was marching with his whole army to the relief of that city, abandoned the ſiege, and the gariſon of *Adrumethum*, thinking that reinforcements were advancing to the army before their city, immediately capitulated. *Agathocles* afterwards reduced, in that tract, above 200 cities and towns, partly by force and partly by compoſition. While he was abſent in *Lybia Superior*, puniſhing the king of that country for having abandoned his alliance, the *Carthaginians*, who were now ſtripped of almoſt all their *African* territories, made a ſecond attempt againſt *Tunis*. *Agathocles* having overthrown the *Libyan* king in a great battle, ſuddenly returned to the relief of *Tunis*, and ſurpriſing the *Carthaginians*, routed them with the loſs of 2000 men, ſo that they were again obliged to abandon the ſiege.

Hamilcar entirely defeated, and put to death by the *Syracuſans*.

During theſe tranſactions in *Africa*, *Hamilcar* had made himſelf maſter of many cities in *Sicily* ſubject to the *Syracuſans*; and having augmented his army to upwards of 120,000 men, attempted to ſurpriſe *Syracuſe* by marching thither in the night. The *Syracuſans*, having notice of his deſign, ſallied out upon him in the narrow paſſage near the city, and throwing his army into diſorder, routed them with great ſlaughter. *Hamilcar* being taken priſoner by the *Syracuſans*, they put him to death by tortures, and ſent his head to *Agathocles*, who cauſed it to be ſhewn to the *Carthaginians*.

Agathocles is joined by many *African* princes.

Reſolving now to inveſt *Carthage* itſelf, he ſent ambaſſadors to the *African* princes, inviting them to join in the common cauſe; and even perſuaded *Ophellas*, prince of the *Cyreneans*, to march from *Cyrene* with 20,000 men to act in concert with him, promiſing to make him king of *Africa*. He moſt perfidiouſly, however, put him to death, and prevailed on his troops to ſerve under him. Then aſſuming the title of king of *Africa*, he laid ſiege to *Carthage*, which at the ſame time was in danger of being ruined by a domeſtic enemy. *Bomilcar*, who was poſſeſſed of the firſt employment in the ſtate, and had long been aſpiring at the ſovereign power, now attempted to put his deſign in execution. He had ſent away all the moſt eminent citizens, from whom he apprehended any obſtruction, to ſerve in the army which had marched to reduce the *Numidians*, who had declared for *Agathocles*. Having aſſembled 500 aſſociates, he marched

Bomilcar attempts to ſeize the ſovereignty at *Carthage*.

from

from *Neapolis* to *Carthage*, and entering the city, cut off as many citizens as he found in his way, without regard to ſex or age, which ſtruck the whole inhabitants with incredible terror, they ſuppoſing that the town was betrayed to the enemy. He divided his troops into five bodies, which attacked in five different quarters, carrying all before them, and at length uniting again in the forum. When it was known, however, in the city that *Bomilcar* had been the author of this diſturbance, and had moreover cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of *Carthage*, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and from the tops of the houſes diſcharged whole vollies of darts and ſtones upon the heads of his ſoldiers. The traitor, finding himſelf not able to carry the city, forced his way out, and retired towards *Neapolis*; but being cloſely purſued and ſurrounded by the *Carthaginians*, who proclaimed an amneſty to all who would lay down their arms, his troops ſurrendered. *Bomilcar*, notwithſtanding the general indemnity promiſed upon oath, was condemned to die, and was fixed to a croſs in the middle of the forum, where he expired in torments.

Great revolutions, in the mean time, happening in *Sicily*, where the *Agrigentines*, after the defeat of *Hamilcar*, had inſpired the inhabitants of moſt of the cities with the deſire of aſſerting their independance, *Agathocles* found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning to that iſland, to oppoſe the formidable aſſociation which the *Agrigentines* had formed. His affairs in *Africa* were in ſuch a proſperous ſituation, that he thought he might ſafely truſt the *African* army to his ſon *Archagathus*. He accordingly embarked for *Sicily* with 2000 men; and ſo great was his reputation, on account of his exploits in *Africa*, that many cities voluntarily ſubmitted to him, and others made but a faint oppoſition before they ſurrendered. *Agathocles returns to Sicily.*

During his abſence, *Archagathus* greatly extended the conqueſts in *Africa*. *Eumachus*, whom he ſent at the head of a large detachment into *Numidia*, conquered ſeveral of the *Numidian* cantons that would not come into a ſtate of amity with *Agathocles*. Afterwards taking *Phellina*, the *Aſphodelians*, a nation, according to *Diodorus*, as black as the *Ethiopians*, ſubmitted to him. From hence he marched and reduced *Maſchala*, a city of great importance, built by the *Greeks* in their return from *Troy*, and inhabited by their poſterity for ſeveral ſucceeding ages. He next made himſelf maſter of *Hipponacra*, which, ſince its ſurrender to *Agathocles*, had revolted to the *Carthaginians*. Laſtly, he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Cleris*, a free city of great opulence, which he gave up to the ſoldiers to be plundered, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. Theſe places, neither of which are mentioned by *Cellarius*, ſeem to have had their ſituation in that part of *Numidia* contiguous to *Africa Propria*. *Eumachus*, having returned with an immenſe booty to the camp, ſoon after made another excurſion, and traverſing the countries laſt invaded, he arrived at a city called *Miltine*, and forced his way into it. The Barbarians, however, collecting their whole force, His troops in *Africa* extend their conqueſts.

force, attacked him in the ſtreets with ſuch fury, that the obliged him to retire out of the town in great confuſion, with the loſs of a vaſt number of men. From hence he advanced to an high mountain, above 200 ſtadia over, full of wild cats, that would not ſuffer any birds to live amongſt them. Having paſſed this mountain with great difficulty, he came to three cities, called by the *Greeks Pithecuſæ*, from the apes with which all the adjacent country abounded. Having taken and razed one of theſe cities, the other two immediately ſurrendered; but being informed, that all the neighbouring nations were marching in a formidable body to give him battle, he abandoned his conqueſts, and retreated with the utmoſt precipitation to the ſea coaſts.

The *Carthaginians*, upon hearing of this repulſe of *Eumachus*, reſolved to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner, to recover their former loſſes. They ſent three bodies of troops out of the city; one to the ſea coaſts to keep the maritime towns in awe, another into the inland parts to preſerve the inhabitants there in their allegiance, and the laſt to *Upper Africa*, to ſupport their confederates in that country. They hoped alſo, by this means, to reſtore plenty to the citizens, who began to be in want of proviſions.

Thirty thouſand ſoldiers being ſent out of the city, proviſions returned to their former price, their confederates abandoned the ſide which, through compulſion, they had been obliged to take, and the *Sicilian* army was forced to withdraw from the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. *Archagathus* alſo divided his troops into three bodies; one of which he ſent to obſerve the *Carthaginians* on the ſea coaſts; another he poſted, under the command of *Æſchrion*, one of his generals, at a proper diſtance in the heart of the country; and with the laſt he kept nearer *Carthage*, preſerving a communication with the other two.

But are at length defeated by the *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthaginian* troops, ſent into the heart of the country, were commanded by *Hanno*, a general of great experience, who laid an ambuſcade for *Æſchrion*, and cut him off, with 4000 foot and 200 horſe. The reſt were either taken priſoners, or fled to *Archagathus*, who lay encamped about 500 ſtadia from the place where this action happened. *Eumachus*, who had marched with his detachment from the coaſts to *Upper Africa*, was alſo defeated by *Himilco*, the *Carthaginian* general in thoſe parts. Of 8000 foot only 30, and of 800 horſe only 40, had the good fortune to eſcape, the reſt either periſhing of thirſt, or being put to the ſword. *Himilco*, after the defeat of *Eumachus*, moved with great expedition towards *Archagathus*, who ordered all his detachments to return to his camp with the utmoſt ſpeed. *Himilco* having cut off all communication betwixt the *Syracuſan* army and the fruitful country of *Africa*, *Atarbas*, another *Carthaginian* commander, encamped within 40 ſtadia of *Tunis*, and prevented any ſupplies coming to them by ſea; ſo that the *Greeks*, in a ſhort time, were reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions. Their confederates alſo deſerting them,

and

and joining the *Carthaginians*, they were hemmed in on all ſides, and ſeemed deſtitute of all reſources for retrieving their affairs.

Agathocles being informed by an expreſs from his ſon of their deſperate ſituation, returned to *Africa*; and upon his arrival, reviewing his troops, found them to conſiſt of 6000 *Greeks*, as many *Celtes*, *Samnites*, and *Etruſcans*, beſides 10,000 *Africans*, who had perſevered in their fidelity to him, and 1500 horſe. His troops being deſperate he led them out, and offered the *Carthaginians* battle; which they declined; thinking that by protracting the time, they would gain a victory without ſtriking a ſtroke. The tyrant ſoon after attacked the *Carthaginian* camp, hoping by a deſperate effort to retrieve his affairs. He quickly made a conſiderable impreſſion upon it, and might poſſibly have carried it, had not his mercenaries baſely deſerted him almoſt upon the firſt onſet. The *Carthaginians*, animated by this cowardice, redoubled their efforts, and forcing the *Greeks* to retreat with great precipitation to their camp, purſued them with great ſlaughter, killing above 3000 men, and taking many priſoners.

Agathocles returns to *Africa*.

He is defeated by the *Carthaginians*.

The next night the *Carthaginians* ſacrificed all the priſoners of diſtinction, as a grateful acknowlegement to the gods for the victory they had obtained. While they were in the midſt of this ſolemnity, the wind ſuddenly riſing, carried the flames to the ſacred tabernacle near the altar, which, with the general's tent, and thoſe of the principal officers, were entirely conſumed. The ſoldiers tents being chiefly built of branches of trees, reeds and ſtraw, the fire quickly ſeized upon them, and the whole camp was ſoon in flames; in which many of the ſoldiers periſhed by endeavouring to ſave their arms and the rich baggage. The *Africans*, at the ſame time, having deſerted *Agathocles*, and advancing towards the *Carthaginian* camp, the ſoldiers, who were running from the flames, met them, and believing them to be the *Syracuſan* army, returned in the utmoſt terror to their own army, which was thereby thrown into the greateſt confuſion, ſeveral parties engaging their comrades, miſtaking them for the enemy. Five thouſand men loſt their lives in this nocturnal encounter, and the reſt thought proper to take ſhelter within the walls of *Carthage*.

A terrible diſaſter happens in their camp,

An accident ſomething reſembling this happened at the ſame time in the *Greek* camp. The *African* deſerters, who intended to join the *Carthaginians*, obſerving the great confuſion in their camp, and not underſtanding the meaning of it, thought proper to return to the place from whence they came. The *Syracuſans*, ſeeing a body of troops advancing towards them, immediately concluded they were the enemy; and running haſtily to arms, attacked each other in their confuſion. This inteſtine fray was ſo bloody, that it coſt *Agathocles* 4000 men. *Agathocles*, from this diſaſter, was quite diſheartened; and finding that the *Africans* were no longer his hearty friends, and that his other troops were greatly reduced, he reſolved to make his

and another in the camp of *Agathocles*,

his escape from *Africa* with a few friends, and to leave his army behind him. His design being discovered, he was seized by his own troops; but the night following, a tumult happening in his camp, he took that opportunity of escaping, and embarked for *Sicily*.

who soon after abandons *Africa*.

After the departure of *Agathocles*, his two sons fell a sacrifice to the wild fury of the soldiers, who then chose leaders from amongst themselves, and concluded a peace with the *Carthaginians* upon the following terms. 1st, That the *Greeks* should deliver up all the places they held in *Africa*, upon receiving 300 talents. 2dly, That such of them as were willing to serve under the *Carthaginians* should be kindly treated, and receive the usual pay. And, 3dly, That the rest should be transported to *Sicily*, and have the city of *Selinus* for their habitation. These articles were punctually observed by the *Carthaginians*, who notwithstanding they were brought to the very brink of destruction by the *Syracusan* army, settled their affairs upon the antient footing. Some cities which, in hopes of relief from *Agathocles*, refused to submit, were reduced by force of arms, their governors crucified, and the garrisons obliged to cultivate those parts of the country they had before laid waste and destroyed *.

His troops conclude a peace with the *Carthaginians*,

which is ratified by *Agathocles*.

The treaty concluded betwixt the *Carthaginians* and the *Syracusan* troops in *Africa*, was ratified the following year by *Agathocles*, who was reduced to great straits in *Sicily* by *Dinocrates*, whom he had banished from *Syracuse*. He not only ratified the former treaty, but also restored to them all the cities they formerly possessed in *Sicily*. The *Carthaginians* having recovered their *Sicilian* territories, sent *Agathocles* 300, or as *Timæus* will have it, 150 talents of gold, and 500,000 bushels of wheat, to assist him in his enterprizes against *Dinocrates*.

Some years afterwards, the *Carthaginians* were again threatned with another war by *Agathocles*, who bore them an implacable hatred; but their apprehensions were soon dissipated by his death. *Mænon*, who had poisoned *Agathocles*, endeavoured to usurp the sovereign power in *Syracuse*; but finding himself vigorously opposed, he applied to the *Carthaginians* for assistance. This people, always intent upon fomenting divisions in *Sicily*, in order to enlarge their own acquisitions in that island, readily granted his request. The succours they granted him, however, were not sufficient for his purpose: for he was routed several times by *Icetas* the *Syracusan* commander, who usurped the supreme power himself, and held it for nine years under the title of prætor. In the 9th year of his command, he was defeated by a *Carthaginian* army near the river *Teria*, and obliged to fly with great loss to *Syracuse*.

The *Carthaginians* foment disturbances in *Syracuse*.

* That city, at the same time, being torn to pieces by two opposite factions, headed by *Tæuion* and *Sosistratus*, who each aimed at the sovereignty, the *Carthaginians* took advantage of

* Diod. Sic. l. xx. Justin, l. xxii.

their

their diviſions, and after reducing moſt of the cities ſubject to *Syracuſe*, inveſted the capital itſelf with a fleet of 100 ſail, and an army of 50,000 men. The two competitors now united their forces againſt the *Carthaginians*, and invited *Pyrrhus* king of *Epire*, then at *Tarentum*, to come over to *Sicily*, to deliver the *Greeks* in that iſland from the barbarians, who threatned them with utter deſtruction. *Pyrrhus* eagerly accepted of this invitation, and arrived in *Sicily* with a powerful fleet and army. Upon his approach, the *Carthaginians* withdrew from *Syracuſe*; ſo that he took poſſeſſion of that city without oppoſition. All the cities on the coaſt followed the example of *Syracuſe*, and declared for *Pyrrhus*; who having a formidable army of veteran troops, and being joined by a great many *Sicilians*, ſoon ſtripped the *Carthaginians* of all their acquiſitions in that iſland, except *Eryx* and *Lilybæum*.

The *Syracuſans* call in *Pyrrhus* to their aſſiſtance.

Before *Pyrrhus* arrived in *Sicily*, both the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* were alarmed at his conqueſts and enterprizing ſpirit, and entered into an alliance for mutually aſſiſting each other if the territories of either of them ſhould be attacked by the king of *Epire*. In conſequence of this alliance, when *Pyrrhus* invaded *Italy*, and declared war againſt the *Romans*, the *Carthaginians* ſent a fleet of 120, or according to *Valerius Maximus*, of 130 ſail to the aſſiſtance of their allies, under the command of *Mago*. This officer, upon his arrival at *Rome*, offered the ſenate, in the name of his republic, a body of auxiliary troops; but they thought proper, in a civil manner, to decline the aſſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*. *Diodorus* tells us, that the *Carthaginian* fleet, having a body of land-forces on board, nevertheleſs ſailed to *Rhegium*, which place they battered for ſome time with incredible fury; but were at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege. They again put to ſea to obſerve the motions of *Pyrrhus*, *Mago* himſelf even venturing to his camp under pretence of offering his mediation betwixt him and the *Romans*, but in reality to diſcover, if poſſible, his deſigns with regard to *Sicily*.

The *Carthaginians* offer to aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt *Pyrrhus*.

Notwithſtanding their precautions, *Pyrrhus*, as we have obſerved, landing in *Sicily*, ſoon threw them into great conſternation by his rapid progreſs. Before they could form an army capable of oppoſing him in the field, he almoſt drove them wholly out of the iſland. Having taken *Eryx* by ſtorm, he laid ſiege to *Lilybæum* with all his forces, which was the only city left to the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*. The *Carthaginians* being maſters of the ſea, landed a ſtrong body of troops in the city, juſt as *Pyrrhus* came before the walls: but the rapidity of his conqueſts ſo terrified them, that they ſent ambaſſadors to treat of a peace with him, offering him either a large ſum of money, or to abandon all they had poſſeſſed in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*. *Pyrrhus* inſiſting that they ſhould entirely abandon the iſland, the negotiation was broke off, and they prepared for a vigorous defence. The city being ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, and defended by a numerous garriſon, *Pyrrhus*, at the end of two months, was ſhamefully obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

The *Carthaginians* almoſt driven out of *Sicily* by *Pyrrhus*,

Pyrrhus,

who proposes to invade *Africa*.

Pyrrhus, notwithstanding this repulse, resolved, in imitation of *Agathocles*, whose daughter he had married, to transfer the war into *Africa*: but disobliging the *Sicilians* by his oppressive and tyrannical government, they thwarted his measures, and endeavoured to shake off his yoke before it was fixed too fast. The king seeing his interest now ruined in *Sicily*, wanted to leave the island: but the *Carthaginians* being informed of this sudden revolution, reinforced their army in *Sicily*, and sent a powerful fleet to cruise off the island. This squadron fell in with his fleet at sea, when he was returning with his troops to *Italy*, sunk 70 of his ships, and dispersed or took the rest, so that he arrived at *Locri* with only 10 vessels, the poor remains of a fleet of 200 sail.

In his return to *Italy* he is totally defeated by the *Carthaginians*, Bef. Chr. 275.

The *Carthaginians*, after this victory, quickly recovered all their possessions in *Sicily*, and settled their affairs in that island upon a firmer footing than ever. They had nevertheless two powerful enemies still to contend with in the island; namely, the *Mamertines*, who were in possession of *Messana*, and the *Syracusans*, who soon after the departure of *Pyrrhus* submitted to *Hiero*, a wise and politic prince. The *Syracusan* forces under his command, obtained several advantages over the *Carthaginians*, and even in a short time grew formidable to them.

who recover all their possessions in *Sicily*,

The *Mamertines*, who were originally *Campanians*, and had several years before treacherously seized on *Messana* by massacreing the antient inhabitants, were enemies not only to the *Carthaginians*, but also to the *Syracusans*. *Hiero*, who was a skilful general, and had restored military discipline among his troops, soon reduced the *Mamertines* to so great difficulties, that they made overtures to him for an accommodation, and even offered to put the city of *Messana* into his hands. The *Carthaginians*, who already dreaded the power of *Hiero*, artfully endeavoured to prevent this negotiation from taking effect. Their secret practices not being successful, *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* general, sent one of his officers to *Messana*, who prevailed upon the *Mamertines* to admit him and a body of troops into their city, under pretence of defending it against *Hiero* their common enemy.

and take possession of *Messana*.

All the *Mamertines* did not agree to this measure. The greatest number of them proposed to call in the *Romans* to their assistance, and an embassy was accordingly sent to *Rome* for that purpose. As there was a mutual jealousy and rivalship betwixt the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* republics, and the *Carthaginians*, a short time before, had attempted to get possession of *Tarentum* in *Italy* before it submitted to the *Roman* consuls, the *Romans* ardently embraced this opportunity of curbing the enterprizing spirit of their powerful rivals, and promised assistance to the *Mamertines*. The *Carthaginians*, tho' they knew that the *Romans* were resolved to attempt to wrest *Messana* from them, would not evacuate the place, being determined to risk a war with that powerful republic, rather than allow them to intermeddle with their affairs in *Sicily*. They, doubtless, hoped also

The *Romans*, at the entreaty of the *Mamertines*, undertake the defence of *Messana*.

to

to humble a proud rival, whoſe intereſts in every reſpect claſhed with theirs, and were likewiſe anxious to preſerve the dominion of the ſea, and that extenſive trade which they then enjoyed. The *Romans*, it is plain, were not influenced by motives of equity to ſuccour the *Mamertines*; for the year before they had extirpated the inhabitants of *Rhegium*, who had taken poſſeſſion of that city, in the ſame treacherous manner as the *Mamertines* had ſeized *Meſſana*. They even preſſed their aſſiſtance upon the *Mamertines*; who when *Claudius* the military tribune arrived at their city, declared to him, that they were ſatisfied with the *Carthaginian* garriſon, and that it was needleſs for the *Romans* to intermeddle in their affairs. There was, indeed, a *Roman* faction in the city, which, encouraged by the intrepidity of *Claudius*, ſeemed to expreſs ſome deſire of the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, altho' they were then greatly awed by the *Carthaginian* troops within their walls; *Claudius* eagerly interpreting this as a general invitation, returned to *Italy* to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for tranſporting a body of forces to *Meſſana* without delay.

The *Carthaginians* being informed of the reſolution taken at *Rome* to aſſiſt the *Mamertines*, ſent a ſtrong ſquadron of gallies, under the command of *Hanno*, to *Sicily*. *Hanno* being ſtationed off *Meſſana*, attacked the *Roman* fleet under *Claudius*, who was attempting to throw ſuccours into that place. A ſtorm ariſing during the engagement, many of the *Roman* ſhips were daſhed upon the rocks, and *Hanno* took ſeveral others; ſo that *Claudius* was obliged to ſave himſelf in *Rhegium*. *Hanno* reſtored all the veſſels he had taken from *Claudius*; but ordered the deputies he ſent with them, to expoſtulate with the *Roman* general upon his infraction of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two republics. *Claudius* ſcornfully rejecting the preſent, an open rupture enſued; the *Carthaginian* deputies declaring, that they would not ſuffer a *Roman* even to waſh his hands in the *Straits*. *Claudius* ſoon after eluding the vigilance of the *Carthaginians*, and landing at *Meſſana*, *Hanno*, who now commanded their troops in that city, was forced by the *Romans* to evacuate the place; for which he was afterwards crucified at *Carthage*; it being uſual with them to inflict ſuch a puniſhment upon their generals who were unſucceſsful. The *Carthaginians* being determined, at all events, to diſlodge the *Romans* from *Meſſana*, raiſed a formidable army, and equipped a powerful fleet for that purpoſe; appointing another *Hanno*, the ſon of *Hannibal*, commander in chief of their forces. This general landed his troops at *Lilybæum*, and advancing afterwards to *Agrigentum*, repaired the fortifications of the citadel. Ambaſſadors, about the ſame time, arriving at his camp from *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe*, to concert meaſures for driving the *Romans* out of *Sicily*, it was agreed to march with their united forces againſt *Meſſana*.

They oblige the *Carthaginians* to leave the place.

The *Carthaginians*, in conjunction with *Hiero*, inveſt *Meſſana*.

The *Romans* refuſing, when ſummoned, to quit the place, *Hanno* put all the *Italian* ſoldiers in his army to the ſword. He

pitched his camp near cape *Pelorus*, where his fleet was ſtationed, to prevent any ſupplies entering the place by ſea, while *Hiero* encamped on mount *Chalcis*, to cut off all communication betwixt the beſieged and the neighbouring country. *Appius Claudius*, the *Roman* conſul, arriving ſoon after with an army at *Rhegium*, ſent to *Hiero*, and conjured him, by the antient friendſhip betwixt the *Romans* and him, to deſiſt from the ſiege he had undertaken. *Hiero* abſolutely refuſed to retire; and urged, that the *Romans* ought not, in juſtice, to undertake the defence of ſuch a neſt of banditti. The conſul ſoon after landing with his troops in *Sicily*, attacked and defeated *Hiero*, who thereupon abandoned the ſiege, and returned to *Syracuſe*. *Appius* next attacked the *Carthaginian* entrenchments; but was repulſed with loſs. The *Carthaginians*, however, imprudently purſuing him to the plain, were in their turn defeated, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege, the *Romans* afterwards carrying their arms further into the iſland, and reducing ſeveral towns. The conſul ſoon after departing, the *Carthaginians* and *Hiero* united their forces, and recovered ſeveral places which had been reduced by the *Romans*.

They are both obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

Hiero concludes an alliance with the *Romans*.

The following ſpring, both the *Roman* conſuls arrived in *Sicily*, with two conſular armies conſiſting each of 8000 legionaries and 600 horſe. Having, without difficulty, reduced about 67 towns, they advanced with all their forces to *Syracuſe*; which ſo intimidated *Hiero*, who had ſome ſuſpicion that he had been betrayed by the *Carthaginians* before *Meſſana*, that he entered into a treaty with the *Romans*. The conſuls, by this treaty, having acquired a faithful and powerful ally, turned their whole force againſt the *Carthaginians*, who had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to obſtruct the accommodation. The *Carthaginians* ſtill believed themſelves able to ſuſtain the whole burden of the war, and were ſo far from being diſpirited on this occaſion, that they reſolved to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner to drive the *Romans* out of *Sicily*, and even to oblige king *Hiero* to renounce his new alliance. They placed numerous garriſons in all their frontiers, perfected the works of their fortified towns, and ſent officers with large ſums of money to make levies in *Liguria*, *Gaul*, and *Iberia*. The *Romans*, nevertheleſs, carried on their conqueſts with great rapidity, and made themſelves maſters of many of the *Carthaginian* cities, ſeveral of which voluntarily opened their gates to the conſuls, who at the end of the campaign took up their winter quarters at *Rhegium*.

The *Carthaginians* reſolve to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour.

The next campaign, the *Carthaginians* appointed *Hanno* commander in chief of all their forces. This general fixed his principal magazine at *Agrigentum*, which city the *Roman* conſuls blocked up for four months, and then beſieged in form. The ſiege happened in the middle of harveſt; and the *Carthaginian* garriſon obſerving great numbers of the *Romans* diſperſed in the fields in order to carry off the corn to their camp, made a vigorous ſally, and had almoſt forced their intrenchments; but were

at last beat back into the town. The *Romans* pushing on the siege with great vigour, *Hanno*, who commanded the *Carthaginian* army, advanced to *Erbessa*, and so streightened the *Romans*, who were engaged in the siege, that they were in great danger of perishing for want of provisions. In this extremity, however, they were supplied with provisions by *Hiero*, who from time to time sent considerable convoys to their camp; and many *Sicilian* cities also joined them with a good body of forces. *Hanno*, finding that he could not oblige the *Romans* in that manner to raise the siege, advanced into a plain near the *Roman* camp, and drew up his army in order of battle. The *Roman* generals having posted proper detachments to repulse the besieged if they should make a sally, and sent a body of troops to fall upon the *Carthaginian* rear, drew the rest of their troops out of their entrenchments, and ventured an engagement. The *Carthaginian* army was routed, with the loss of a great number of men and some elephants; and *Hannibal*, who sallied out of the city with the garrison, was repulsed with considerable loss. Immediately afterwards he abandoned the place to the *Romans*, and *Hanno* fled with the broken remains of his army to *Heraclea*. The siege of *Agrigentum* continued seven months, the *Romans* losing 30,000 foot and 540 horse before the town.

Agrigentum, after a long siege, taken by the *Romans*.

The *Carthaginians*, greatly chagrined at the ill success of their arms in this last campaign, attributed it, as usual, to the bad conduct of their general; and therefore not only exacted an immense sum of money from *Hanno* by way of fine, but likewise deprived him of his commission, and appointed *Hamilcar* to command in his room. *Hannibal*, who commanded their fleet, attempted to ravage the coasts of *Italy*; but the precautions of the *Romans* rendered his endeavours ineffectual.

The *Carthaginians* punish their general by a fine.

C. Duilius found means of transporting two legions to *Sicily*, and laid siege to *Mytistratum*; but notwithstanding the large number of battering engines he had with him, he was obliged to raise the siege, and retire with great loss. *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* general, being apprehensive that a body of *Gauls* in his army intended to desert to the enemy, because they had mutinied for want of their pay, commanded them to storm a town defended by a *Roman* garrison; and giving the *Romans* notice of the intended attack, the *Gauls* were drawn into an ambuscade, and all cut off. The consul being ignorant of *Hamilcar*'s views, judged that he had gained a signal advantage; and animated thereby, made preparations with great vigour for making an incursion into the *Carthaginian* territories. The *Carthaginians*, however, about this time, gaining an advantage over the *Romans* at sea, *Duilius* was recalled to command their fleet, and consequently was obliged to suspend the operations by land.

Duilius repulsed by the *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthaginian* fleets making several descents upon the coasts in *Italy*, the *Romans* were resolved to fit out a fleet with the design not only of defending their own coasts, and opening a free communication with *Sicily*, but also of carrying hostilities

The *Carthaginians* ravage the *Italian* coasts.

to the coasts of *Africa*. The *Romans* had fitted out a small fleet of 17 gallies, which being decoyed by *Hannibal* into the port of *Lipara*, *Boodes*, the *Carthaginian* commander, who sailed thither before them, persuaded the *Roman* consul and the legionary tribunes attending him, to come on board his galley, under pretence of making proposals for a peace between the two republics. They no sooner came on board than he detained them prisoners; and then with ease making himself master of their gallies, he sent the consul, with many other *Romans*, prisoners to *Carthage*. Soon after *Hannibal* committed great ravages on the coasts of *Italy*; but being attacked by the *Romans*, he lost the best part of his ships, and with great difficulty made his escape *.

Their fleet is defeated by that of the *Romans*,

Notwithstanding this defeat, the *Carthaginians*, who were at this time one of the most powerful nations of the world by sea, entertained still a very contemptible opinion of the *Roman* fleet. The *Romans*, on the other hand, tho' they had gained an advantage over *Hannibal*, dreaded the naval force of the *Carthaginians*, and for this reason ordered *C. Duilius* to take upon him the command of the squadron in the straits of *Rhegium*. This consul having added a new machine to the prow of his gallies, called *Corvus*, by which he grapled the vessels of the *Carthaginians*, gained a signal victory over *Hannibal*, who was obliged to abandon his septireme, and escape in a small boat. The loss of the *Carthaginians* in this engagement, is variously related by the *Roman* historians; but the most authentic account of it is the inscription on the *Columna Rostrata* of *Duilius*, still preserved at *Rome*. According to *Orosius* and *Zonaras*, *Hannibal*, upon his arrival at *Carthage*, was in danger of being crucified; but by some subtle artifice averted the impending danger, and was only removed from the command of the sea forces. But according to *Polybius*, he was continued in that post, and was afterwards crucified by his own men, upon their receiving another disgrace from the *Romans*.

who gain a second victory at sea.

After the departure of *Duilius* from *Sicily*, the arms of the *Carthaginians*, for some time, were attended with success in that island. *Hamilcar*, who had fixed his head quarters at *Panormus*, being informed that a dispute had happened betwixt the *Roman* auxiliary troops and legionaries, and that the former had actually marked out a camp for themselves between *Parapus* and *Thermæ*, fell upon them before they could entrench themselves, and put 4000, or according to *Diodorus*, 6000, of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest. After this victory, *Hamilcar* made himself master of *Camarina* and *Enna*, and fortified *Drepanum*. Then advancing to *Eryx*, he almost razed that antient city, peopling *Drepanum* with its inhabitants. Many other cities he also reduced, partly by force, and partly by treachery; and would have made himself master of the

Hamilcar gains several advantages in *Sicily*.

* Diod. Sic. Liv. Polyb. Zonar. Polyæn. Strat. l. vi.

whole

whole iſland, if *Florus*, who ſucceeded *Duilius* in the command of the *Roman* army, had not behaved with great vigilance and bravery.

Hannibal, according to *Polybius*, after being defeated by *Duilius*, retired to *Carthage*, and being reinforced by a good number of gallies, and attended by many officers of great merit, again put to ſea, and ſteered for *Sardinia*. While he was in one of the harbours of that iſland, he allowed himſelf to be ſurprized by the *Romans*, who carried off many of his ſhips, and took great numbers of his men priſoners. This ſo incenſed the reſt, that they ſeized the admiral and crucified him. Nothing further material, according to *Polybius*, happened this campaign or the following.

In the campaign that ſucceeded, *Hamilcar* poſted himſelf at *Panormus*, while *C. Aquilius Florus*, the *Roman* general, who in vain endeavoured to draw him to an engagement, took *Hiptana* by ſtorm, and beſieged *Mytiſtratum*; which place the *Romans* had twice attempted before. *Florus* made his approaches ſo ſlowly, that before he could reduce the place, his authority expired. Early next ſpring his ſucceſſor *A. Atilius Collatinus*, joining the army before *Mytiſtratum* with a ſtrong body of forces, puſhed on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that the *Carthaginian* forces abandoned the town in the night, and the citizens then opened their gates to the *Romans*. Many of the inhabitants, however, were maſſacred by the *Roman* ſoldiers, and thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter, were ſold for ſlaves, their city being levelled with the ground. The conſul next attacked *Camarina*; but in his march thither, he narrowly eſcaped being cut off with his whole army by a ſtratagem of *Hamilcar*. Receiving a large train of battering engines and other ſupplies from king *Hiero*, he at length made himſelf maſter of the place, and ſold the inhabitants who eſcaped the ſword for ſlaves. He afterwards ſeized upon *Enna* by treachery, and maſſacred the *Carthaginian* garriſon; and in a very ſhort time after reduced many other cities.

The *Romans*, after a long ſiege, take *Mytiſtratum*, *Camarina*, and *Enna*.

During theſe tranſactions, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, the collegue of *Florus*, had ſailed with a ſquadron to *Corſica*, and taken *Aleria*, the capital city, by ſtorm. *Scipio* ſailed from *Corſica* to *Sardinia*; but upon entering the port of *Olbia*, he was ſo ſtruck with the appearance of the whole *Carthaginian* ſquadron, which was there riding at anchor, that he retreated in a precipitate manner. Some authors, however, relate, that he ſoon after returned and reduced *Olbia*, and ſeveral other places of leſs note; but could not make himſelf maſter of the whole iſland *. *Hamilcar* being informed, the year following, that the *Romans* had a deſign upon *Lipara*, threw a body of forces into that town by night, unknown to the conſul, who when he had attacked the place, was repulſed with conſiderable loſs. About the ſame time the *Romans* made themſelves maſters of *Sardinia*.

Corſica and part of *Sardinia* alſo reduced by the *Romans*.

* Polyb. Liv. Zonar. Flor. Oros. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii.

The *Roman* general in *Sicily*, by means of ſome deſerters impoſing upon the *Carthaginian* admiral, and perſuading him that the *Romans* intended to land in *Africa*, abandoned *Sardinia* and ſailed for *Carthage*. *Sulpitius*, the *Roman* admiral, being appriſed of the intelligence given them, poſted himſelf in a proper place to intercept them, and either took or ſunk, by favour of the night, moſt of their ſhips. The good ſucceſs of this ſtratagem, encouraged the *Romans* now in good earneſt to prepare for an expedition to *Africa*, as the only means to oblige the enemy to evacuate *Sicily*, and procure an advantageous peace.

The following year, from *Zonaras*, it ſeems probable, that the *Roman* forces in *Sicily* beſieged *Lipara* a ſecond time, tho' they had been routed by the *Carthaginians* towards the cloſe of the laſt campaign. *M. Attilius Regulus*, one of the new conſuls, had two naval engagements with the *Carthaginians* off the coaſts of *Sicily*. In the firſt he loſt nine gallies; but in the ſecond he routed the *Carthaginians*, ſinking ten and taking eight of their veſſels. The other conſul, about the ſame time, laid waſte the iſland of *Melita*.

As neither of the late actions had been deciſive, both parties made ſuch vaſt and expeditious preparations, that the enſuing ſummer, the ninth year of this war, they collected their whole naval force in order to determine the fate of *Sicily* as well as the dominion of the ſea. The two *Roman* conſuls aſſembled their fleet, which conſiſted of 330 gallies of different ſizes, at *Meſſana*, and took their land-forces on board at *Ecnomos* in *Sicily*. About the ſame time the *Carthaginian* ſquadron, compoſed of 350 ſail, arrived at *Heraclea Minoa*, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a deciſive battle. The *Roman* ſquadron was manned with their beſt troops, and ſeparated into four diviſions. Each galley contained 300 rowers, and 120 ſoldiers; ſo that the whole force on board amounted to near 140,000 men. *Polybius* ſeems to inſinuate, that the combined naval and land-forces of the *Carthaginians*, could not have been leſs than 150,000 ſtrong. In the engagement that followed, the *Carthaginians*, by retreating when the action began, ſeparated the *Roman* fleet. The *Romans*, nevertheleſs, who were ſeparated from the reſt, after an obſtinate engagement gained the victory by the aſſiſtance of their corvi, by which they obliged the *Carthaginians* to come to a cloſe engagement. The remaining diviſion of the *Carthaginian* fleet attacked that of the *Romans* in two different parts; ſo that at the ſame time there were three ſea-fights, the combatants in each being almoſt within ſight of one another. The firſt diviſion of the *Roman* fleet having gained the victory, returned to the aſſiſtance of the other two; and by that ſuperiority, enabled them entirely to defeat the *Carthaginians*, the ardour of whoſe attack was greatly abated by their dread of the corvi. The *Romans* loſt only 24 gallies in this action; but of the *Carthaginians*, 30 were ſunk and 63 taken by the victors.

The *Carthaginians* receive a terrible overthrow at ſea.

The

The *Carthaginians*, after this battle, made propoſals of peace to the *Romans*, chiefly with a deſign to amuſe the conſuls, and divert them from the *African* expedition. The conſuls, however, rejecting their propoſals, ſailed ſoon after for *Africa* with their whole fleet, and landed a powerful army at *Clypea*. The *Romans* having made themſelves maſters of this place without much difficulty, left a ſtrong garriſon in it to ſecure their ſhipping, and moved with the reſt of their army near *Carthage*, reducing a great number of towns on their march. They plundered alſo a great number of villages, laid very many noblemens ſeats in aſhes, and took above 20,000, *Eutropius* ſays 27,000, priſoners. Having ſcoured the country almoſt to the gates of *Carthage*, the *Romans* returned with an immenſe booty to *Clypea*, where the beſt part of their troops again embarked and returned to *Italy*. *Regulus* the conſul remained in *Africa* with only 40 ſhips, 15,000 foot, and 500 horſe; which gave freſh courage to the *Carthaginians*, who upon the firſt landing of the *Romans* had been ſtruck with the greateſt conſternation. *Hamilcar* arriving from *Sicily* with 5000 foot and 500 horſe, he with *Aſdrubal* and *Boſtar*, as joint commanders, took the field with an army. *Regulus*, in the mean time, after commiting great ravages on the ſea coaſt, advanced to *Bagrada* in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, where, with his battering engines, he ſlew a ſerpent of a monſtrous ſize, which, if *Ælius Tubero* may be believed, found the whole *Roman* army for ſome time in employ.

The *Romans* land in *Africa*, and take a great many places.

Hamilcar and his collegues, hearing that *Regulus* had formed the ſiege of *Addis*, or *Adda*, a fortreſs of great conſequence to *Carthage*, advanced at the head of their forces to attack him. They encamped in his neighbourhood upon ſome heights covered with woods, which was a capital error, and occaſioned the defeat of their army; their ſituation rendering their elephants and cavalry, which was their chief ſtrength, uſeleſs in the action which enſued. *Regulus* attacking them in the night, many of the *Carthaginians* had their throats cut in bed, and others loſt their lives before they could lay hold of their arms to defend themſelves. The *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* mercenaries in their ſervice, however, behaved with great bravery, and not only repulſed the firſt legion, but forced them to fly to their camp. The *Carthaginians* loſt 17,000, or according to *Eutropius* 18,000, men in the battle and purſuit; 18 elephants were alſo taken, 5000 men made priſoners, and the reſt diſperſed. *Regulus*, after this action, burnt all the open places, and reduced, according to ſome, above 300 cities, among which were *Utica* and *Tunis*; but according to *Eutropius*, the conſul only conquered 73 towns.

Regulus gains a ſignal victory over the *Carthaginians*.

To complete the misfortunes of the *Carthaginians*, the *Numidians* declared againſt them, and committed dreadful devaſtations in their territories, which occaſioned a famine in *Carthage*. The *African* nations more immediately ſubject to *Carthage*, being weary of the *Carthaginian* yoke, alſo declared for the

The *Africans* and *Numidians* declare for the *Romans*.

the *Romans*, who now carried every thing before them. *Regulus*, hoping that the *Carthaginians* would consent to any terms, offered them a peace, being afraid that his succeſſor would rob him of the glory he had acquired. The terms preſcribed by *Regulus* were ſo intolerable, that the *Carthaginians* reſolved to ſuffer all extremities rather than ſubmit to them, tho' their country was almoſt deſolated, and they had loſt, according to ſome, 200,000 priſoners. *Regulus* having ſent great part of his booty to *Rome*, encamped with his victorious army before *Carthage*, full of confidence that he would ſoon reduce the place*.

Some mercenaries under *Xantippus* arrive at *Carthage* from *Greece*.

Whilſt matters remained in this melancholy ſituation, a *Carthaginian* officer returned from *Greece* with a body of mercenaries, who were commanded by *Xantippus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, a perſon of great bravery and military ſkill. Having informed himſelf wherein the main ſtrength of the *Carthaginian* forces lay, he blamed their generals for encamping on the hills, and declared, that by an oppoſite conduct, they might ſtill retrieve their affairs, and drive the enemy out of their dominions. Being unanimouſly appointed commander in chief, he taught them to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art according to the *Lacedæmonian* manner. *Xantippus* having inſtructed his troops, and inſpired him with confidence, he drew them up in battalia in a large plain, and advanced againſt the *Romans*, tho' his troops did not amount to above 16,000 men.

The *Carthaginians* follow the counſels of *Xantippus*,

Regulus being elated with his ſucceſs, held the *Carthaginians* in great contempt, and now acted in a very inconſiderate manner. He overfatigued his men, expoſed them to the parties of the *Carthaginians* poſted on eminences to annoy them in their march, and to crown all, paſſed a river parting the two armies, by which means he cut off a retreat in caſe any misfortune happened. *Xantippus* taking his advantage of theſe imprudent ſteps, gained a compleat victory, 2000 *Romans* only eſcaping, all the reſt being taken priſoners or ſlain. Of the *Carthaginians*, 800 were killed in this action; but of the *Romans*, it may be concluded from *Polybius*, near 13,000 muſt have fallen. According to *Eutropius*, 30,000 *Romans* loſt their lives in this battle, and 15,000 were taken priſoners; but on this ſuppoſition, *Regulus* muſt either have received a ſtrong reinforcement from *Rome*, or been joined by a large body of *Africans*; which laſt is not improbable. *Xantippus* took *Regulus* himſelf, and 500 of his men, priſoners in the purſuit, and immediately carried them to *Carthage*.

who entirely defeats *Regulus*, and takes him priſoner.

The *Carthaginians* treated all the *Roman* priſoners, except *Regulus*, with great humanity, hoping by this conduct to engage the *Romans* to behave with lenity to the *Carthaginian* priſoners in their hands. *Regulus* having, in the height of his proſperity, inſulted them, they now treated him with great indig-

* Appian. Polyb. Oroſ. Eutrop. Zonar. Diod. Sic. Aur. Vict. Flor.

nity,

nity, and threw him into a dungeon, where they allowed him only ſuſtenance barely to keep him alive. The *Carthaginians*, upon this victory, repaired to the temples in crouds, to return thanks to their gods for ſo ſignal a victory, and hung up in theſe temples the arms taken from the enemy. According to ſome authors, they ſoon forgot the vaſt obligation they were under to *Xantippus*, and even ſhewed themſelves guilty of moſt ſhocking ingratitude to him and the mercenaries who had ſaved them from ruin. According to them, they either actually deſtroyed *Xantippus*, or attempted his deſtruction; and not only diſmiſſed the mercenaries without paying them their arrears, but in their paſſage home left them expoſed on a deſolate iſland. But as *Polybius*, *Livy*, *Florus*, *Eutropius*, and other hiſtorians, make no mention of theſe circumſtances, they deſerve, we think, but little credit. Hiſtorians are not at all agreed as to the fate of *Regulus*. Some *Roman* writers relate, that he was put to death by tortures at *Carthage*; but add many romantic circumſtances, which render their accounts very improbable.

The *Carthaginians* having re-eſtabliſhed their affairs in *Africa*, began to threaten even *Italy* itſelf with an invaſion. The *Romans*, to oppoſe them, placed ſtrong garriſons in all their maritime towns, and fitted out a new fleet, in hopes of raiſing ſome freſh diſturbances in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians*, in the mean time, made a fruitleſs attempt upon *Clypea* and *Utica*, which were relieved by the *Roman* ſquadron. Tho' they could not ſo eaſily regain the towns on the ſea-ſhore, yet they recovered the towns on the frontiers of *Numidia* without much difficulty. They again put to ſea with a fleet of 200 ſail; but the *Romans* defeating them off cape *Hermea*, landed without oppoſition at *Clypea*, and routing them in a pitched battle near that place, carried off the remains of the army of *Regulus* to *Sicily*. In their paſſage thither, the *Romans* met with ſo dreadful a ſtorm, that almoſt their whole fleet was loſt; all the ſea-coaſts from *Camarina* to *Pachynum* were ſtrewed with the dead bodies of men and horſes, as well as the wrecks of ſhips.

The *Roman* fleet deſtroyed by a ſtorm.

Immediately after this diſaſter, *Carthalo*, a *Carthaginian* commander, made himſelf maſter of *Agrigentum*, which he laid in aſhes. The *Carthaginians*, to ſupport him, ſent *Aſdrubal* to *Sicily* with a large reinforcement of troops and 150 elephants. About the ſame time they ſent *Hamilcar* with an army into *Mauritania* and *Numidia* to puniſh the people of thoſe countries for ſhewing a diſpoſition to join the *Romans*. *Hamilcar* treated them with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity, cauſing all their chiefs to be crucified, putting great numbers of the poorer ſort to the ſword, and exacting from the reſt 1000 talents of ſilver, beſides 20,000 head of cattle. Tho' they met with ſome ſucceſs in *Sicily*, yet their army could not prevent the *Romans* from taking poſſeſſion of *Panormus*, the capital of their dominions in that iſland. In the end of the campaign, they took ſeveral *Roman* ſhips laden with money and other valuable effects.

The *Carthaginians* reduce and puniſh their revolted ſubjects.

The

The *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding all their disasters, suffered less at sea than the *Romans*, who considering their great losses on that element, began to lay aside all thoughts of continuing their naval armaments. The year after, losing 160 gallies more on the coasts of *Sicily*, they actually dropt all further attention to naval affairs, and left the *Carthaginians* masters of the sea. Their soldiers also being terrified by the great havock made by the elephants at the battle gained by *Xantippus* for the two succeeding years, fled at the approach of those furious animals, which prevented the war from being carried on by them with any vigour. But the *Romans*, being uneasy at the slow progress of their arms in *Sicily*, were at length induced to attempt making a figure once more by sea.

The *Romans* leave the sea to the *Carthaginians*,

Asdrubal, the *Carthaginian* general, perceiving how much the *Romans* were afraid of his elephants, marched out of *Lilybæum*, and advanced into the neighbourhood of *Panormus*, in order to draw the *Romans* to a battle. After he had passed the river *Orethus*, *Metellus*, the *Roman* commander, taking him at an advantage, attacked him with great fury, and gained a signal victory; the *Carthaginians* losing a vast number of men in the action, besides many elephants, ten of which were taken with their *Indian* leaders. The *Carthaginian* elephants, after this battle, were no longer the dread of the *Roman* troops. According to *Zonaras*, the *Carthaginian* fleet, by being then in port, completed the ruin of their land-forces: for vast numbers of *Asdrubal*'s soldiers endeavouring to make their escape on board the gallies, fell into the sea and were drowned. The *Celtes* in the army of *Asdrubal*, according to *Diodorus*, got drunk with wine before the action, and occasioning great confusion, encouraged the *Romans* to venture an engagement. This action happened in the 14th year of the *Punic* war.

but gain an advantage over them at *Panormus*.

Soon after the *Carthaginians* receiving intelligence that the *Romans* intended to form the siege of *Lilybæum*, they reinforced the garrison with a large body of chosen troops, and furnished the fortifications in such a manner, as to render the place almost impregnable. The *Roman* consuls, nevertheless, laid siege to the place, the garrison of which was commanded by *Himilco*, an officer of great conduct and bravery. The *Romans* carried on their attacks with great vigour, and were no less vigorously repulsed. The garrison being very numerous, *Himilco* made frequent sallies; in some of which as much blood was spilt as in pitched battles. The *Romans* attempted, but with little success, to undermine the walls: but what they could not effect by force, they endeavoured to accomplish by treachery. Some of the leaders of the mercenaries who had escaped the vigilance of the centinels and come to the *Roman* camp, were corrupted by the consuls, and promised to deliver the place into their hands. One *Alexon*, an *Achaian*, discovering the whole conspiracy to *Himilco*, he took such prudent measures, as defeated the designs of the traitors. For upon their return from the *Roman* camp, they found their men so far from listening to

The consuls lay siege to *Lilybæum*.

their

their ſuggeſtions, that they drove them out of the place with the utmoſt fury. According to *Zonaras*, the mercenaries, induced by the length of the ſiege and a want of pay, began to think of betraying the city; but *Himilco* having paid the officers their arrears, appeaſed the minds of the ſoldiers by large promiſes, which he was ſoon enabled to fulfil. He rewarded *Alexon* for his fidelity, and continued his ſallies upon the *Romans* with the uſual ſucceſs; having, in the mean time, received a reinforcement of 10,000 men, and a large ſupply of proviſions. Soon after the *Romans* cutting off all communication betwixt *Lilybæum* and the other *Carthaginian* territories, the garriſon was reduced to ſome difficulties. A ſtorm ariſing, and rendering uſeleſs all the *Roman* battering engines, and overthrowing many of the towers they had erected, the *Greek* troops in garriſon made a ſally, and not only deſtroyed the machines that had eſcaped the fury of the tempeſt, but put a great number of the *Romans* to the ſword. The conſuls, upon this unexpected blow, turned the ſiege into a blockade; the beſieged, on the other hand, repairing all the breaches made in their works, and even adding ſeveral new fortifications.

All their battering machines being deſtroyed, they turn the ſiege into a blockade.

The following year, *Claudius* the conſul put to ſea with a powerful fleet, in order to ſurprize *Drepanum*, which, with *Lilybæum*, were the only two places of conſequence in *Sicily* in poſſeſſion of the *Carthaginians*. *Claudius* was totally routed by *Adherbal*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, and eſcaped only with 30 veſſels to *Lilybæum*. As this was the greateſt blow the *Romans* had hitherto received by ſea, nothing was now celebrated at *Carthage* but the praiſes of *Adherbal*, who had given ſuch a check to their proud and inſulting enemy. *Adherbal* filled all his magazines at *Drepanum*, and furniſhed *Lilybæum* with a moſt plentiful ſupply of proviſions which he had taken from the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians*, at this time, being maſters at ſea, ravaged the coaſts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, and reduced the natives to the extremeſt poverty. *Adherbal*, ſoon after, detaching *Carthalo* with 100 gallies, gained ſeveral advantages over the *Roman* ſquadrons before *Lilybæum*, and at laſt had the pleaſure of ſeeing them totally deſtroyed by a ſtorm. Notwithſtanding all the loſſes the *Romans* had ſuſtained, they continued the blockade of *Lilybæum* with great firmneſs, being determined, if poſſible, to carry the place. As the *Romans*, now again, dropt their naval armaments, in which they had been very unſucceſsful, the *Carthaginians* began to entertain hopes of coping with them by land, and appointed *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, their general.

The *Romans* are defeated with great loſs in a ſea engagement.

They ſeem, at this time, to have been engaged in a war upon the continent of *Africa* as well as in *Sicily*. For, according to *Diodorus*, *Hanno*, one of their generals, entered *Libya* with a powerful army, took a city called *Hecatompylos*, and carried off from thence 3000 hoſtages to *Carthage*.

Hamilar

Hamilcar appointed commander in chief by the *Carthaginians.*

Hamilcar receiving full power from the ſenate to act as he ſhould think fit for the ſervice of the republic, ſet ſail for *Carthage* in the 18th year of this war, being then, according to *Cornelius Nepos*, a perfect youth. After ravaging the coaſts of the *Locrians* and *Brutians*, he made a deſcent near *Panormus* with all his forces; and encamping between that city and *Eryx*, ſent out ſome gallies, which made deſcents upon the *Italian* coaſts as far as *Cumæ*, and laid the country waſte wherever they moved. For ſome time both he and the *Roman* generals made it their whole buſineſs to obſerve each others motions.

He ſucceſsfully oppoſes the *Romans.*

By marches and counter marches, by rencounters and ambuſcades, and by military ſtratagems of all kinds, the *Roman* conſuls and he ſtrove who ſhould ſhew the greateſt ſkill and dexterity. Both the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* camps were by art and nature rendered impregnable; ſo that neither ſide could force the other to a battle. The military operations, therefore, for a conſiderable period of time, conſiſted in rencounters betwixt parties, who on both ſides behaved with great bravery; tho' from *Polybius* and *Diodorus*, it would ſeem that the ſucceſs was generally on the ſide of the *Carthaginians.*

They again apply themſelves to naval affairs.

The *Romans*, who had imagined that their land-forces were more than a match for thoſe of the *Carthaginians*, now finding themſelves greatly miſtaken, began to think of applying themſelves again to naval affairs. In order to this, a fleet was equipped by private perſons, with the deſign of plundering the *Carthaginian* territories. This ſquadron committed great depredations on the coaſt of *Africa*, and entering the port of *Hippo* by forcing the barrier at the mouth of the harbour, burnt the ſhipping and the greateſt part of the town. Having filled their veſſels with ſpoils, they returned to *Panormus*, near which place they gained an advantage over the *Carthaginian* fleet. One of the conſuls, in the mean time, puſhed on the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, and the other that of *Drepanum*. *Fabius*, who carried on the ſiege of *Drepanum*, joined the little iſland of *Peliadis* with incredible labour to the continent, which greatly facilitated his approaches. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the brave *Hamilcar* terribly haraſſed the enemy, not only making incurſions into the very heart of the iſland, but plundering frequently the coaſts of *Italy.*

About three years after *Hamilcar*'s arrival in *Sicily*, he made himſelf maſter of *Eryx* by ſurprize, and maintained himſelf in the advantageous poſt he had gained, tho' the *Romans* had ſtrong detachments entrenched both at the top and bottom of the mountain on which the city was built. Both ſides remained in this ſituation for the ſpace of two years, during which time the *Romans* continued the blockade of *Lilybæum.* The *Romans* in the conſulſhip of *Lutatius Catulus*, fitted out a fleet of 200 quinqueremes, which was equipped at the expence of private perſons, and commanded by *Lutatius*; who in the firſt place poſſeſſed himſelf of the port of *Drepanum*, and all the other harbours in the neighbourhood of *Lilybæum.* Soon after, the

Romans

Romans attempted to take *Drepanum* by ſtorm; but the conſul being wounded, their attempt proved fruitleſs. Not long after a general engagement happened betwixt the two fleets near the iſlands of *Ægades*, in which the *Carthaginians* were entirely defeated. *Florus* ſays, that the *Carthaginian* fleet was ſo heavy laden with troops, baggage, arms, proviſions, *&c.* that the whole city of *Carthage* ſeemed to have been on board, and that the veſſels could not move with any freedom. *Polybius*, whoſe account ought chiefly to be relied upon, ſays, that the *Romans* ſunk 50 of the *Carthaginian* veſſels, and took 70 with their crews, the reſt making off in great confuſion to the iſle of *Hiera*. *Lutatius*, following his blow, advanced to the city of *Eryx*, where he cut off 2000 *Carthaginians*, which laſt action concluded the operations of the firſt *Punic* war.

The *Carthaginian* fleet totally defeated in a general engagement.

Hamilcar, who was now reduced to the greateſt extremity, was required by the conſul to deliver up his arms to him; but he rejected this haughty demand with ſcorn and indignation. The conſul being deſirous to have the honour of concluding the war, then agreed to peace; which the ſenate and people of *Rome* refuſed to ratify, thinking that the republic of *Carthage* was now lying at their mercy. They ſent ten deputies to *Sicily*, to inform themſelves of the ſtate of affairs in that iſland; theſe deputies ratified the treaty after they had in ſome meaſure new modelled it. As theſe hard conditions were extorted from *Hamilcar* by the *Romans*, becauſe they ſaw him not in a ſituation to refuſe them, he from this moment conceived an invincible averſion to that nation. Both ſides ſuffered extremely by the war, the *Romans* having loſt, ſince their firſt putting to ſea, 700 ſhips, and the *Carthaginians* 500. Though, in the opinion of *Polybius*, the *Roman* ſoldiers were far ſuperior to the *Carthaginian* in valour and reſolution, yet *Hamilcar*, in his judgment, was the greateſt captain of the age.

Hamilcar obliged to conclude a peace.

This bloody and expenſive war was no ſooner concluded, than the *Carthaginians* found themſelves engaged in another, which had like to have proved fatal to them. Being greatly exhauſted by the war, they delayed to pay off and diſcharge the mercenaries that had returned from *Sicily*, on which account theſe troops took arms, and quickly became extremely formidable. This war, which for three years and a half preyed upon the very vitals of the republic, was attended with ſuch inſtances of cruelty as are ſcarce to be paralelled in hiſtory. *Giſco*, who was entruſted by *Hamilcar* with the care of tranſporting the mercenaries to *Africa*, as though he had foreſeen what would happen, did not ſhip them off all at once, but in ſmall and ſeparate parties, that thoſe who came firſt might be paid off and ſent home before the arrival of the reſt. The *Carthaginians*, however, omitted diſcharging them as they arrived, in hopes of obtaining from the whole body of them a remiſſion of ſome part of their arrears, by pleading the great diſtreſs of the republic. Being ſoon made ſenſible of their wrong conduct on this occaſion, by the frequent diſorders theſe barbarians committed in

The *Libyan* war, or war of the mercenaries.

The *Carthaginians* prevail with the mercenaries to leave *Carthage*;

in the city, they with ſome difficulty prevailed on the officers to take up their quarters at *Sicca*, and canton their troops in that neighbourhood. As they gave them ſome money to induce them to remove, they moſt imprudently inſiſted that they ſhould take their wives, children, and baggage along with them; whereas, had theſe remained in *Carthage*, they would have been as ſo many hoſtages for the future good behaviour of the ſoldiers.

neglecting to pay them their arrears;

As the mercenaries were wholly immerſed in idleneſs, to which they had long been ſtrangers, a neglect of diſcipline enſued, and of courſe a petulant and licentious ſpirit immediately took place. They were now determined not to acquieſce in receiving their bare pay, but to inſiſt upon the rewards promiſed them by *Hamilcar*, and even to force the ſtate of *Carthage* to comply with their demands. *Hanno*, who was ſent by the ſenate to appeaſe their clamours, expatiated upon the poverty of the ſtate, and the heavy taxes with which the citizens of *Carthage* were loaded, and imprudently deſired them to be ſatisfied with part of their pay. By this impolitic ſtep, the mercenaries were ſo highly exaſperated, that they immediately had recourſe to arms, and encamped before *Tunis*, to the number of 20,000 men. As theſe troops were compoſed of ſeveral different nations, and had neither the ſame connections nor the ſame language, there was almoſt an utter impoſſibility of making them hearken to the dictates of reaſon.

they take arms.

The *Carthaginians* endeavour to appeaſe them.

The *Carthaginians* now offered them ſupplies of proviſions at their own prices, and ſent a deputation of ſenators to confer with their chiefs, and if poſſible to ſatisfy them; but theſe conceſſions, inſtead of bringing them back to their duty, only rendered them more inſolent; and conſidering the republic as deſtitute of troops, and themſelves as the beſt ſoldiers in the world, they roſe in their demands, without the leaſt regard to reaſon, juſtice, or moderation. The *Carthaginians*, finding themſelves obliged to make a virtue of neceſſity, ſhewed a diſpoſition to ſatisfy them in all points, and agreed to refer themſelves to ſome general in *Sicily*, as they had all along deſired, leaving the choice of ſuch commander to them. They believing *Hamilcar* to have been a principal cauſe of the ill treatment they had met with, becauſe he had never appeared among them, choſe *Giſco* for arbitrator. *Giſco* ſoon after arriving at *Tunis* with money to pay the troops, harangued them in a mild and inſinuating manner, declared that their reaſonable demands ſhould be complied with; but begged them to recede from all exorbitant claims. His diſcourſe made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when *Spendius* and *Mathos*, two of the principal mutineers, occaſioned a tumult in every part of the camp. *Spendius* was a *Campanian* deſerter, and had been a ſlave at *Rome*. He was a ſtrong, luſty, and extremely bold fellow, and being apprehenſive of being delivered to his old maſter, by whom he was ſure to be hanged or crucified, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to interrupt

Spendius and *Mathos* prevent an accommodation.

terrupt an accommodation. *Mathos* was an *African*, and free born; but as he had been active in raiſing the rebellion, and was well acquainted with the implacable diſpoſition of the *Carthaginians*, he knew that a peace would infallibly prove his ruin, and therefore very warmly eſpouſed the deſigns of *Spendius*. By their ſeditious diſcourſes, the troops were inſpired with a degree of fury againſt the *Carthaginians* and *Giſco*; and whoever offered to make any remonſtrance, or teſtified an inclination to temperate counſels, was ſtoned to death by the enraged multitude. Being at this very juncture heated with wine, which the *Carthaginians* had imprudently ſupplied them with, they gave a full vent to their rage and inſolence, and choſe *Spendius* and *Mathos* for their leaders.

They are choſen generals by the mutineers.

Giſco, in the midſt of theſe commotions, behaved with great prudence, and left no methods untried to ſoften the officers, and calm the minds of the ſoldiery, though at the ſame time he kept up an air of dignity and command; but the torrent of ſedition was now become ſo ſtrong and rapid, that there was no poſſibility of ſtemming it, or keeping it within any bounds. A ſcarcity of proviſions ſucceeding their late plenty and profuſion, the troops, in an inſolent manner, demanded of *Giſco* an immediate ſupply, who, to reprove their inſolence, bade them go to *Mathos* their captain for it. This cutting anſwer ſo irritated them, that they inſtantly ſeized upon the military cheſt, dividing the money amongſt themſelves in part of their arrears. They alſo put *Giſco* under arreſt, and treated him, as well as his attendants, with the utmoſt indignity. *Mathos* and *Spendius* loaded the unhappy *Giſco* and his followers with irons, and formally declared war againſt the *Carthaginians*.

The *African* cities declare for them.

The *African* cities, being invited by them to recover their liberty, ſoon came over to them, except *Utica* and *Hippo-Diarrhytus* or *Hippacra*. Their army by this means being greatly encreaſed, they divided it into two bodies, with one of which they moved towards *Utica*, whilſt the other marched againſt *Hippo*. The *Carthaginians*, in the mean time, found themſelves ready to ſink under the preſſure of their misfortunes, their city having never been expoſed to ſuch imminent danger. They were not only deprived of their revenues and tribute ariſing from their *African* territories, but theſe were turned directly againſt them. They were deſtitute of forces and arms either for ſea or land, and had not the leaſt proſpect of receiving aſſiſtance from any foreign friend or ally; to ſuch a melancholy ſituation had they reduced themſelves, by their numerous inſtances of cruelty, injuſtice, and ill-conduct. During the war with the *Romans*, they had moſt tyrannically oppreſſed all the *African* nations ſubject to them; ſo that it is not to be wondered at, that the *Africans* were ſo eaſily prevailed upon to engage in this rebellion. The women, who had often, with the deepeſt affliction, ſeen their huſbands and fathers dragged to priſon for non-payment of the moſt unreaſonable and grievous taxes, as likewiſe ſuffering cruel deaths for the ſlighteſt crimes, ſhewed

themſelves

themſelves every where extremely active in promoting a revolt and gave up all their ornaments to contribute towards the expences of the war, which enabled *Mathos* and *Spendius* to raiſe immenſe ſums.

Carthage blocked up, and *Utica* and *Hippo* beſieged by them.

The *Carthaginians* purſued all the meaſures neceſſary to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and to reduce the mutineers by force of arms. *Mathos* and *Spendius*, ſtationing the main body of their troops at *Tunis*, kept *Carthage* in a manner blocked up, while large detachments laid ſiege to *Utica* and *Hippacra*. The *Africans* advanced to the walls of *Carthage* by day as well as by night, and treated with the utmoſt cruelty every *Carthaginian* that fell into their hands. *Hanno*, whom the *Carthaginians* had declared general, marched to the relief of *Utica* with a large body of troops, 100 elephants, and a train of battering engines. By the help of his elephants, which made a great ſlaughter of the enemy, he broke into their intrenchments, and made himſelf maſter of their camp. The advantage he gained was ſo conſiderable, that it might have proved deciſive, had he made a proper uſe of it; but not entertaining a right idea of theſe veteran troops, who had learned, under the conduct of *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, to fly before an enemy, face about and attack their purſuers in one and the ſame day, as occaſion ſhould require, he imagined that he had routed a body of raw undiſciplined *Africans* and *Numidians*, who, upon any defeat, generally retired into the heart of the country. He therefore remained in *Utica* in great ſecurity, his troops, who were to guard his camp, being in the mean time off their duty. The mercenaries, who had rallied on a neighbouring eminence, obſerving this neglect, poured down upon the *Carthaginians*, cut many of them off, forced the reſt to fly into the town, retook and plundered the camp, and ſeized on all the proviſions and military ſtores brought from *Carthage* to the relief of the beſieged. *Hanno* ſoon after gave other proofs of his military incapacity. Though he was incamped in a moſt advantageous manner near a town called *Gorza*, at which place he twice overthrew the enemy, and had it in his power to have totally ruined them, he yet neglected to improve theſe advantages, and even ſuffered the mercenaries to poſſeſs themſelves of the iſthmus which joined *Carthage* to the continent of *Africa*.

Hanno relieves *Utica*;

but allows himſelf afterwards to be defeated.

The command of the army is given to *Hamilcar*,

Such repeated miſtakes, which had almoſt proved fatal to the republic, highly diſpleaſed the *Carthaginians*, and induced them once more to place *Hamilcar Barcas* at the head of the forces; though he was of the oppoſite faction to that headed by *Hanno*. *Hamilcar* marched againſt the enemy with an army of about 10,000 men horſe and foot, and 70 elephants, all that the *Carthaginians* were then able to aſſemble. As the mercenaries were very advantageouſly ſituated on the banks of the *Bagrada*, *Hamilcar* durſt not venture to paſs that river before them, but had recourſe to a ſtratagem: obſerving that, upon the blowing of certain winds, the mouth of the river was choaked up with ſand, he halted there for ſome time, without communicating to

any

any one his design; and the wind, in a few days, favouring his wishes, he passed the river privately by night, and immediately marched to attack the mercenaries, who, well knowing the great abilities of *Hamilcar*, were thrown into the utmost consternation. As they were very numerous, and ventured to advance against him, in hopes of surrounding him, *Hamilcar* changed his order of battle; whereupon, the enemy believing that he intended to fly, fell upon him in an irregular manner, but were themselves entirely defeated. *Hamilcar*, having slain 6000 of them, and taken 2000 prisoners, did not give them time to recover from their defeat, but obliged them to retreat with great precipitation to *Tunis*. Many of the revolted towns now submitted to the *Carthaginians*, and others *Hamilcar* reduced by force.

Notwithstanding this defeat, *Mathos* pushed on the siege of *Hippo* with great vigour, and appointed *Spendius* and *Autaritus*, commander of the *Gauls*, to observe the motions of *Hamilcar*. He at the same time solicited the *Numidians* and neighbouring *Africans* to send him a proper number of recruits, exhorting them to make their utmost efforts to assert their independency. *Spendius* and *Autaritus*, having received strong reinforcements of *Africans* and *Numidians*, marched to attack *Hamilcar*, who was far inferior to them in numbers and strength. In the mean time, one *Naravasus*, a young *Numidian* nobleman, eminent for his personal merit, and greatly attached to the *Carthaginians*, came with 100 *Numidian* horse to the *Carthaginian* lines, and desired to speak with their general. As the guards appeared a little diffident of him, he dismounted, and leaving his horse and arms with his followers, he came, without the least distrust or suspicion, to *Hamilcar*'s tent, and told him, that he was well disposed towards the *Carthaginian* nation in general; but to contract a friendship for him, for whom he had the most profound veneration and esteem, was the height of his ambition. *Hamilcar*, greatly admiring so generous, polite, and gallant an action, made him an equal return of politeness and generosity: he made him his confident in all points whatsoever; and, to crown all, afterwards gave him his daughter in marriage. Two thousand *Numidians* following the example of *Naravasus*, *Hamilcar* was enabled to face the enemy, who were entirely defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men left dead upon the spot, besides 4000 taken prisoners. *Hamilcar* received among his troops all those prisoners who were willing to engage in the *Carthaginian* service, and allowed the rest to depart, on condition that they should never afterwards bear arms against the *Carthaginians*.

who gains a signal victory over the mercenaries.

He gains a second victory.

The chiefs of the malecontents, fearing that this affected lenity of *Hamilcar* might occasion a defection among their troops, in order to prevent it, thought of putting them upon some action so execrable, as should deprive them of all hopes of ever being reconciled to the enemy. Having accordingly assembled them in a formal manner, fictitious letters were produced, pretending to give a discovery of a secret design to rescue *Gisco*

The barbarity and inhumanity of the mercenaries,

and his followers out of prison at *Tunis*. The chiefs then expatiated upon the danger of trusting to the *Carthaginians*; and a second courier being produced with other dispatches confirming the former, it was unanimously agreed to prevent the escape of *Gisco* by putting him to death. In conformity to this decree, the mercenaries first stoned to death all the prisoners they had taken from the *Carthaginians*, and then executed *Gisco*, with 700 of his countrymen, as the vilest malefactors. The *Carthaginians* were greatly affected with the news of these inhuman cruelties, and ordered their generals to retaliate them upon the murderers with the utmost severity. The mercenaries, not contented with what they had done, passed a decree, ordaining, that their countrymen in the *Carthaginian* service, who should happen to be taken prisoners, should have their hands cut off, and then be sent to *Carthage*, which bloody resolution they executed with great rigour and punctuality. As these infernal practices are, on the one side, proofs of the more than ferine disposition of the *Africans*, they may, on the other, be considered as strong intimations of *Carthaginian* oppression, since human nature, wicked as it is, seems scarce capable of such cruelties, except it be in the highest degree irritated and inflamed.

which is retaliated by the *Carthaginians*,

Hamilcar, being joined by *Hanno*, resolved to act vigorously against the mercenaries. In order to deter them from their barbarous proceedings, he threw all the prisoners that fell into his hands to wild beasts. Several unlucky accidents at this juncture, again depressed the *Carthaginians*, who, from the late successes of *Hamilcar*, were in great hopes of quickly re-establishing their affairs. By reason of a misunderstanding between the generals, who were the heads of opposite factions, nothing could be undertaken against the enemy. A great supply of provisions and military stores, of which they were in extreme necessity, coming to them by sea from *Emporium*, were all cast away in a storm. *Sardinia*, which had always served them as a magazine, was totally lost; and, to compleat all their other misfortunes, *Utica* and *Hippacra* at length joined in the revolt. The citizens, not satisfied with entering into an alliance with *Mathos* and *Spendius*, massacred the *Carthaginian* garrison.

who are reduced to great distress by the revolt of *Utica* and *Hippo.*

Carthage besieged by the mercenaries.

The *Carthaginians* assisted by *Hiero* and by the *Romans.*

The *Carthaginians*, seeing the enemy a second time before their walls, and being apprized of the division betwixt their own generals, resolved to separate them. The determination of this point being left to the army, they gave the preference to *Hamilcar*; upon which *Hanno* returned to *Carthage*, and *Hannibal* was sent to supply his place. There being now a perfect harmony between the commanders, the military operations were no longer clogged. The army, however, not being able wholly to relieve the garrison and inhabitants of *Carthage*, the senate were obliged to have recourse to the friends of the republic, particularly to *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*, who granted what was demanded of him, both now and throughout the whole course of this war. They also applied to the *Romans* for assistance,

assistance, though they had, since the conclusion of the last treaty, disobliged them. At the beginning of this war they seized upon several *Roman* vessels trading to the coasts of *Africa*, for supplying the enemy with military stores and provisions, and detained the crews, consisting of 500 men, in custody. The *Romans*, threatning the *Carthaginians* with their resentment, they immediately sent both the men and ships to *Rome*. The *Romans*, pleased with their manner of complying with their request, sent to *Carthage* all the prisoners that remained in their hands since the late war without ransom, ordered their merchants to assist *Carthage* with what it wanted, and prohibited all commerce with the *Africans*. Though both the malecontents of *Africa* and *Sardinia* offered to submit to them, and to put them in possession of *Utica* and *Sardinia*, they refused to hearken to their proposals. Soon after, *Mathos* and *Spendius*, being extremely harassed by *Hamilcar*, found themselves obliged to abandon the siege.

Notwithstanding this disgrace, the revolters, being joined by an *African* chief named *Zarzas*, with all his people capable of bearing arms, they again took the field with an army of 50,000 effective men. They, however, kept on the hills, and watched the motions of *Hamilcar*, who frequently outwitted them, sometimes dispossessing them of their advantageous posts, at other times drawing them into ambuscades, and often defeating them in rencounters, by which means he cut off abundance of their men. He at last surprized them when they least expected it, and shut them up in a post, which was so situated, that it was impossible for them to get out of it. They were, in a short time, so sorely pressed by famine, as to be obliged to eat one another; Divine Providence, says *Polybius*, thus avenging upon themselves the inhumanity they had exercised on others. As they knew the punishments that would await them if they fell into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, they did not for some time entertain the least thought of peace; but at length, prompted by the extremity of misery which they suffered, they insisted that *Spendius*, *Autaritus*, and *Zarxas* should, in person, make proposals to *Hamilcar*, and to that end have a conference with him. Accordingly, having obtained a safe conduct from him, a treaty was agreed upon, and peace concluded upon the following terms: That ten of the ringleaders of the malecontents should be left entirely to the mercy of the *Carthaginians*; and that the troops should all be disarmed, every man retiring only in a single coat. The treaty was no sooner concluded, than *Hamilcar*, by virtue of the first article, seized upon the negotiators themselves, which favoured not a little of *Punic* subtlety. The army being informed that their chiefs were under arrest, and at the same time being ignorant of the articles of the treaty, had immediately recourse to arms, suspecting that they were betrayed; but *Hamilcar*, drawing out his army in order of battle, immediately surrounded them, and either cut them to

The mercenaries are joined by new reinforcements.

They are entirely overthrown by *Hamilcar*,

pieces, or trod them to death with his elephants. The number of the wretches who periſhed, amounted to above 40,000.

After this compleat victory, many of the revolted towns returning to their obedience, *Hamilcar* inveſted *Tunis*, into which place *Mathos* retired with all his remaining forces. *Hamilcar* cauſed *Spendius* and the reſt of the priſoners to be led out in view of the beſieged, and crucified near the walls. *Mathos* being excited by this ſpectacle to be more watchful in his own defence, and obſerving that the guards in the quarters of *Hannibal* were remiſs in their duty, he made a ſally on that ſide, killed many of his men, took ſeveral priſoners, among whom was *Hannibal* himſelf, and plundered his camp. Taking the body of *Spendius* from the croſs on which it was fixed, he ſubſtituted *Hannibal* in its place, and crucified round him 30 *Carthaginian* priſoners of diſtinction; Fortune, as *Polybius* expreſſes it, giving both ſides an opportunity of vying with each other in point of cruelty.

Mathos ſurpriſes and routs the *Carthaginian* army under *Hannibal*;

Upon this misfortune *Hamilcar* decamped, and poſted himſelf along the ſea-coaſt near the mouth of the river *Bagrada*; and the *Carthaginians*, being greatly alarmed with this repulſe, ſent 30 ſenators to his camp, together with *Hanno*. Theſe ſenators, by their preſſing entreaties, prevailed with *Hanno* to be reconciled to *Hamilcar*; and the ſenate, at the ſame time, ordering all the youth capable of bearing arms to be preſſed into the ſervice, *Hamilcar* ſoon found himſelf again in a condition to act offenſively. He drew *Mathos* into frequent ambuſcades, and gave him a ſignal defeat near *Leptis*, which reduced him to the neceſſity of hazarding a deciſive battle. In this action the malecontents were entirely routed, moſt of their army falling in the field of battle and in the purſuit; *Mathos*, with a few others, eſcaping to a neighbouring town, were taken, and carried alive to *Carthage*. Upon this defeat, all the revolted towns returned to their duty, except *Utica* and *Hippo*, which were ſoon reduced by *Hamilcar*. *Mathos*, having adorned the public triumph, was put to death by tortures. From the ſad calamities which attended this cruel war, now happily concluded by *Hamilcar*, *Polybius* juſtly remarks, that thoſe ſtates muſt be expoſed to the greateſt dangers, which hire for their defence a body of foreigners, who are not attached to them either by intereſt or affection.

but is alſo totally defeated by *Hamilcar*.

The mercenaries in *Sardinia* revolt, and are ſupported by the *Romans*, who take poſſeſſion of that iſland.

During this war againſt *Spendius* and *Mathos*, the mercenaries in *Sardinia* alſo revolted; and ſeizing upon *Boſtar* the governor of *Olbia*, maſſacred both him and the *Carthaginian* garriſon. *Hanno* being ſent over thither with an army, ſoon after his landing was abandoned by his men, who, joining the mercenaries, not only crucified him, but put to the ſword all the *Carthaginians* they could find in the iſland. The mercenaries, being ſoon after expelled by the natives, took ſhelter in *Italy*, and the *Romans*, contrary to juſtice, taking them under their protection, ſent the conſul *Sempronius* on trifling pretences to reinſtate them, and to take poſſeſſion of *Sardinia*. The *Carthaginians*, being

being now in a manner exhauſted, were obliged to cede the iſland to them; but the *Romans*, not content with this iniquitous act, obliged the *Carthaginians* to defray the expence of their armament, and beſides, extorted from them a ſum of 1200 talents. We are told, that when the *Carthaginians* made preparations to reduce *Sardinia*, the *Romans* pretended to be under terrible apprehenſions of their power, as though theſe preparations had been intended to ſubvert their republic, and from thence took occaſion to declare war againſt them *.

To palliate this conduct of the *Romans*, ſome of their writers tell us, that by the treaty concluded at the end of the firſt *Punic* war, the *Carthaginians* made a ceſſion of *Sardinia*, as well as *Sicily*, to the *Romans*; but notwithſtanding the authority of theſe writers, this is utterly impoſſible. For if ſo, why did not the *Romans* take immediate poſſeſſion of it? The *Romans* ſoon after ſought a pretence for a rupture with the *Carthaginians*, by accuſing them of fomenting a rebellion of the *Corſi*, *Sardi*, and *Ligurians*; but *Hanno*, a young *Carthaginian* lord, juſtified his nation with great ſpirit. Not long after, however, the *Romans*, without any tolerable pretext, aſſumed to themſelves the power of preſcribing limits to the *Carthaginian* conqueſts in *Spain*, obliging *Aſdrubal* to engage himſelf by treaty not to paſs the *Iberus*.

and preſcribe terms to the *Carthaginians* in an arbitrary manner.

Hamilcar, by the happy concluſion of the *Lybian* war, did not only reſtore tranquillity to the republic, but greatly extended the *Carthaginian* conqueſts in *Africa*. That his republic might be ſoon able again to cope with its imperious rival, he formed a ſcheme for adding alſo to its dominions the kingdom of *Spain*; and in order to facilitate the execution of his ſcheme, he inſpired his ſon-in-law *Aſdrubal*, and his ſon *Hannibal*, with an implacable averſion to the *Romans*; who, not many years after, were brought to the very brink of deſtruction by *Hannibal*. *Hamilcar*, having concluded a war with the *Numidians* to the advantage of the republic, was appointed to command the army in *Spain*. *Hannibal*, his ſon, at that time but nine years of age, begged with the utmoſt importunity to attend him, and his father granting his requeſt, ordered him to put his hand upon the altar, and ſwear, that he would be an irreconcileable enemy to the *Romans*. *Hamilcar* alſo beſtowed his daughter upon *Aſdrubal*, whom he intended to take with him. The military preparations being completed, he advanced with a powerful army to *Abyla*, and croſſing the ſtraits of *Hercules*, now called the ſtraits of *Gibraltar*, landed in *Spain* without oppoſition. According to *Appian* and *Polybius*, he had two views in this war: firſt, to put *Carthage* in a ſituation to revenge the indignities of the *Romans*; and ſecondly, to have an opportunity of being abſent from home, the *Carthaginian* ſtate being,

Hamilcar carries an army into *Spain*.

* Polyb. Liv. lib. xxi. Oroſ. lib. iv. Zonar. Appian. in Theric.

at that time, miſerably diſtracted by two potent factions, at the head of one of which was *Hanno*, *Hamilcar*'s inveterate enemy.

Hamilcar commanded nine years in *Spain*, during which time he ſubdued many warlike nations. Conſidering how rich a country *Spain* was, an immenſe quantity of treaſure muſt neceſſarily have fallen into his hands in the courſe of ſo long a war. This wealth he diſtributed in the moſt politic manner, partly among the troops, and partly among the great men at *Carthage*, by which means he ſecured his intereſt with both thoſe powerful bodies. There is no particular detail of his tranſactions in that country that can be depended upon, nor have we even the account of that action in which he fell. The *Vettones*, or *Vectones*, a nation of *Luſitania*, it is ſaid, with ſeveral other neighbouring nations, took the field, to revenge the devaſtations committed in their country by the *Carthaginians*. To compaſs this end, they made uſe of the following ſtratagem. They ſent before them a vaſt number of waggons, filled with faſcines, pitch, ſulphur, and other combuſtible materials, and drawn by oxen, their troops following under arms, and marching in battle array. The *Carthaginians* at firſt ridiculed this ſeemingly coarſe ſtratagem; but the *Spaniards*, as they approached them, ſetting fire to the carriages, and driving the beaſts among them, ſoon obliged them to quit their ranks. The *Vettones* and their allies immediately charging the *Carthaginians*, put them to flight, and killed many upon the ſpot, among whom was the general himſelf. *Polybius* takes no notice of theſe circumſtances, but only relates, that *Hamilcar* died in the field of battle at the head of his troops.

He is ſlain in battle.

Aſdrubal choſen to ſucceed him.

Upon the death of *Hamilcar*, the army elected his ſon-in-law *Aſdrubal*, then the *Carthaginian* admiral, to ſucceed him. The ſenate, having confirmed the choice of the army, ſent a ſtrong reinforcement of troops to *Aſdrubal*; who, though the faction of *Hanno* endeavoured at firſt to depreciate his merit, acted with ſuch wiſdom and addreſs, as enabled him to ſupport *Hamilcar*'s friends both at *Carthage* and in the army. To ſecure the acquiſitions of his father-in-law, he built a city, which, by the advantage of its ſituation, the commodiouſneſs of its harbours, and extenſive commerce, became afterwards one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the world. It was then called by ſome the *New City*, and by others *Carthage*, but at preſent it is known by the name of *Carthagena*.

His great progreſs in *Spain* checked by the *Romans*.

The *Romans*, receiving intelligence of the great progreſs the *Carthaginians* were making in *Spain*, began to have a watchful eye upon them. As they took for granted, that their rivals never loſt ſight of their grand ſcheme, though the execution of it might be at ſome diſtance, they began to reproach themſelves for their indolence and ſloth. Being, however, apprehenſive of an invaſion from the *Gauls*, they thought it not proper to come to an open rupture with the *Carthaginians*, but had recourſe to milder methods; and partly by menaces, and partly by perſuaſion, prevailed upon *Aſdrubal* to conclude a new treaty with them.

The

The articles of it were, 1. That the *Carthaginians* ſhould not paſs the *Iberus*. 2. That *Saguntum*, a colony of *Zacynthians*, and the other *Greek* colonies there, ſhould enjoy their antient rights and privileges. The *Saguntines*, by imploring the protection of *Rome*, afforded the *Romans* ſome pretext for this proceeding.

Aſdrubal was careful not to paſs beyond the limits ſtipulated by the treaty, though he ſtill puſhed on his conqueſts, and made himſelf maſter of all that part of *Spain* extending from the weſtern ocean to the *Iberus*, within five days journey of the *Pyrenees*. By his engaging addreſs and affable deportment, he rendered himſelf popular amongſt the princes of *Spain*, and brought them over more effectually to the intereſt of *Carthage* by that means, than he could have done by force of arms. Having governed the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Spain* eight years, he was publicly aſſaſſinated by a *Gaul*, whoſe maſter he had put to death.

Aſdrubal, three years before his death, wrote to *Carthage*, to deſire that *Hannibal*, then twenty-two years of age, might be ſent to him. *Hanno*, the inveterate enemy of the family of *Barcas*, oppoſed this with all his might; but the *Barcinian* faction prevailing, *Hannibal* was ſent to the army in *Spain*. The great reſemblance *Hannibal* bore to his father, rendered him extremely agreeable to the troops. Upon his firſt arrival in the camp, he diſcovered indications of an extraordinary courage and greatneſs of mind. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance ſurprizing, his courage in the greateſt dangers intrepid, his preſence of mind in the heat of battle admirable, and his diſpoſition equally ſuited to command or obey. *Aſdrubal*, under whom he made three campaigns, always employed him in enterprizes of the greateſt importance, as thinking him the beſt qualified for the execution of them. The ſoldiers likewiſe repoſed the utmoſt confidence in him; and, upon *Aſdrubal*'s death, he was immediately ſaluted general by the army. The ſenate and people of *Carthage* confirmed this election, in a manner that ſhewed them to have been entirely at his devotion; but *Hanno* and his faction continued ſtill averſe to him.

Hannibal goes to *Spain*.

Is choſen general of the army.

Hannibal had no ſooner taken upon him the command of the forces, than he put himſelf in motion. Though he was determined to attack *Saguntum*, in order to facilitate his future enterprizes againſt the *Romans*, he thought it at preſent more expedient not to ſeem to have an eye directly upon that place. He therefore marched againſt the *Olcades*, a nation ſeated near the *Iberus*, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Althæa*, their capital; upon which, their other towns immediately ſubmitted to him. He diſtributed all the plunder taken in this expedition among the troops, which greatly animated them; and upon their return to winter quarters at *New Carthage*, he paid the army all their arrears, ſo that all the ſoldiers were now entirely devoted to him. In the beginning of the next campaign he took *Hermandica*, and afterwards *Arbacala*. He alſo ſubdued

He ſubdues ſeveral *Spaniſh* towns.

the country of the *Vaccæi*; but in the mean time the *Carpetani*, one of the moſt powerful nations in *Spain*, declared againſt the *Carthaginians*, and raiſed an army of 100,000 men, to fall upon *Hannibal* in his return from the *Vaccæi*. *Hannibal*'s troops, being fatigued with long marches, and loaded with ſpoils, he encamped upon the banks of the *Tagus*, and when the enemy were aſleep, ſilently forded the river. The *Spaniards*, interpreting this as a flight, threw themſelves into the river, without any order or diſcipline, to attack them in their retreat; but were entirely defeated by *Hannibal*, who had drawn up his elephants and infantry on the banks of the river, and ordered his horſe to guard the fords. *Hannibal*, after this victory, laid waſte the whole country of the *Carpetani*; who, terrified by ſo great a defeat, thought proper to ſubmit to the conqueror.

The *Saguntines* apprehenſive of *Hannibal*'s deſigns.

Not long after, *Hannibal* puſhed his conqueſts to the very gates of *Saguntum*, and by his ſingular addreſs, ſecured the countries he reduced, before he gave the *Romans* an opportunity of declaring war againſt the *Carthaginians*. The *Saguntines*, greatly alarmed at the rapid progreſs of *Hannibal*, ſent deputies in all haſte to *Rome*, to ſollicit ſuccours againſt him. He, in the mean time, found means to embroil ſome of the neighbouring cantons with the *Saguntines*, in order to furniſh himſelf with a pretext for attacking their capital city. The reduction of this place, he hoped, would prevent the *Romans* from carrying their war into *Spain*, and the city would alſo ſerve as a barrier to the former conqueſts. He expected alſo to find treaſure there, ſufficient to defray the expence of his projected war with the *Romans*; and that the plunder of the city would inſpire his troops with great ardour, and even bring the people of *Carthage* over to his meaſures: for the animoſity betwixt the two rival republics had been gradually heightening, ever ſince the concluſion of the treaty betwixt *Hamilcar* and *Lutatius*, by which the *Carthaginians* had been obliged to abandon *Sicily*.

He beſieges *Saguntum*.

As ſoon as *Hannibal* approached the frontiers of the *Saguntines*, he detached a party to lay waſte the adjacent territory, and then made a diſpoſition to attack *Saguntum* in three different places. The *Saguntines* defended themſelves with the utmoſt bravery; and by frequent ſallies cut off a great many of the beſiegers, though they themſelves ſuffered greatly in theſe actions, which rendered their condition almoſt deſperate. The *Carthaginians* were ſcarce ſenſible of their loſs, their army conſiſting of 150,000 foot and 20,000 horſe; but *Hannibal* receiving a wound in his thigh, as he was viewing ſome of the works, his troops were thereupon thrown into ſo great a conſternation, that the beſieged were upon the point of making themſelves maſters of all his military machines. Till the wound was cured a ſort of ceſſation of arms enſued, though the beſiegers ſtill maintained their poſts, carried on their approaches, and perfected their works. After *Hannibal*'s recovery, hoſtilities recommenced with double fury. The *Carthaginians*, having laid a great part of the wall level with the ground, and demoliſhed three towers,

made

made a general aſſault. The beſieged, on the other hand, conſidering that every thing valuable to them lay at ſtake, drew up their forces in order of battle in the ſpace betwixt the ruins of the walls and the town, and diſputed every inch of ground with ſuch reſolution, that they at laſt not only forced the *Carthaginians* to abandon the breach, but to fly to their camp. About this time, according to *Zonaras* and others, the *Roman* deputies arrived at the camp of *Hannibal*, who for ſome time avoided giving them an audience.

After the late repulſe, he remained for ſome days in a ſtate of inaction to refreſh his troops, who were greatly fatigued; and the beſieged, in the mean time, built a new wall oppoſite to the breach made by the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal*, in a few days, renewed his attacks with the utmoſt vigour, demoliſhed the new wall, and entering the town without oppoſition, planted his artillery againſt the citadel, after ſurrounding it with a line of circumvallation. The *Saguntines* ſtill diſputed every inch of ground with the utmoſt bravery, and erecting a new wall to defend that part of the city not yet taken, repulſed the *Carthaginians* in many attacks. *Hannibal*, about this time, undertook an expedition againſt the *Carpetani* and *Oretani*, who ſhewed a diſpoſition to ſhake off the *Carthaginian* yoke, *Maherbal*, the ſon of *Himilco*, in the mean time carrying on the ſiege of *Saguntum*. Having battered down a great part of the new wall, *Hannibal*, upon his return, immediately ſtormed the citadel. After a warm diſpute, he poſſeſſed himſelf of one part of it, the *Saguntines*, with great difficulty, maintaining themſelves in the other. At length, one *Alcon*, a *Saguntine*, came privately to the camp of *Hannibal*, and endeavoured to ſoften him in favour of his fellow-citizens; but all the terms he could obtain from him were, that they ſhould give ample ſatisfaction to the *Turdetani*, that they ſhould deliver up all their treaſure to the *Carthaginians*, and retire, with only their cloaths upon their backs, to the place the *Carthaginians* ſhould aſſign them for their habitation. The *Saguntines* could not ſo much as think of accepting theſe conditions; and before they gave their final anſwer, the principal ſenators, bringing their gold and ſilver, and that of the public treaſury, into the market-place, threw both into a fire lighted for that purpoſe, and afterwards themſelves. The *Carthaginians* about the ſame time entering the town by a breach, cut to pieces all the inhabitants who were of age to bear arms.

The *Saguntines* deſtroy themſelves. Their city taken by the *Carthaginians*. B. C. 542.

The news of the taking of *Saguntum* had ſcarce reached *Carthage*, when ambaſſadors arrived there from *Rome*, demanding of the ſenate and people, whether the *Spaniſh* expedition had been undertaken by their order. One of the *Carthaginian* ſenators endeavoured to vindicate *Hannibal*'s conduct, or rather that of the republic, on this occaſion. He drew a parallel betwixt the treaty *Aſdrubal* had concluded with the *Romans*, and that concluded betwixt *Hamilcar* and the conſul *Lutatius*. He inſiſted, that as the *Romans* had taken the liberty to inſert ſome additional articles in that treaty, ſo the *Carthaginians* had an equal

The *Romans* make complaints of *Hannibal*'s conduct,

right duct,

right to make what alterations they thought proper in that which *Asdrubal* had lately concluded; and he ended with assuring them, that the senate and people of *Carthage* were of the same sentiments with *Hannibal*, and entirely approved of his conduct. *Fabius*, one of the *Roman* ambassadors, upon receiving this answer, immediately declared war against the *Carthaginians*.

and declare war against *Carthage*.

Polybius is at great pains to state the remote and immediate motives of this war, and examines, with great impartiality, which of the two states had justice on their side. This last he leaves indeterminate; or rather, he decides in favour of the *Carthaginians*, supposing that they began the war, to revenge the injury they had received, when *Sardinia* was unjustly wrested from them. But the justice of the wars these two republics engaged in, appears rarely to have been examined by the states themselves, their interest or ambition being almost always their real, though disguised motives. *Appian* seems to intimate, that *Hannibal* was obliged to attack the *Saguntines*, and come to blows with the *Romans*, in order to provide for his own safety, as the faction of *Hanno* began to predominate at *Carthage*. He judged that a war with *Rome* would put a stop to civil dissensions, as an enterprize of such importance as this would engage all the public attention. *Hannibal*, after a siege of eight months, having made himself master of *Saguntum*, did not raze the city, but transplanted thither a colony from *Carthage*.

The *Roman* ambassadors soon after arrived in *Spain*, in their return from *Carthage*, and endeavoured to draw the *Spaniards* from their allegiance to the *Carthaginians*, to detach those who were in alliance with *Carthage*, and to dispose them to accept either the friendship or protection of the *Roman* republic. The *Bargusii*, being desirous of shaking off the *Carthaginian* yoke, gave the *Roman* ambassadors a kind reception, which not a little influenced many other neighbouring cantons. The ambassadors however, meeting with a repulse from the *Volsciani*, who reproached them with their base desertion of the *Saguntines*, they were obliged to retire out of *Spain* without accomplishing their design. Neither did they meet with any better success in *Gaul*, *Hannibal* having prepossessed the *Gauls* in favour of the *Carthaginians*, which he found not very difficult to accomplish, they having, on various accounts, conceived an aversion to the *Romans*.

Hannibal prepares to carry the war into *Italy*.

Hannibal, in the mean time, had put his troops into winter-quarters at *New Carthage*; but permitted the *Spaniards*, in order to gain their affections, to retire to their respective habitations. During the winter, he made several wise regulations for the security of the *Carthaginian* dominions both in *Spain* and *Africa*. He transported into *Africa* 13,850 *Spanish* foot and 1200 horse, with 870 *Balearic* slingers. He at the same time brought troops from *Africa* to *Spain*, which were to act under the command of *Asdrubal*. These troops amounted in the whole

whole to 2550 horſe, 12,150 foot, beſides 500 *Balearic* ſlingers, 21 elephants, 30 quinqueremes, and 7 leſſer gallies. *Hannibal* now waited only for the return of thoſe meſſengers he had ſent to the *Gauls*; for he had endeavoured to inform himſelf with all the exactneſs that was poſſible of the fertility of the country beneath the *Alps*, and along the *Po*, of the numbers and courage of the people, and above all, whether they retained any reſentment againſt the *Romans* for their former wars.

Being at length informed that the *Gauls* were perfectly diſpoſed to favour his deſign, and even expected his approach with eagerneſs, he began his march for *Italy* with 90,000 foot and 1200 horſe. He paſſed the *Iberus*, and with incredible rapidity, though not without many obſtinate battles, and a great loſs of men, reduced all the nations that inhabited between that river and the *Pyrenæan* mountains; namely, the *Hergetes*, *Barguſians*, *Æreniſians*, and *Andoſinians*. He gave to *Hanno* the care of the conquered countries, enjoining him to have a watchful eye over the *Barguſians*, as they were ſtill ſuſpected of favouring the intereſts of the *Romans*; and to ſupport him in his new poſt, he left him a body of 10,000 foot and 1000 horſe. In order to ingratiate himſelf with the *Spaniards*, he diſmiſſed about the like number of them to their reſpective habitations, and gave the greateſt encouragement to thoſe that continued in the *Carthaginian* ſervice. The army, being diſencumbered of their heavy baggage, which was left with *Hanno*, and conſiſting in the whole of 50,000 foot and 9000 horſe, all veteran troops, and the beſt in the world, continued their march forwards by the way of the *Pyrenæan* mountains, and arrived on the banks of the *Rhone* without much oppoſition. Some *Gauls*, indeed, had ventured to oppoſe him, but were eaſily defeated, and others he had gained over with preſents. The *Gauls*, on the oppoſite bank of the *Rhone*, aſſembled all their forces to oppoſe his paſſage; and ſeeing it impracticable to tranſport his troops in the face of the enemy, he ſent a large body of them about twenty-five miles up the river, where they paſſed on floats, without meeting any oppoſition. Two days after he embarked the reſt of his troops, and while the barbarians left their camp to oppoſe him, the detachment, that had already paſſed over, ſuddenly attacked them, and obliged them to fly. *Hannibal*, having tranſported all his troops, introduced among them one *Magilas*, a petty king, who had come to him from the country near the *Po*. This prince, by the help of an interpreter, informed the army of all the reſolutions the *Gauls* had taken in their favour, and offered to conduct them into *Italy* through places that would yield a full ſupply to all their wants. *Hannibal* next entered the aſſembly, and in a ſpeech magnified extremely this deputation of the *Boii*, and extolling with juſt praiſes the bravery his forces had hitherto ſhewn, exhorted them to maintain to the laſt their reputation and glory.

He reduces the nations betwixt the *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*.

He paſſes the *Rhone*.

About this time, 500 *Numidian* horſe, who had been ſent out to make diſcoveries, returned to the camp in great diſorder.

Publius

Publius Scipio had arrived with his army by ſea at the mouth of the *Rhone*, and had ſent out 300 *Gallic* and *Roman* horſe to gain intelligence. Theſe two detachments meeting each other, a ſharp engagement enſued, in which the *Numidians* were defeated, with the loſs of upwards of 200 men, and purſued to their camp by the *Romans*, who had loſt about 140 men. The conſul being informed of the arrival of *Hannibal*, immediately began his march with the intention of overtaking him, and forcing him to a battle. The *Carthaginian* general, however, early next morning began his march northwards along the eaſt ſide of the *Rhone*; and on the fourth day after, he arrived at a fertile country, where the *Rhone* and *Iſara* unite. In this country two brothers were in arms againſt each other for the ſovereignty of the territory; and the eldeſt ſoliciting the aſſiſtance of *Hannibal*, he eſtabliſhed him on the throne after defeating the younger brother; for which ſervice he received a ſupply of corn and other neceſſaries in great abundance, particularly new arms and new cloaths. The prince that was reſtored alſo eſcorted the *Carthaginians* thro' the whole country of the *Allobroges*, and ſecured their march from inſult till they arrived at the foot of the *Alps*.

He arrives at the *Alps*,

Moſt, if not all, of the barbarous nations thro' whom *Hannibal* was to paſs, had a mortal averſion to the *Romans*; but at the ſame time they were reſolved to aſſert their independance againſt every invader, and made frequent attacks upon the *Carthaginians* in their march thro' the paſſes of the *Alps*. On the ninth day after he had entered the paſſes, he gained the ſummit of the *Alps*, his troops having ſurmounted innumerable difficulties and dangers, in which great numbers of them had periſhed. His army being extremely diſpirited by their fatigues and loſſes, which were heightened by the rigours of the ſeaſon, as the mountains were already covered deep with ſnow, *Hannibal*, to encourage them, ſhewed them the plains beneath, that were watered by the *Po*, and pointing towards the place where *Rome* ſtood, he aſſured them that a battle or two would make them maſters of it, and conſequently put a glorious period to all their toils. Tho' the *Carthaginians* met with no enemy, except a few lurking parties in their deſcent from the *Alps*, yet their dangers and difficulties were now greater than before on account of the deepneſs of the ſnow, the narrowneſs and ſteepneſs of the roads, and the great number of precipices. *Hannibal*, after four days march, at length gained the fruitful plains of *Inſubria*; where taking a review of his army, he found that in five months and a half's march, he had loſt by ſickneſs, deſertion, fatigue, and various engagements, 30,000 foot and 3000 horſe, his troops now amounting only to 26,000 effective men. The whole length of his march from *New Carthage* to the plains of *Inſubria*, was 8400 ſtadia, or about 1000 *Engliſh* miles.

paſſes thoſe mountains,

and enters *Inſubria*.

Having now entered *Italy*, *Hannibal* encamped for ſome time at the foot of the mountains, to raiſe the drooping ſpirits of

the troops, and by proper refreſhment to reſtore both the men and horſes to their former ſtate: for his men, by naſtineſs and want of neceſſaries, had contracted many diſeaſes, and were ſo worn and altered by continued ſufferings, that their appearance was ſcarcely human. The vigour and ſpirits of his troops being reſtored, he invited the *Taurinians*, who were at this time at war with the *Inſubrians*, to enter into an alliance with him. Upon their refuſal to conclude a treaty with him, he took their capital city by ſtorm, and put all whom he found in arms to the ſword. By this ſeverity, the neighbouring barbarians were all ſtruck with terror, and ſubmitted at diſcretion; and the ardour of the *Gauls* to join him was greatly encreaſed, tho' they were awed by the *Roman* legions that had paſſed thro' their territories under the command of *Publius*, who not finding *Hannibal* as he expected at the *Rhone*, returned with all ſpeed to *Italy*. *Hannibal* advanced with his army, that by ſome action of importance he might fix the confidence of thoſe that were diſpoſed to embrace his party, and encourage them to act without reſtraint. As he approached the *Roman* army, he took great pains to animate his troops, by repreſenting to them that they had no place to eſcape to if they were defeated; and that if they would firmly reſolve either to conquer or die, they would both live and conquer.

He takes *Taurinum*.

A few days after, he attacked the *Roman* conſul in the plains near *Ticinus*, and by the bravery of his *Numidian* horſe, gained a compleat victory. The conſul having loſt many of his men, and being himſelf wounded, immediately retreated, and repaſſing the *Po*, broke down the bridge over that river. *Hannibal* advanced without delay, having now received many embaſſies from the *Gauls* in that neighbourhood, who entered into an alliance with him, and ſupplied his army both with men and ſtores. In a few days he again came up with the *Romans*, who were encamped near *Placentia*, and offered them battle, which they declined. The following night a body of *Gauls* in the *Roman* camp maſſacring a great many of the legionary ſoldiers, and deſerting to *Hannibal*, *Publius* was filled with great anxiety and concern, and abandoning his entrenchments, paſſed the *Trebia*. Part of his rear were either killed or taken priſoners by the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* encamping on the oppoſite bank of the *Trebia*, was ſupplied in the greateſt plenty with all neceſſaries by the *Gauls*, who ſhewed the utmoſt eagerneſs to ſhare in all the labours and all the dangers of the war.

Defeats the *Roman* conſul at *Ticinus*.

The *Romans*, upon the news of *Hannibal*'s arrival in *Italy*, were thrown into no ſmall conſternation; but this was greatly encreaſed when they heard that he was joined by the *Gauls*, and had routed the conſul. However, when *Tiberius Sempronius*, the other conſul, paſſed with his troops thro' *Rome*, in his way from *Sicily* to join his collegue, they again recovered their confidence, aſſuring themſelves that the enemy would not dare to face ſo brave an army.

Tiberius

Tiberius having gained a ſmall advantage over the *Carthaginians*, was eager to venture a general engagement before he had formed a right judgment of the ſtate of affairs. *Hannibal* having carefully informed himſelf of the character of *Sempronius*, began to make the neceſſary preparations for a battle; and the eager and impatient ſpirit of the conſul ſoon giving him the opportunity he deſired, he took the *Romans* at a great diſadvantage, and in a very ſnowy day, when they were benumbed with cold and faint with hunger, he entirely defeated them. He cauſed his own troops, before the action, to take their repaſt, to anoint their bodies with oil, and to put on their armour before ſeveral fires. Tho' many of the *Gauls* in the *Carthaginian* ſervice were ſlain in the action, the loſs of the *Africans* and *Spaniards* was very inconſiderable. But the rains and ſnows which had fallen continually during the whole day, were ſo ſevere and fatal, that of all the elephants one only was preſerved alive; and great numbers alſo of men and horſes periſhed thro' the extremity of the cold. Ten thouſand of the *Romans* retreated in good order to *Placentia*; but the greateſt part of the reſt were either killed or taken priſoners.

Gains another victory over the *Romans* at the *Trebia*.

The *Carthaginians*, beſides all their military preparations above-mentioned, fitted out 20 gallies, with 1000 ſoldiers on board, to ravage the coaſts of *Italy*. Nine of theſe ſeized upon the iſland of *Lipara*, and eight upon the iſland of *Vulcania*. Another fleet of 25 quinqueremes attempted to take poſſeſſion of *Lilybæum*; but they were repulſed by the *Romans*, with the loſs of ſeven gallies, and 1700 men taken priſoners. *Sempronius* the conſul, in the mean time, had taken *Melita*; but before he could undertake any other enterprize, he was recalled to *Italy* to oppoſe *Hannibal*. Before he departed from *Sicily*, hearing that the *Carthaginians* had made ſome deſcents on the coaſt of *Italy*, he ſent *Sextus Pomponius*, with 20 gallies, to watch their motions.

The *Carthaginian* operations at ſea.

Whilſt *Hannibal* was puſhing on his conqueſts in *Italy*, *Cnæius Scipio*, who was left by his brother *Publius* with the command of the fleet, landed his troops in *Spain* near *Emporium*; and marching along the coaſt, reduced all the country from the *Pyrenees* to the *Iberus*. He ſoon after totally defeated *Hanno* near the city of *Ciſſa*, with the loſs of 6000 men killed, and 2000 taken priſoners; among which laſt was *Hanno* himſelf, and *Indibilis*, a *Spaniſh* prince. All the heavy baggage left with *Hanno* by the army that marched for *Italy*, fell into the hands of the *Romans*; and many of the *Spaniſh* nations concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with *Scipio*. *Aſdrubal* hearing of theſe tranſactions, made haſte to paſs the *Iberus* with his army; and having received intelligence that the naval forces of the *Romans* had relaxed their uſual diſcipline, he fell upon them unexpectedly, and put the greateſt part of them to the ſword, purſuing the reſt to their fleet.

The tranſactions in *Spain*.

Hannibal, whilſt he remained in winter-quarters, was careful to refreſh his troops, and to gain the affections of the *Gauls*

and

and the allies of the *Romans*. He therefore declared to the *Gallic* and *Italian* priſoners he had taken, that he had no intention to make war upon their nations, being determined to reſtore them to their liberty, and protect them againſt the *Romans*. He then diſmiſſed them all to their reſpective countries, without demanding any ranſom.

At the ſame time, reflecting with himſelf that his connection with the *Gauls* was freſh and recent, and fearing leſt a people ſo noted for their fickleneſs and fraud ſhould form deſigns againſt his life, he provided ſome artificial ſuits of hair, adapted to the looks of perſons of every age, and different ſorts of habits that correſponded with them; and varying his dreſs continually, he lay ſo well concealed under this diſguiſe, that not thoſe alone who had ſeen him only in a tranſient view, but even his intimate acquaintance, could ſcarcely know him.

His troops being reinforced by a conſiderable body of *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, and *Etruſcans*, the following ſpring he marched his army into *Etruria*; and hearing that the conſul *Flaminius* lay encamped under the walls of *Aretium*, he marched towards him, in order to inform himſelf of his capacity and his deſigns. Being informed that *Flaminius* was entirely ignorant of the military art, but was raſh, proud, and of a fierce diſpoſition, he was in great hopes of ſoon bringing him to a battle; and to inflame his impetuous ſpirit, he advanced beyond him, deſtroying all the country, thro' which he marched, with fire and ſword. *Flaminius* was ſo highly irritated, that, contrary to the remonſtrances of his officers, and deſpiſing the bad omens, he began his march without employing the leaſt care or foreſight with regard either to the time or place of action. *Hannibal* marches into *Etruria*. Bef. Chr. 544.

Hannibal hearing that the conſul approached, choſe for the place of action a large valley, bounded on each ſide by hills, and having a ſteep eminence at the further end. The lake *Thraſymene* was ſituated at its entrance, which was very narrow. *Hannibal* having poſted part of his forces on the hills on each ſide, took poſſeſſion of the eminence at the further end of the valley; and when the *Roman* army had near approached the place where he was ſtationed, he gave the ſignal for engaging. As the morning was remarkably dark and miſty, the *Romans* were quickly thrown into the greateſt confuſion, and eaſily routed. *Flaminius* himſelf, with 15,000 of his men, fell on the field of battle; and according to *Plutarch*, 10,000 men were taken priſoners. *Polybius* ſays 15,000, but *Livy* and *Valerius Maximus* tell us, that 6000 only were made priſoners on this occaſion. *Hannibal* had only 1500 men killed, moſt of whom were *Gauls*, tho' great numbers, both of his ſoldiers and the *Romans*, died afterwards of their wounds. A few days after this battle, *Hannibal* hearing that 4000 horſe were on their march to have joined *Flaminius*, ſent out *Maherbal* againſt them with part of the cavalry and light-armed troops. *Maherbal* killed 2000 of the *Romans*, and next day obliged the reſt to ſurrender. Defeats the conſul *Flaminius* at the lake of *Thraſymene*.

The

The *Romans*, by theſe loſſes, were thrown into the greateſt conſternation. *Hannibal*, however, did not yet think it ſeaſonable to advance towards *Rome*, but continued his route thro' *Umbria* and *Picenum*, waſting the country without reſiſtance, and ſlaying without diſtinction all thoſe who were found of age to carry arms. After ten days, he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Adria*, having gained ſo immenſe a booty, that the army could neither carry nor remove it. Here he reſted for ſome time to refreſh his troops, both his men and horſes being covered by a kind of leprous ſcurf; a diſeaſe which is uſually the conſequence of famine and continued hardſhips. He armed likewiſe all his *Africans* after the *Roman* manner, from the ſpoils that had been taken; and now, for the firſt time, ſent ſome meſſengers to *Carthage* with an account of his ſucceſs. The *Carthaginians* received the news with the greateſt joy; and fixing their whole attention upon the affairs of *Spain* and *Italy*, reſolved to employ every effort to ſupport the war with vigour. *Hannibal* having reſtored ſtrength and alacrity to his troops, advanced into *Apulia*, plundering and deſtroying every thing in his way. *Fabius Maximus*, whom the *Romans* had created dictator, arriving with four legions, and encamping in his neighbourhood, *Hannibal* drew out all his troops, in hopes of tempting him to an engagement; but this *Roman* general, who was as cool and conſiderate as his predeceſſors had been impetuous and raſh, kept his raw legions within their entrenchments, being reſolved, on no account, to try the fortune of a general battle. He attended cloſely to the motions of the *Carthaginian* army, encamping always in their neighbourhood, and cutting off, at different times, parties of their foragers who happened to ſtraggle from their main body.

He arms his ſoldiers after the *Roman* manner.

He marches into *Campania*, which he ravages.

Hannibal being convinced that a ſtate of inaction muſt prove fatal to him, ſtill continued his devaſtations, and at length marched into *Campania*, the moſt pleaſant and fertile province of *Italy*. This fine country he ravaged in a moſt dreadful manner, *Fabius*, in the mean time, remaining encamped upon mount *Maſſicus*, being cenſured by his own troops as a cowardly ſpectator of the devaſtations of his country. *Hannibal* finding that nothing could provoke *Fabius* to hazard an engagement, reſolved to leave *Campania*, which he had entirely waſted, and to croſs the *Appennines* with his booty.

Fabius made a prudent diſpoſition to intercept him as he entered the paſſes of the hills; but *Hannibal* being aware of his deſign, cauſed ſmall faggots to be tied to the horns of 2000 oxen, and after ſetting fire to them, drove the oxen, about midnight, upon the *Romans* that had ſeized the paſſes; which threw them into ſo great conſternation, that they abandoned their poſt. *Hannibal* immediately advanced with his army, which he conducted with ſafety thro' the paſſes, and at day-break repulſed the *Romans* who had attacked his rear, with the loſs of 1000 men.

This retreat ſpread a general conſternation thro' all the towns of *Italy*, and the dictator was now univerſally accuſed of the

the baſeſt cowardice. He, however, ſtill remained firm to his purpoſe; and being obliged, a few days after, to return to *Rome*, charged *Minucius*, his maſter of the horſe, to think chiefly of covering his troops from danger, and not of gaining advantages over the enemy.

Hannibal having led his army into the neighbourhood of *Luceria*, took *Gerunium*, a town within 20 miles of *Luceria*, by ſtorm; and having maſſacred all the inhabitants, filled their houſes with the corn of the adjacent country, and fortified his camp without the walls. *Minucius* following after the *Carthaginians*, repulſed a body of 2000 of them from an eminence, and afterwards intercepted and cut off a party of foragers. The *Romans* hearing of theſe ſucceſſes, were ſo pleaſed with the conduct of *Minucius*, that they gave him an equal authority with the dictator. *Fabius*, upon his return to the army, would not conſent to an alternate command, but agreed to divide the army, that each general might have his ſeparate corps, by which he hoped, at leaſt, to ſave part of the forces. *Hannibal*, in a ſhort time, drew *Minucius* to an engagement, by making an attempt to ſeize an eminence near his camp. Having, the night before the action, placed 500 horſe and 5000 foot in different places of the plain in ambuſh, he ſoon threw the *Romans* into the greateſt diſorder, and would have entirely routed them, if *Fabius* had not immediately advanced to their relief, which forced him to return back again to his camp. *Hannibal*, after this action, fortified his camp, and continued in a ſtate of inaction till the following campaign.

Minucius gains ſome advantages over the *Carthaginians*, but is afterwards defeated by them.

During theſe tranſactions *Cneius Scipio* gained a naval victory over the *Carthaginians* at the mouth of the *Iberus*. *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, loſt a great number of his men, and 25 gallies, which were taken by the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians*, upon receiving intelligence of this defeat, immediately equipped another fleet of 70 ſhips, which ſailed firſt to *Sardinia*, and from thence to *Piſa*, in hopes of acting in concert with *Hannibal*. Hearing that *Servilius* was coming againſt them with a fleet of 120 gallies, they returned directly to *Carthage*. *Servilius* not being able to overtake them, ſteered for *Cercina*, a ſmall iſland on the coaſt of *Regio Syrtica*, which he laid under contribution. He afterwards took and garriſoned *Coſſyrus*, a ſmall iſland near *Carthage*, and then laid up his ſquadron at *Lilybæum*. *Scipio*, in the mean time, made great progreſs in *Spain*, and after pillaging the iſland of *Ebuſus*, or *Ivica*, concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of the *Balearic* iſlands. Upon the fame of his exploits, 120 different cantons of *Spaniards* ſubmitted to the *Romans*, who obliged *Aſdrubal* to retire into *Luſitania*, and thoſe parts of *Spain* bordering upon the ocean. *Aſdrubal*, this ſummer, was twice defeated, 15,000 of his men being killed, and 4000 taken priſoners. *P. Scipio*, the brother of *Cneius*, arriving ſoon after in *Spain* with 8000 *Roman* troops, the two brothers penetrated into the *Carthaginian* dominions

The *Romans* ſucceſsful in *Spain* and *Africa*.

Aſdrubal in great diſtreſs.

as far as *Saguntum*, and found means to ſet at liberty all the *Spaniſh* hoſtages left there by *Hannibal*.

Mean while the conſuls *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, and *M. Attilius Regulus*, ſucceeding *Fabius* in the command of the army againſt *Hannibal*, obſerved the maxims of that great general, carefully avoiding a general action, but cutting off ſeveral parties of *Carthaginian* foragers. Their ſucceſſors were *Lucius Æmilius Paulus*, a *Patrician*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, a *Plebeian*, and great favourite of the people, who, that he might have the honour of conquering *Hannibal*, ordered eight new legions to be raiſed, and the allies to furniſh double their contingents in horſe and foot. The *Roman* army under the conſuls conſiſted of about 86,000 men; but as there was no harmony betwixt the generals, and as *Varro*, who was of an inconſiderate and raſh diſpoſition, was the moſt popular, *Hannibal*, who had informed himſelf of theſe circumſtances, was in great hopes of ſoon extricating himſelf out of the difficulties that he had been brought into by the prudent conduct of the late conſuls. Having removed from *Geruniun*, he halted near the ruined city of *Cannæ*, in a vaſt plain, watered by the *Aufidus*. *Varro*, contrary to the advice of *Æmilius*, followed him, and on the day when the command fell to him, he ventured a general engagement; in which the *Romans* were totally defeated, 45,000 of them, according to the ſmalleſt computation, being ſlain on the ſpot; among whom were the conſul *Æmilius*, two proconſuls, two military quæſtors, 29 legionary tribunes, and 80 ſenators. *Polybius* ſays, 70,000 *Romans* were ſlain on the field of battle, and 13,000 taken priſoners. Other authors give different accounts, and according to *Livy*, the *Romans* loſt 50,000 men, including the auxiliaries. He makes the loſs of the *Carthaginians* 8000; but according to *Polybius*, *Hannibal* loſt only 4000 *Gauls*, 1500 *Africans* and *Spaniards*, and about 200 horſe.

Hannibal defeats the *Romans* at *Cannæ*.

The immediate conſequence of this victory, was a diſpoſition in the ſouthern parts of *Italy* to ſubmit to him; and even the provinces near *Rome* ſhewed ſome diſpoſition to throw off the *Roman* yoke. *Maherbal* preſſed *Hannibal* to march directly to to *Rome*; but he commending his ardour, and anſwering, that an affair of ſuch importance required mature deliberation; *Maherbal* replied, "I perceive the gods have not endued the "ſame perſon with all ſhining talents. You know, *Hannibal*, "how to conquer, but not how to make the beſt uſe of a vic-"tory." Many antient writers have been of the ſame opinion with *Maherbal*, and have reproached *Hannibal* with the ſame fault; but others have entertained different ſentiments of that renowned general's conduct on this occaſion. The advantages he had gained, were chiefly owing to the imprudence of the *Roman* generals, and his own cavalry, which could be of no uſe in a ſiege. The *Roman* infantry were much more numerous than his army, which was not large enough to inveſt ſuch a city as *Rome*. The *Romans* had as many generals as ſenators; and being all bred up to arms from their infancy, would

would uſe their utmoſt efforts in defence of their wives, their children, and domeſtic gods. Beſides, no one nation or city of *Italy* had yet declared for him; ſo that had he miſcarried in the attempt, he muſt have been utterly ruined. He was deſtitute of battering engines, ammunition, and all things neceſſary for the carrying on of a ſiege. The ſilence of his great cotemporary *Polybius* on this point, is alſo interpreted in his favour. *Zonaras*, indeed, tells us, that *Hannibal* afterwards condemned himſelf for neglecting this opportunity of beſieging *Rome*; and falling into a deep melancholy, often cried out, in doleful tone, *O Cannæ! Cannæ!* but his authority ought not to over-balance the reaſons here aſſigned in favour of *Hannibal*'s conduct.

When *Hannibal* had thoroughly pillaged the *Roman* camps, where he took 4000 priſoners, he advanced to *Campſa*, which opened its gates to him, and admitted a *Carthaginian* garriſon. In this place he left his heavy baggage, as well as the immenſe plunder he had amaſſed. From thence he turned towards *Capua*, the inhabitants of which city entered into a treaty with him. Some of the leading men in the city had offered to deliver the place into his hands immediately after the battle of *Thraſymene*; which, it is ſuppoſed, had induced him to advance into *Campania* inſtead of marching againſt *Rome*. *Fabius* then prevented the *Capuans* from executing their deſign; but being now no longer under reſtraint, they ſurrendered their city to him, on his promiſing them an entire liberty and independance, and putting into their hands 400 *Roman* knights.

The *Capuans* enter into an alliance with *Hannibal*.

The ſtate of *Carthage*, in the mean time, ſent two fleets to the coaſts of *Sicily*. One of theſe ravaged the territories of *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe*, the ally of the *Romans*, while the other watched the motions of the *Romans* at the iſlands *Ægades*. The admiral of this ſquadron had orders to attack *Lilybæum* both by ſea and land, as ſoon as the *Romans* advanced to the relief of *Hiero*. *Otacilius*, the prætor, however, not having any troops to ſpare, remained with all his forces to defend the *Roman* territories in *Sicily*.

Several other cities alſo ſubmit to him.

Soon after *Capua* had made its ſubmiſſion, many cities of the *Brutii* opened their gates to *Hannibal*, who ſent his brother *Mago* to *Carthage* with the important news of his great ſucceſs. *Mago*, upon his arrival at *Carthage*, acquainted the ſenate, that *Hannibal*, in ſix pitched battles, had killed 200,000 *Romans*, and taken 50,000 priſoners; and that the *Apulians*, *Bruttians*, *Lucanians*, and *Campanians*, had ſubmitted to the *Carthaginian* dominion. As a proof of what he advanced, he produced, according to ſome, three buſhels, but *Livy* ſays only one buſhel, of rings of *Roman* knights and ſenators. For ſuch imparalleled ſucceſſes, he moved that thanks ſhould be returned to the immortal gods, and that an immediate reinforcement of men, with ſupplies of money, ſhould be ſent to *Hannibal*. All ranks of people were filled with joy on this happy occaſion. *Hanno*, however, with all his adherents, oppoſed the continuance of the war. He urged, that if *Hannibal* was really ſo ſucceſsful

Mago carries an account of his ſucceſs to *Carthage*.

as *Mago* repreſented, he would be able to ſupport himſelf; and that as one defeat might undo all his mighty projects, they ought chiefly to ſeek an advantageous peace with *Rome*. The majority of the ſenate, conſidering his oppoſition merely as the effect of prejudice and jealouſy, decreed an immediate ſupply of 4000 *Numidians*, 40 elephants, and 1000 talents of ſilver for the army in *Italy*. A large detachment of *Spaniſh* forces were appointed to follow the *Numidians*, *Mago* immediately ſetting out for *Spain*, where he intended to raiſe 20,000 foot and 4000 horſe. With theſe new levies, the *Carthaginians* propoſed to recruit not only *Hannibal*'s army, but that likewiſe which acted in *Spain*.

Hannibal, in the mean time, had attempted, both by promiſes and menaces, to make himſelf maſter of *Neapolis*; but not ſucceeding, he turned his arms againſt *Nola*, where the populace was entirely at his devotion. The ſenate and leading men being in the intereſt of the *Romans*, entered into a negotiation with *Hannibal*, and by that means gave *Marcellus* an opportunity of marching from *Caſilinum* to their relief. *Hannibal* retiring upon his approach, obliged *Nuceria* to ſurrender, and afterwards appeared again before *Nola*; but was repulſed by *Marcellus*, with the loſs of ſome thouſand men. He next laid *Acerræ* in aſhes, and afterwards laid ſiege to *Caſilinum*. The garriſon behaving with great bravery, he was obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade; and leaving ſome troops in a camp before the city, put the reſt into winter-quarters in the neighbouring villages and in *Capua*, whither he himſelf retired.

This voluptuous city, it is ſaid, proved more fatal to him, than *Cannæ* to the *Romans*. He and his ſoldiers, who had been inured to fatigue, and braved the moſt formidable dangers, were now vanquiſhed by luxury and effeminate pleaſures, in which the *Capuans* had long indulged themſelves to the greateſt exceſs. But tho' we ſhould allow that the martial genius of the *Carthaginians* was impaired by the bewitching retirement at *Capua*; yet it cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the bad ſucceſs that afterwards attended *Hannibal*'s arms, was ſolely owing to that cauſe. The frequent defeats that general afterwards gave the *Romans*, and the bravery with which he maintained himſelf in *Italy* for 14 years after this event, will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition. His reverſe of fortune may more juſtly be attributed to another cauſe. For *Hannibal* being deſerted by his country thro' the intrigues of the faction of *Hanno*, who had come to a reſolution to ſacrifice the ſtate, of which they were members, to their private reſentment, found himſelf obliged to act on the defenſive, his army being reduced to 26,000 foot and 9000 horſe.

Hannibal reduces Caſilinum and Petelia.

Hannibal, at the return of the ſpring, drew his forces out of their winter-quarters, and reſumed the ſiege of *Caſilinum*, the garriſon of which was at length obliged to ſurrender; having been reduced to ſo great an extremity by famine, that a ſingle mouſe was ſold for 100, or according to *Pliny* and *Frontinus*, 200

Roman

Roman denarii. The *Carthaginians* next inveſted *Petelia*, a city of the *Bruttians*; and after a long and obſtinate ſiege, made themſelves maſters of it.

The war was carried on in the mean time with great vigour in *Spain*. *Aſdrubal*, who had been for ſome time obliged to keep himſelf on the defenſive, having received a reinforcement of 4000 foot and 500 horſe, ordered his fleet to be refitted, and began to advance againſt the two *Scipios*. Before his fleet was ready to put to ſea, ſeveral captains of ſhips, who had been blamed for their former behaviour in the action at the mouth of the *Iberus*, now deſerted to the *Romans*, and prevailed with ſeveral cities of the *Carthageſians* alſo to revolt from the *Carthaginians*. *Aſdrubal*, to check this revolt, laid aſide his deſign againſt the *Romans*, and marched againſt the rebels, who were commanded by *Galbus*. The two armies lay for ſome time near each other; but the barbarians being very numerous, *Aſdrubal*, inſtead of attacking them, was obliged to defend his own troops by an entrenchment, while *Galbus* made himſelf maſter of *Aſena*, the chief *Carthaginian* magazine. *Aſdrubal*, ſoon after, finding that the enemy, elated with their ſucceſs, laid aſide all diſcipline, and diſperſed themſelves in ſmall parties over the country, fell ſuddenly upon their main body, and cut them almoſt all to pieces; which defeat threw the *Carthageſians* into ſuch a conſternation, that the next day the whole nation ſubmitted to *Aſdrubal*. A courier ſoon after arriving from *Carthage* with orders to *Aſdrubal* to begin his march for *Italy* without delay, the *Spaniards*, upon the publication of this news, began to look upon the *Carthaginians* as not able to ſupport them, and to turn their eyes towards the *Romans*. *Aſdrubal* giving the republic an account of the wavering diſpoſition of the *Spaniards*, *Himilco* was ſent thither from *Carthage* with a competent army and a conſiderable naval reinforcement.

The tranſactions in *Spain*.

Himilco having landed his forces, and fortified his camp, went with a ſmall eſcort with the utmoſt expedition to *Aſdrubal*; and imparting the orders of the ſenate to that general, and receiving inſtructions from him how to carry on the war in *Spain*, he returned thro' the territories of ſeveral cantons, either open enemies to the *Carthaginians*, or diſpoſed to be ſo, to his own camp in ſafety. *Aſdrubal* having furniſhed himſelf with large ſums of money, which he exacted from the *Spaniards* ſubject to and in alliance with *Carthage*, aſſembled all his forces, and advanced to the *Iberus*. Hearing that the *Romans* had laid ſiege to *Ibera*, the richeſt town in all that part of *Spain*, he ſat down before another town which had lately ſubmitted to the *Romans*, in hopes of obliging them to raiſe the ſiege of *Ibera*. They accordingly came, and encamped within five miles of him; and a general engagement enſuing, *Aſdrubal*, tho' he gave proofs of an extraordinary military genius, was nevertheleſs entirely defeated. The *Spaniards* in his army not reliſhing an *Italian* expedition, fled at the firſt onſet, and the *Mauritanian* and *Numidian* horſe made but a faint reſiſtance. *Aſdrubal* was not only

Aſdrubal defeated by *Scipio*.

only obliged to leave the field of battle but his camp to the enemy, together with the vaſt ſums of money which he had amaſſed for the *Italian* expedition. The *Carthaginians* having loſt in this action, according to *Eutropius* and *Oroſius*, 25,000 killed and 10,000 men taken priſoners, the greateſt part of the *Spaniards* declared for the conquerors; ſo that *Aſdrubal*, after collecting the remains of his ſhattered army, inſtead of marching to ſuccour *Hannibal*, found it difficult to maintain himſelf in *Spain*.

Hannibal extends his conqueſts in *Italy*.

During theſe tranſactions in *Spain*, *Hannibal* having reinforced his army with ſeveral *Campanians* and *Brutians*, made himſelf maſter of *Conſentia*, *Locri*, *Croton*, and ſeveral other cities in Great *Greece*. *Rhegium*, however, baffled all the efforts of the *Carthaginians*. *Sicily*, in the mean time, wavered in its fidelity to the *Romans*; and even *Gelon*, the heir apparent to the crown of *Syracuſe*, deſpiſing the old age of his father *Hiero*, the faithful ally of the *Romans*, declared for *Hannibal*; but was prevented by a ſudden death from doing him any ſervice. The *Carthaginians*, about the ſame time, receiving an account of the defeat of *Aſdrubal* in *Spain*, were thrown into the greateſt conſternation. *Mago* was on the point of ſetting out for *Italy* with a reinforcement of 12000 foot, 1500 horſe, 20 elephants, and 1000 talents of ſilver; but upon the arrival of this bad news, his departure was countermanded. The drooping ſpirits of the *Carthaginians* were ſoon after a little revived by an embaſſy from the *Sardinians*, who begged their aſſiſtance to drive the *Romans* out of their iſland. *Mago* was now allowed to depart for *Spain* with the above-mentioned ſuccours, and *Aſdrubal Calvus* diſpatched with the like number of forces to ſupport the *Sardi*.

The *Sardinians* beg the aſſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*.

Philip of *Macedon*, who was an ambitious young prince, and had lately begun to look upon the *Romans* as dangerous neighbours, hearing of the great ſucceſs of *Hannibal*, came to a reſolution of entering into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the *Carthaginians*. The ambaſſadors which he ſent for this purpoſe to *Hannibal*, happening to fall into the hands of the *Romans*, *Xenophanes*, the chief of the embaſſy, when examined by the prætor *Valerius Lævinus*, pretended that he came to propoſe a treaty of friendſhip to the *Romans*; and by that means obtaining his liberty, came to the camp of *Hannibal*, and concluded the treaty with him. After ſtipulations of mutual aſſiſtance, it was agreed that the *Romans* ſhould be looked upon as a common enemy, till ſuch time as the war ſhould be terminated: that *Philip* and his allies ſhould ſupply the *Carthaginians* with all neceſſaries, according to the regulations of a particular convention afterwards to be ſettled: when a peace ſhould be concluded with the enemy, they ſhould all be comprehended in the treaty; and the *Romans* ſhould never be permitted to have any footing in the iſland of *Corcyra*, nor to exerciſe any dominion over the inhabitants of *Apollonia*, *Epidamnus*, *Pharus*, *Dimalus*, *Parthenia*, and *Atintania*. It was alſo

An alliance betwixt *Hannibal* and *Philip* of *Macedon*.

ſtipulated,

ſtipulated, that if the *Romans* ſhould hereafter declare war againſt any of the contracting powers, they ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other; and the ſame thing ſhould be done by both parties, if any other power ſhould attack either of them, except it were a king, ſtate, or city, with which the other was before in alliance. When the *Macedonian* ambaſſadors returned home, they were again ſeized at ſea by the *Romans*. In this emergency, *Xenophanes* had recourſe to another falſhood; aſſerting, that the roads were ſo beſet by the *Carthaginians*, that he found it impoſſible to go to *Rome*. But three *Carthaginian* deputies being found on board his galley, his artificce was now diſcovered, and he and the *Carthaginians* were ſent priſoners to *Rome*. The *Romans*, by raiſing diſturbances in *Greece*, prevented *Philip* from giving any aſſiſtance to *Hannibal*.

The *Campanians*, in the mean time, having openly declared for *Hannibal*, raiſed an army of 14,000 men; but before they performed any action of importance, they were ſurprized near *Cumæ* by *Sempronius Gracchus*, who killed 2000 of them, and afterwards retired with his raw troops into *Cumæ*, where he was beſieged by *Hannibal*. The *Carthaginians* attempted to take the place by ſtorm, by the help of a large wooden tower; but were repulſed with the loſs of 1400 men, and obliged to retire. About the ſame time *Hanno* being defeated at *Grumentum*, with the loſs of 4000 men, was obliged to abandon *Lucania* to the *Romans*, who having alſo retaken three cities in the country of *Hirpini*, ſold 1000 priſoners which they ſeized there for ſlaves. *Aſdrubal Calvus*, in the mean time, having been obliged by a ſtorm to put into one of the *Balearic* iſlands, while he was repairing the damages he had ſuſtained, the *Romans* in *Sardinia* had leiſure to provide for their defence. *Philip* king of *Macedon* hearing of the misfortune of his ambaſſadors, ſent a new embaſſy to *Hannibal*, and concluded a freſh treaty with him; but as the ſummer was ſpent before the negotiation was concluded, *Philip* had not time before winter to make any diverſion in favour of the *Carthaginians*, who now began to loſe ground in the ſouthern parts of *Italy*. The two conſuls, *Fabius Maximus* and *Sempronius*, preſſed upon *Hannibal* with a ſtrong army, while *Marcellus* made incurſions into the territories of the *Hirpini* and *Samnites*, where he committed great depredations. *Hannibal* being ſolicited to march to their relief, promiſed them ſpeedy aſſiſtance, and marching againſt *Nola*, beſieged *Marcellus* in that city. The *Roman* general drawing all his forces out of the city, ventured an engagement with *Hannibal*, and defeated him, with the loſs of 5000 men, beſides 600 priſoners and two elephants that were taken. A body of 1300 *Spaniſh* and *Numidian* horſe, immediately after this defeat, deſerted to the *Romans*; which ſo affected *Hannibal*, that he left *Campania*, and retiring into *Apulia*, encamped near *Arpi*. He was no ſooner gone, than *Fabius* drawing near to *Capua*, laid waſte the whole adjacent country, and then encamped at *Sueſſula*.

The *Campanians* defeated by the *Romans*.

Marcellus gains an advantage over *Hannibal*.

The *Romans* recover the poſſeſſion of *Sardinia*.

In the mean time *Manlius*, the *Roman* general, landed with ſome troops at *Calaris* in *Sardinia*; and aſſembling an army of 22,000 foot and 1200 horſe, marched into the territories of *Hampſicora*, who was at the head of the revolters. *Hampſicora* having then left the command of his army to his ſon *Hioſtus*, the young man, in his abſence, ventured an engagement with *Manlius*, and was defeated, with the loſs of 3000 men killed, and 300 taken priſoners. Upon the news of this defeat, a body of troops raiſed by his father in a different part of the iſland, immediately diſperſed; and the *Romans* would have made an entire conqueſt of the iſland, if *Aſdrubal* had not, at that juncture, arrived with the forces from *Carthage*. *Hampſicora* joining him with all the *Sardinian* forces he could raiſe, they marched into the territories of the *Roman* allies, laying waſte the whole country as they advanced. Before they could reach *Caralis*, the capital of the iſland, they were oppoſed by *Manlius*, who after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, drew them to a general engagement, and entirely defeated them, with the loſs of 12,000 men ſlain, and 700 priſoners. Among the latter were *Mago*, a near relation of *Hannibal*, *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian* nobleman, the chief fomenter of the troubles in *Sardinia*, and *Aſdrubal* the general. *Hioſtus* being among the number of the ſlain, his father *Hampſicora* was ſo afflicted, that he laid violent hands upon himſelf. This victory being attended with the ſubmiſſion of the whole iſland, *Manlius* returned to *Italy* with the priſoners, as well as the vaſt booty he had acquired. The fleet that brought *Aſdrubal* to *Sardinia*, in its return to *Carthage* was attacked by the *Roman* prætor *Otacilius*, who took ſeven *Carthaginian* gallies with their crews. About this time *Bomilcar* arrived at *Locri* with a reinforcement of troops, 40 elephants, and a conſiderable ſupply of proviſions and military ſtores. *Bomilcar* ſoon after joined *Hanno*, who lay encamped in the country of the *Brutii*; but after his departure, *Locri* ſurrendered to the *Romans*.

State of affairs in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians*, according to *Livy*, ſuſtained this year a very conſiderable loſs in *Spain*. *Aſdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Hamilcar* laid ſiege to *Illiturgis*; but the two *Scipios* having broke thro' the enemy and ſupplied the garriſon, afterwards attacked the camp of *Aſdrubal*; who tho' ſupported by his two collegues, was entirely defeated. The *Carthaginian* army conſiſted of 60,000 men, and that of the *Romans* of only 16,000; nevertheleſs the *Carthaginians*, he ſays, loſt above 16,000 men ſlain on the ſpot, 3000 made priſoners, five elephants killed, beſides 1000 horſes, 60 military enſigns, and five elephants taken. Notwithſtanding this great loſs, the *Carthaginians*, in a ſhort time, again took the field with a great army; but were again defeated, with the loſs of 13,000 men killed, beſides 3000 priſoners, above 40 ſtandards, and nine elephants that were taken by the enemy. After this battle, adds *Livy*, almoſt all the different nations in *Spain* revolted to the *Romans*.

Hannibal,

Hannibal, during the winter, found means to raiſe commotions in *Sicily*, and by ſeveral artful ſteps fixed *Hieronymus*, the grandſon and ſucceſſor of *Hiero*, in the intereſt of the *Carthaginians*. Tho' *Hieronymus*, a few months after he had concluded the league with *Hannibal*, was aſſaſſinated; yet the *Carthaginian* emiſſaries in *Sicily* found means of embroiling the ſtate of *Syracuſe* with the *Romans*, which for three years created no ſmall diverſion to their arms. *Hannibal* raiſes commotions in *Sicily*.

The *Capuans*, terrified by the great preparations of the *Romans*, who had levied no leſs than 18 legions for the ſervice of the following campaign, entreated *Hannibal*, in the moſt preſſing terms, to march. *Hannibal* accordingly came and encamped in their neighbourhood on mount *Tifata*, from whence he ſent a detachment to reinforce the garriſon of *Capua*. He ſoon after made an unſucceſsful attempt upon *Puteoli*, and likewiſe marched to *Nola*, whither he was invited by the populace. *Marcellus*, however, before his arrival, reinforcing the garriſon of *Nola* with 6000 foot and 300 horſe, his deſign upon that place was again baffled; and being attacked by *Marcellus*, was obliged to retire, with the loſs of 2000 men. *Sempronius Gracchus*, in the mean time, who commanded an army of ſlaves, or *Volones*, routed *Hanno* near *Beneventum*, with the loſs of 16,000 men. *Hanno* retired into *Lucania*, where he gained ſome advantage over a body of *Romans*; and *Hannibal*, after his repulſe from *Nola*, marched to *Tarentum*, where ſome priſoners that he had ſent home without ranſom raiſed a party in his favour. The conſuls, in the mean time, after an obſtinate ſiege, retook *Caſilinum*; but tho' *Fabius*, by a capitulation, promiſed the *Campanians*, who were part of the garriſon, leave to retire to *Capua*, *Marcellus* fell upon them and cut the greateſt part of them to pieces. After the reduction of *Caſilinum*, *Fabius* laid waſte great part of *Campania*, and alſo deſtroyed with fire and ſword the country of the *Caudine Samnites*, and taking many of their cities by ſtorm, carried off from thence an immenſe quantity of plunder. *Hannibal* finding that the *Tarentines*, who were awed by the prætor *Levinus*, would not openly declare for him, marched to *Salapia*, where he ordered vaſt quantities of proviſions to be brought. His *Moors* and *Numidians* alſo pillaged the diſtrict of *Salentum*, and among other things brought off a large number of wild horſes, 4000 of which being tamed, were very ſerviceable in the remounting of the *Carthaginian* cavalry. The *Romans* make vigorous efforts in *Italy*.

In *Spain*, ſeveral actions happened this ſummer between the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans*, generally to the diſadvantage of the former, who in many rencounters loſt great numbers of men; and being driven to a diſtant part of the country, could not prevent the *Romans* from making themſelves maſters of *Saguntum*. The antient inhabitants of this city, who ſtill ſurvived, were now reſtored, and the *Turdetani*, who had been the occaſion of this bloody war, were ſold for ſlaves. This account of *Livy* may juſtly be looked upon as not altogether conſiſtent; They are ſucceſsful in *Spain*.

conſiſtent; for it is hardly poſſible that the *Carthaginians*, if they had received ſo many bloody overthrows, could have been able to have made ſo ſtrong an oppoſition to the *Romans*.

The campaign in *Italy*.

The following ſpring, *Hannibal* being informed that *Caſſius Altinius*, to make his peace with the *Romans*, from whom he had revolted, offered to deliver *Arpi* into their hands, ſeized the traitor, and having puniſhed him, and taken poſſeſſion of his immenſe treaſures, burnt his wife and children alive. The garriſon of 3000 citizens was immediately reinforced with 5000 *Carthaginians*; but ſoon after the *Fabii* ſurpriſed and took the place. According to *Appian*, they were admitted into the town by traitors, and put all the *Carthaginians* therein to the ſword. During all this ſummer, *Hannibal* was obliged to remain on the defenſive. In *Spain*, the *Scipios* were ſtill ſuperior; and tho' nothing of moment was tranſacted there this ſummer, they even extended their views to *Africa*, where they engaged *Syphax* king of *Maſæſylia*, or weſtern *Numidia*, to take up arms againſt *Carthage*.

Some commotions in *Africa*.

The *Carthaginians*, to defend themſelves on this ſide, entered into an alliance with *Gala* king of *Maſſylia*, or eaſtern *Numidia*. *Gala* was prompted to this alliance by his ſon *Maſſiniſſa*, then about 17 years of age; who aſſembling his father's forces, gave *Syphax* two ſuch total overthrows, that he found it impoſſible to make a diverſion in favour of the *Romans*. The *Romans* took a body of *Celtiberians* into their ſervice, allowing them the ſame pay given to their countrymen by the *Carthaginians*.

Towards the cloſe of the campaign, ſome inconſiderable cities of the *Salentines* ſurrendered to *Hannibal*; but on the other hand, the *Thurians* and *Conſentini* revolted from him to the *Romans*. The fatal conſequences of this revolt were prevented by an advantage gained by *Hanno* in *Lucania* over *L. Pomponius Veientanus*. A few ſmall towns of *Lucania*, even after this victory, opened their gates to *Sempronius*. The *Tarentines* ſoon after entering into a treaty with *Hannibal*, admitted him into their city. *Livius* retiring with the garriſon into the citadel, *Hannibal* laid ſiege to that fortreſs; but his warlike machines being deſtroyed by the *Romans* in a ſally, he blocked up the place by ſea and land, and retired with his army.

The *Tarentines* ſubmit to *Hannibal*. Bef. Ch. 199.

While he was engaged in this ſiege, he was earneſtly ſolicited to return to *Campania* by the *Capuans*, whoſe territories were ravaged by the *Romans*, who threatned to inveſt their city. *Hannibal* not chuſing to leave *Tarentum*, ordered *Hanno* to relieve and cover *Capua*. This general, however, was attacked by the conſul near *Beneventum*, and his camp was forced, with the loſs of 6000 killed and 7000 taken priſoners. All the corn collected for the uſe of the *Capuans*, with an immenſe quantity of other plunder, fell into the hands of the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, to encourage the *Capuans*, who were now in great conſternation, ſent them a reinforcement of 2000 men; and in the mean time prevailed on *Metapontum* and *Heraclea* to declare for him, the inhabitants of thoſe two cities, according to *Appian*,

The *Romans* defeat *Hanno*.

pian, putting the *Roman* garriſons to the ſword. The *Thurians* alſo, about the ſame time, entered into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*, and admitted them into their city.

The conſuls, to put a ſtop to the progreſs of *Hannibal* in this part of *Italy*, moved towards *Capua*, and deſigning to beſiege that city, ordered *Sempronius* to come from *Lucania* with his army of *Volones* to cover the ſiege. *Sempronius*, before he left *Lucania*, was drawn into an ambuſcade by the treachery of a native of that country, and cut to pieces, with a ſmall party that attended him; upon which misfortune, the *Volones* thinking themſelves diſcharged from their military oath, diſbanded. This accident ſeems, for ſome time, to have retarded the attack of *Capua*; but ſoon after the conſular army began to approach the city. A conſiderable detachment of *Romans* being cut off by the *Capuan* garriſon near the city, the conſuls, for ſome time, thought proper to ſtand on the defenſive. *Hannibal* ſoon after arriving, and attacking the *Romans*, the conſuls, to oblige him to leave the territory of *Capua*, ſeparated, one of them marching into the diſtrict of *Cumæ*, and the other into *Lucania*. After their departure, *Hannibal* fell in with 16,000 *Romans* under the command of *Centenius Penula*, and entirely routed them, only about 1000 of them making their eſcape. *Hannibal* gains a victory over the *Romans*.

Hannibal leaving *Capua*, the conſuls again returned and inveſted the place, while the *Carthaginians* marched into *Apulia*, and drew *Cn. Fulvius* the prætor, with 18,000 men, into an ambuſcade, and put them almoſt all to the ſword. After this victory, *Hannibal* returned to *Tarentum*; but not being able to perſuade or force the garriſon of the citadel to ſurrender, he moved towards *Brunduſium*, in hopes of being admitted into that city; but the inhabitants ſtill remained faithful to the *Romans*.

About this time *Otacilius* ſailed with 80 quinqueremes from *Lilybæum* to *Utica*, and entering the port by night, took a great number of veſſels laden with corn. Having landed part of his forces, he ravaged the adjacent territory; and then reimbarking, returned ſafe to *Lilybæum* with 130 tranſports laden with corn and other ſpoils. The *Roman* fleet ravages the coaſt of *Africa*.

This year the *Carthaginians* had three armies in *Spain*, commanded by *Aſdrubal*, *Hannibal*'s brother, *Mago*, and another *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*. *Maſſiniſſa* and *Indibilis* joining them, the firſt with a body of *Numidians*, and the ſecond with a reinforcement of *Spaniards*, *Mago* and *Aſdrubal*, who acted in conjunction, gave the *Romans* a compleat overthrow, and killed *Publius*. They ſoon after attacked *Cneius*, who was alſo routed and ſlain. *C. Marcius*, a young *Roman* knight, having collected the remains of the *Roman* armies, and being by them choſen general, towards the end of the campaign ſurprized the *Carthaginian* camp, and cut off 37,000 of their men. He gained, according to the *Roman* writers, ſeveral other conſiderable advantages. The tranſactions in *Spain*.

The

Capua beſieged by the *Romans.*

The proconſuls, in the mean time, continuing the ſiege, or rather the blockade, of *Capua*, began to reduce the place to great diſtreſs. *Hannibal* being informed of the diſtreſs of the *Capuans* by a *Numidian* horſeman who had paſſed undiſcovered thro' the *Roman* camp in the night, left the ſiege of the citadel at *Tarentum*, and marched to their relief with his horſe, his light-armed infantry, and 33 elephants. Having found means to give the garriſon intelligence of his deſign, he made a furious attack upon the *Roman* camp, whilſt the beſieged, in a general ſally, aſſaulted thoſe who guarded the lines: but after a warm diſpute, both the *Carthaginians* and *Capuans* were repulſed with conſiderable loſs.

Hannibal marches to *Rome.*

Hannibal, upon this repulſe, was much perplexed how to act; but at length he formed a ſcheme, which he hoped would ſoon make an alteration in his affairs. He ordered his troops to ſupply themſelves with proviſions for ten days, and to get ready as many tranſports as would waft them over *Vulturnus* in one night; being reſolved to ſurpriſe the city of *Rome* before the *Romans* could have any notice of his deſign. *Fulvius*, however, being informed of *Hannibal*'s intended motion by ſome deſerters, diſpatched a courier to *Rome* with the news; which threw the *Romans* into the greateſt conſternation. *Hannibal* did not march by the ſhorteſt way to *Rome*, but took his march by *Sueſſæ*, *Aliſæ*, *Aquinum*, *Interamna*, *Fregellæ*, *Labicum*, *Fuſculum*, and *Gabii*; ſo that the *Romans* had ſome time to prepare for their defence. *Hannibal* at length encamped on the banks of the *Anio*, about three miles from *Rome*; and tho' he began to deſpair of ſucceeding in his deſign, yet he advanced to the very gates of the city at the head of 2000 choſen horſe. Soon after he retired ſix miles from the city; and after ravaging the neighbouring country, marched into the territory of *Capena*, where he rifled a temple conſecrated to the goddeſs *Feronia*.

Capua ſurrenders to the *Romans.*

The *Romans*, contrary to his expectation, ſtill continuing the ſiege of *Capua*, he marched back thither with the utmoſt expedition, and attacking the *Romans* in the night, killed a great many of them, and threw them into great confuſion. Finding it, however, impoſſible to relieve the city, he marched thro' *Lucania* and *Bruttium*, and almoſt ſurpriſed the city of *Rhegium*. *Capua*, ſoon after his departure, was obliged to ſurrender to the proconſuls; who not being able to agree as to the treatment of their chief priſoners, they referred their fate to the determination of the ſenate; but *Fulvius*, in the mean time, without conſulting his collegue, cauſed them to be put to death. The ſucceſs of this ſiege gave the *Romans* a viſible ſuperiority over the *Carthaginians*, and diſpoſed the *Italian* ſtates in general to declare for their former maſters.

Soon after the reduction of *Capua*, *Claudius Nero*, who had been employed in that ſiege, ſailed to *Spain* with a conſiderable reinforcement of troops; and not long after his arrival, ſhut up *Aſdrubal* in a neck of land, and reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that

that the *Carthaginian* army offered to leave *Spain*, provided the *Romans* would only grant them their lives. The propoſal being accepted by *Claudius*, the artful *Carthaginian* ſtarted every day new difficulties, and in the mean time found means of conducting his troops by ſmall parties out of the place where they were inveſted. This event ſo changed the face of affairs in *Spain*, that no perſon of diſtinction, except *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *Scipio*, the ſon of *Publius*, offered himſelf for the proconſulate there. *Scipio*, who was unanimouſly choſen, ſoon after his arrival in *Spain*, received deputations from moſt of the *Spaniſh* nations, who diſcovered a greater inclination than ever to come to a cloſe union with the *Romans*.

The *Spaniards* enter into an alliance with the *Romans*.

The *Carthaginians*, about this time, ſent a ſquadron to *Tarentum*, to cut off all ſupplies from the *Roman* garriſon there: but tho' they blocked up the place for ſome time by ſea, yet they were not able to annoy the garriſon. *Hannibal* now finding the *Carthaginian* affairs going ſwiftly to decay in *Italy*, as well as *Spain* and *Sicily*, which iſland had been wholly reduced by the *Romans*, could not forbear exclaiming againſt *Hanno* and his faction, for keeping back thoſe ſuccours which had been ſo long promiſed him.

The *Carthaginian* affairs go to decay.

The next campaign, *Marcellus*, who was again choſen conſul, made himſelf maſter of *Salapia*, where *Hannibal* loſt 500 of his beſt *Numidian* horſe. *Hannibal* now found himſelf inferior in horſe; but his affairs were nevertheleſs ſomewhat retrieved, by a victory gained over a *Roman* ſquadron by the *Tarentines*, and an advantage gained by himſelf in *Apulia* over *Fulvius Centumalus*.

In *Spain*, the young *Scipio* began the campaign with the attack of New *Carthage*, the capital city of the *Carthaginian* dominions in that country. As the garriſon was not very numerous, and there was no army near to aſſiſt the beſieged, he took the place by ſtorm, and gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. He found here great wealth in gold, ſilver, and braſs, beſides immenſe quantities of proviſions and military ſtores. The *Carthaginians*, for ſome time, endeavoured to ſuppreſs the news of the reduction of New *Carthage*; but not being able to conceal ſo remarkable a blow, they at laſt pretended that the conqueſt was of little importance. The humanity and generoſity of *Scipio* to ſome *Spaniſh* priſoners of note, was of more conſequence to the *Roman* affairs in *Spain*, than even the taking of *Carthage*. Almoſt all *Spain* began to revolt from the *Carthaginians*, who ſaw their former allies now join the young *Scipio*.

New *Carthage* taken by *Scipio*.

Hannibal, after the defeat of *Fulvius*, whom he routed with the loſs of 13,000 men, burnt the city of *Herdonia*, the inhabitants of which had meditated a revolt to the *Romans*. He put to death all thoſe nobility whom he found to have kept a ſecret correſpondence with *Fulvius*, and tranſported the body of the citizens to *Thurium* and *Metapontum*. *Marcellus* ſoon after came up with *Hannibal* near *Numiſtro* in *Bruttium*; and a battle

Hannibal ſtill formidable in *Italy*.

battle enſuing, both parties fought till night parted them, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. *Hannibal* declined the engagement the next morning, and decamping the following night, was followed by the conſul, who ſpent all the reſt of the campaign in endeavouring to draw the *Carthaginians* to a battle.

Syphax, about this time, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, notifying to the ſenate certain advantages he had lately gained over the *Carthaginians*. About the ſame time *Hamilcar*, with a *Carthaginian* ſquadron of 40 gallies, ravaged the coaſts of *Sardinia* about *Olbia* and *Caralis*; and the *Sicilian* banditti, not only deſtroyed with fire and ſword a good part of *Bruttium*, but laid ſiege to *Caulonia*.

Marcellus gains an advantage over *Hannibal.*

In the beginning of the following campaign, *Marcellus*, to prevent *Canuſium* from falling into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, marched thither againſt *Hannibal*, and ſoon found means to draw him to a battle. *Marcellus*, after an obſtinate diſpute, was obliged to retire with the loſs of 2700 men. Next day, however, after reproaching his ſoldiers with their cowardly behaviour, he renewed the action, and drove the *Carthaginians*, with the loſs of 1000 men, to their camp. He himſelf loſt above 3000 men in this battle, and had almoſt all the reſt wounded; ſo that though *Hannibal* retreated into *Bruttium*, he was not able to purſue him. During theſe tranſactions, the *Hirpini*, *Lucani*, and *Volſcentes* ſubmitted to the conſul *Fulvius*; and *Q. Fabius*, the other conſul, having taken *Manduria*, a city of the *Salentines*, by ſtorm, where he made 4000 priſoners, ſat down before *Tarentum*. The place was ſoon betrayed into his hands by the leaders of the *Bruttians*, who compoſed part of the garriſon, and the inhabitants were treated by the *Romans* with the greateſt ſeverity, all thoſe who eſcaped the ſword being ſold for ſlaves, to the number of 30,000. *Hannibal*, about this time, obliged the *Sicilian* banditti, in the neighbourhood of *Caulonia*, to ſurrender at diſcretion. Arriving too late to the relief of *Tarentum*, he marched to *Metapontum*, and there contrived a ſtratagem, which had like to have proved fatal to *Fabius*. He ſent two of the inhabitants to the conſul with letters from the chief men of the city, offering to deliver up the place and the *Carthaginian* garriſon into his hands. *Fabius* was prevented by the augurs from marching thither, and *Hannibal*, impatient of his delay, ſent new emiſſaries; but theſe being arreſted and threatned with ſevere puniſhments, confeſſed the ſecret.

Tarentum betrayed to the *Romans.*

Aſdrubal defeated by the *Romans.*

The *Carthaginians* had ſtill three ſeparate armies in *Spain*. *Scipio*, however, had entirely gained the affections of the *Spaniards*, who joined him in great numbers, and enabled him to attack the camp of *Aſdrubal*, which was ſituated near *Bætula*, or, as *Polybius* calls it, *Bæcula*. After an obſtinate engagement, he forced the entrenchments of the *Carthaginians*, whom he totally routed, killing, according to *Livy*, 3000 of them, and taking 12,000 priſoners, among whom were 2000 horſe.

Asdrubal, accompanied by *Massinissa*, fled towards the *Pyrenees*, with the remains of his shattered army, having sent his elephants that way before. *Scipio*, notwithstanding the victory he had obtained, thought proper to return to *Tarraco*, which gave the other two *Carthaginian* commanders an opportunity of joining *Asdrubal*, and settling with him the future operations of the campaign. It was agreed that *Asdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*, should march into *Italy* with all the *Spanish* forces he could draw together; that *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, should take the command of all the *Carthaginian* troops in *Spain*; and *Mago*, the other general, should go to the *Balearic* islands to make new levies there. *Massinissa* had likewise a choice detachment of 3000 horse assigned him, to support the *Carthaginians* in hither *Spain*. The following year, which was the 11th of the second *Punic* war, the *Carthaginians*, threatning to ravage the coasts of *Italy*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*, with a fleet of above 200 sail, *Scipio* detached 50 gallies to protect the coasts of *Sardinia*.

In the mean time the new consuls, *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*, resolving to besiege *Locri*, ordered thither a body of troops that were encamped near *Tarentum*. *Hannibal* routed this detachment, with the loss of 2000 men killed, besides 1200 prisoners. Not long after, he decoyed the two consuls, with a small escort of 220 horse, into an ambuscade; by which *Marcellus* was killed, and *Crispinus*, who made his escape, was mortally wounded. *Hannibal*, by making use of the ring of *Marcellus*, attempted to get possession of *Salapia*; but the *Salapians*, being informed of the death of the consul, turned the artifice of the *Carthaginian* against himself. They admitted 600 of his men, who were *Roman* deserters, into the place, and then suddenly pulling up the draw-bridges, cut them in pieces. *Hannibal*, being thus deceived, marched to the relief of *Locri*, and forced the *Romans* to abandon the siege with precipitation. About this time *Valerius Lævinus*, the *Roman* admiral, after ravaging the coasts of *Africa*, attacked a *Carthaginian* squadron of 80 gallies off *Clupea*, and defeated them, with the loss of 18 gallies, which he carried in triumph to *Lilybæum*.

Marcellus slain, and his colleague mortally wounded by the *Carthaginians*.

During these transactions, *Asdrubal* had passed the *Pyrenees*, though *Scipio* had detached a body of troops to oppose him. As the silver mines near *Bæcula* had supplied him with a very considerable quantity of treasure, he not only prevailed upon the *Gauls* to grant him a passage through their country, but likewise to furnish him with a proper number of recruits. The *Ligurians* received him in the same manner; so that he arrived at *Placentia* sooner than the *Romans*, or even *Hannibal*, expected. Sitting down before this place, contrary to the rules of sound policy, and continuing the siege of it, he gave the *Romans* an opportunity of assembling all their forces to attack him; and thus not only lost all the advantages he might have reaped from the friendship of the *Gallic* nations, who had so greatly expe-

Asdrubal enters *Italy* with an army.

dited

dited his march into *Italy*, but likewiſe totally ruined the *Carthaginian* affairs in that country.

Hannibal, in the beginning of next campaign, ſent a body of troops to ravage the country of the *Salentines*; but the *Romans* entirely defeated this detachment, and killed 4000 of them upon the ſpot. *Hannibal*, not long after, having reinforced his army by ſeveral garriſons, advanced to *Grumentum*, where he was attacked and defeated by the conſul *Claudius Nero*, who, with the loſs of only 500 men, killed 8000 of the enemy, and took 7000 priſoners. Upon this defeat he quickly retreated, but was attacked again at *Venuſia*, and loſt 2000 men, which obliged him to retire with precipitation to *Metapontum*, where he was joined by *Hanno*.

Hannibal defeated by the *Romans*.

Aſdrubal, in the mean time, being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Placentia*, began his march for *Umbria*, where he deſired his brother to join him. His letter to *Hannibal*, however, being intercepted, *Claudius*, at the head of 7000 choſen men, marched with the utmoſt diſpatch to join his collegue *Livius Salinator*, who was appointed to act againſt *Aſdrubal*. Having taken proper meaſures to prevent any interruption in his march, he ſoon arrived at *Sena*, where *Livius* lay encamped within half a mile of the *Carthaginians*. *Aſdrubal*, perceiving that the *Romans* were reinforced, decamped in the night, and after a fatiguing march, came to the *Metaurus*, a river in *Umbria*. As the *Romans* preſſed hard upon him, he found it was impoſſible to avoid an engagement, and therefore diſpoſed his army to the greateſt advantage. His troops being quite ſpent with hunger and want of reſt, were not able to reſiſt the *Romans*, who were ſuperior to them both in numbers and reſolution. *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing the total defeat of his army, threw himſelf into the midſt of a *Roman* battalion, and died fighting. According to *Livy*, 56,000 of *Aſdrubal*'s men fell in this bloody action, and near 6000 were taken priſoners; though *Polybius* makes the whole loſs of the *Carthaginians* not to have exceeded 10,000 men. The *Romans* are ſaid by ſome writers to have loſt 8000 men in the battle, but others reduce them to 2000.

Aſdrubal defeated and ſlain by the *Romans*. Bef. Ch. 194.

Hannibal greatly affected with this loſs.

The firſt news of this defeat which *Hannibal* received was from *Claudius*, who arriving ſix days after at his camp near *Canuſium*, ſent ſeveral *Carthaginians*, whom he had taken priſoners, to *Hannibal* in chains, and ordered *Aſdrubal*'s head to be thrown into the *Carthaginian* intrenchments, or, as ſome ſay, to be fixed on a pole near them. *Hannibal*, ſtruck with horror at this ſight, cried out, *O* Carthage! *unhappy* Carthage! *I am ſinking under the preſſure of thy fate.* He then retired to the extremity of *Brutium*, where, aſſembling all his forces, he remained for a conſiderable time in a ſtate of inaction, the *Romans* not daring to diſturb him, ſo formidable did they deem him alone, though every thing about him went to wreck. It was a difficult thing, ſays *Livy*, to determine whether his conduct was more wonderful in proſperity or adverſity. The people of *Carthage*, who were ſolicitous of preſerving their poſſeſſions in

Spain, concerned themſelves as little with the affairs of *Italy*, as though *Hannibal* had met with an uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſs.

Hanno was ſent from *Carthage* to ſucceed *Aſdrubal* in *Spain*, and joined the troops he brought with him to thoſe commanded by *Mago*. Not long after his arrival he was defeated and taken priſoner by the *Romans*. *Mago*, who made his eſcape with the cavalry, and a good part of the veteran infantry, joined *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, who continued for ſome time in the neighbourhood of *Gades*. *Lucius Scipio*, the brother of *Cornelius*, took *Aurinx*, a city of importance, on the confines of lower *Bætica*, and ſoon after ſet out for *Rome* with the news of theſe ſucceſſes, which concluded the operations of this campaign in thoſe parts. *Valerius Lævinus*, in the mean time, had made a deſcent on the coaſt of *Africa*; and having deſtroyed with fire and ſword all the country about *Carthage* and *Utica*, returned to *Lilybæum*, defeating in his paſſage a *Carthaginian* ſquadron of 70 gallies.

The Carthagians unſucceſsful in Spain.

The next year *Lucania* ſubmitted to the *Romans*; but *Hannibal* nevertheleſs gained ſome ſmall advantages over the two conſuls in the plains of *Conſentia*, who, during all the reſt of the campaign, durſt not attack him. Mean time, *Mago* and *Aſdrubal*, having aſſembled an army of 50, or, according to ſome, of 70,000 foot, and 4500 horſe, ventured an engagement with *Scipio* on the confines of *Bætica*, and were entirely defeated. *Aſdrubal* retired to his camp, which he was at great pains to fortify; but ſeveral bodies of *Spaniards* deſerting to the *Romans*, he ſoon after abandoned his camp. In his retreat he was overtaken by the *Romans*, who killed and diſperſed all his men, excepting 7000, with whom he gained an advantageous poſt, where he entrenched himſelf. *Aſdrubal* and *Mago*, finding that numbers of them deſerted, thought fit to abandon them, and eſcaped by ſea to *Gades*. *Maſſiniſſa*, after their departure, entered into a private treaty with *Silanus*, who had been left by *Scipio*, with 10,000 foot and 1000 horſe, to block up the *Carthaginians*. The *Numidian* king, having now changed his party, by the connivance of *Silanus*, paſſed over into *Africa* with ſome of the leading men of the *Maſſyli*, in order to diſpoſe that nation to ſecond his views. Having ſoon prevailed on his ſubjects to concur with him in the deſign he had formed, he haſtened back to *Gades*, to confer with *Mago* and *Aſdrubal*, who had no ſuſpicion of his new engagement.

Scipio gains a victory in *Spain* over the *Carthaginians*.

Maſſiniſſa abandons the *Carthaginian* intereſt.

Scipio ſoon after paſſing over into *Africa*, perſuaded *Syphax*, king of the *Maſæſyli*, to abandon the *Carthaginians*, and to enter into an alliance with *Rome*. Upon his return, he marched in perſon to beſiege *Illiturgis*, and ſent the brave knight *Marcius* to reduce *Caſtulo*, both which cities had revolted from the *Romans*. The former was taken by aſſault, and all the inhabitants put to the ſword; but the latter capitulated, and was more favourably treated. *Marcius*, after the reduction of *Caſtulo*, marched againſt *Aſtapa*, which was the only conſiderable city in

Syphax likewiſe leaves the *Carthaginians*.

Spain, except *Gades*, in the poſſeſſion of the *Carthaginians*. Having cut off almoſt all the inhabitants in a ſally, he took poſſeſſion of the empty town. Notwithſtanding the melancholy ſituation of the *Carthaginian* affairs in this country, *Mago*, having received a reinforcement from *Africa*, as well as ſome *Spaniſh* troops, made the proper diſpoſitions for ſtill ſupporting the intereſt of his republic. A report of *Scipio*'s death being publiſhed, had occaſioned a conſiderable revolt among the *Roman* allies in *Spain*, which gave the *Carthaginians* ſome hopes of retrieving their affairs: 8000 legionaries, on this news, alſo mutinied, and choſe two common ſoldiers to conduct them; but theſe troops being, by a ſtratagem, reduced and puniſhed, *Scipio* ſoon after routed the *Spaniſh* rebels, with the loſs of 17,000 men ſlain upon the ſpot. In the mean time, a conſpiracy being diſcovered at *Gades*, for betraying the city to the *Romans*, *Mago* ſent the principal conſpirators on board a galley to *Carthage*, and took ſuch precautions, that the *Romans* found the deſign of attacking the city impracticable. *Scipio*, however, being informed that *Maſſiniſſa*, who was at *Gades*, earneſtly deſired to have an interview with him, to conclude the alliance betwixt him and the *Romans*, marched thither with a ſmall body of troops; and *Maſſiniſſa* prevailing on *Mago* to ſend him with a detachment to the continent, had a conference with the *Roman* general, and ſettled every thing with regard to the alliance. *Mago* ſoon after being ordered to abandon *Spain*, and to haſten with all his forces to the aſſiſtance of *Hannibal* in *Italy*, before he left *Gades*, not only obliged the citizens to bring all their gold and ſilver to him, but plundered all their temples. In his paſſage to *Italy* he made an attempt upon *New Carthage*, but was repulſed with the loſs of 8000 men. This misfortune obliged him to put into the *Balearic* iſlands, where he continued during the winter, and reinforced his troops with 2000 men from thoſe iſlands. The *Gadetani*, after his departure, ſubmitted to the *Romans*, who were now maſters of almoſt all *Spain*.

The *Spaniſh* princes defeated by *Scipio*.

Gades ſubmits to the *Romans*.

Mago lands with an army in *Italy*.

Mago, next ſummer landing in *Liguria* with an army of 12,000 foot and 2000 horſe, ſurprized *Genoa*, and afterwards the town and port of *Savo*, where he ſtationed 10 of his gallies, ſending back the reſt to *Carthage*, upon a rumour that *Scipio*, who had been recalled from *Spain*, and was created conſul, intended to invade *Africa*. *Mago*, ſoon after his arrival, was joined by great numbers of *Gauls* and *Ligurians*; but did not, however, venture for ſome time to leave that coaſt. The armies in *Brutium*, in the mean time, continued inactive, both of them being afflicted with a ſevere peſtilence.

The following year advice was brought to *Carthage*, that ſome *Spaniſh* princes, who, after the departure of *Scipio*, had revolted from the *Romans*, in hopes of rendering themſelves independant both of them and the *Carthaginians*, had been entirely defeated by the *Roman* generals, who were maſters of that whole country. About the ſame time they were greatly alarmed

ed with the news, that the *Romans* had made a deſcent near *Hippo-Regius*, and were plundering all the neighbouring country. The ſad revolution that had happened in their affairs, the deſtruction of all their veteran troops, the incapacity of their youth for war, the defection of *Syphax*, *Maſſiniſſa*, and all their other allies, together with the fickleneſs of the *Africans*, afforded them a moſt diſmal proſpect, now they imagined that they were threatned with a ſiege. Hearing, however, that it was only a ſmall body of *Romans* under *Lælius*, who had landed at *Hippo*, they recovered from their pannic, and began to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for their defence. They ſent an embaſſy to *Syphax*, and to ſeveral other *African Reguli*, ſolliciting their friendſhip and aſſiſtance. They remitted 200 talents of ſilver to *Philip* of *Macedon*, in order to engage him to make a diverſion either in *Italy* or *Sicily*; and they ſent *Mago* a reinforcement of 6000 foot, 800 horſe, 7 elephants, and 25 gallies, together with a large ſum of money to make new levies. *Lælius* having had a conference with *Maſſiniſſa*, returned to *Sicily* with an immenſe booty, and about the ſame time *Mago* received the reinforcements from *Carthage*.

Lælius invades *Africa*.

Scipio, being prevented by the ſenate from carrying a formidable army into *Africa*, ſailed with a fleet to *Locri*, and having reduced that place partly by treachery, returned to *Sicily*, where he continued his preparations for his *African* expedition.

Scipio takes *Locri*.

The *Carthaginians*, in the mean time, were under continual apprehenſions of being invaded by the *Romans*, and had poſted parties on every promontory and hill bordering upon the ſea, to give them notice of the firſt appearance of the enemy. To draw off *Syphax* from their alliance, *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, waited upon him, and offered him in marriage his daughter *Sophoniſba*, a lady of exquiſite charms. The alliance was accordingly concluded, and *Syphax* entered into an offenſive and defenſive league with the *Carthaginians*. This young lady, *Appian* ſays, had been formerly promiſed in marriage to *Maſſiniſſa*; but he being afterwards diſpoſſeſſed of the throne of his anceſtors, *Aſdrubal* now thinking him inconſiderable, broke his word to him. This prince afterwards became their moſt formidable enemy, and contributed not a little to the ruin of their republic.

Syphax renews his alliance with the *Carthaginians*.

Scipio, in the mean time, though *Syphax* had informed him of the new alliance he had entered into, nevertheleſs perſiſted in his deſign of invading *Africa*, which was now countenanced by the ſenate, and ſoon after landed with a formidable army at the *fair Promontory*. The news of his arrival ſtruck the *Carthaginians* with the greateſt terror; they ſhut their gates, poſted detachments upon the ramparts, ordered parties to patrole through the city in the night, and made ſuch diſpoſitions, as though the place had been already inveſted. Their only commander of repute was *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, who had been defeated by *Scipio* in *Spain*, and their raw undiſciplined troops were incapable of oppoſing the *Roman* legionaries. *Scipio* immediately

Scipio lands in *Africa*.

mediately, upon his arrival, ravaged the country to the very gates of *Carthage*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of an oppulent city in the neighbourhood of that place, which he pillaged, and made 8000 of its principal inhabitants priſoners. Theſe ſucceſſes greatly heightened the terror and confuſion at *Carthage*, eſpecially when it was known there, that *Maſſiniſſa* had joined *Scipio* with a body of 200, or, as ſome ſay, 2000, *Numidian* horſe. *Aſdrubal*, in the mean time, hearing that *Scipio* intended to inveſt *Utica*, advanced to that place at the head of 20,000 foot and 7000 horſe, or, according to ſome, 30,000 foot and 3000 horſe; his ſon *Hanno*, who attempted with 1000 horſe to throw himſelf into *Utica*, was intercepted and taken priſoner by the enemy, the greateſt part of his detachment being cut in pieces. *Syphax* now openly declaring for the *Carthaginians*, and joining *Aſdrubal* with 50,000 foot and 10,000 horſe, *Scipio* was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Utica*, after he had continued it forty days; and retiring to a promontory near his fleet, there ſtationed his troops in a fortified camp during the winter.

Hannibal defeated by the *Romans.*

In *Italy*, *Hannibal* this year gained an advantage over the conſul *Sempronius*; but was himſelf ſoon after defeated by that general, with the loſs of 4000 men, which forced him to retire with his army to *Croton*. The other conſul *Cethegus*, in the mean time, kept the *Etrurians* in awe, and prevented *Mago* from approaching his brother *Hannibal*. The *Brutians*, hearing of the great ſucceſs of *Scipio* in *Africa*, for the moſt part abandoned the *Carthaginian* intereſt; ſome of them expelled the *Carthaginian* garriſons, others put them to the ſword, and thoſe who durſt not openly declare for the *Romans*, found means to inform the ſenate of their averſion to the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal*, hearing that the *Peteleans* had ſent deputies to *Rome*, put the principal inhabitants under arreſt, and diſarmed the citizens. He treated other cities with greater ſeverity, and in particular, gave up *Thurium* and its diſtrict to be plundered, ſparing only 3000 citizens and 500 peaſants, whom he tranſplanted to *Croton*, where he fixed his head-quarters.

Scipio routs *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal.*

Syphax, during the winter, having in vain offered his mediation for a peace between the two republics, *Scipio*, in the ſpring, moved from his entrenchments; and having, in the courſe of the negotiation, informed himſelf of the neglect of diſcipline in the *Carthaginian* and *Numidian* camps, he ſurpriſed them both in the night, and ſetting fire to the tents, totally routed both armies. The two commanders eſcaped only with 2000 foot and 500 horſe; but ſoon after rallied the remains of their ſhattered armies, and formed a conſiderable body of troops. This defeat threw the *Carthaginians* into the greateſt conſternation; ſome of the ſenators propoſed to recal *Hannibal*, and others to aſk a truce from the enemy; but the *Barcinian* faction, which was for purſuing the war, and continuing *Hannibal* in *Italy*, prevailed. *Hanno*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, was appointed to command the troops in the room of *Aſdrubal*, who was ſentenced to die, but

by

by the favour of the troops he avoided that punishment. The *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*, both reinforcing their armies with the utmost diligence, again took the field with 30,000 men. *Scipio*, in the mean time, had advanced to the walls of *Carthage*, but not being able to draw the citizens to an engagement, again invested *Utica*. Hearing that *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were at no great distance, he turned the siege into a blockade, and marched against them. In a few days he came up with them, and totally routed them, and ordering *Lælius* and *Massinissa* to pursue those who fled, he himself, with the main body of his troops, reduced *Tunis*, and most of the towns in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*.

Immediately after this defeat, the senate and suffetes of *Carthage* came to a resolution to recal *Hannibal* from *Italy*; and, to prevent *Scipio* from laying siege to their capital, they sent *Hamilcar* with 10 gallies to burn the *Roman* fleet, that lay at one of the promontories on their coast. *Scipio*, however, reaching the place before the *Carthaginian* fleet, drew his gallies as near shore as he could, and repulsed the enemy, who nevertheless took six of his vessels. *Syphax*, in the mean time, being defeated and taken prisoner by *Massinissa*, who had also reduced his capital, the *Carthaginians* had no other resource than to sue for peace to *Scipio*, who had again returned to *Tunis*, within sight of their capital. They therefore deputed 30 of their principal senators to wait upon *Scipio*, who being introduced into his tent, threw themselves prostrate on the earth, and kissed his feet. They then accused *Hannibal* and the *Barcinian* faction as the authors of all their calamities, and begged that their city, which had twice merited destruction by the temerity of its citizens, might remain a monument of *Roman* clemency, promising at the same time an implicit obedience to his commands. *Scipio* offered them peace on the following terms: he required, 1. That they should deliver up all the *Roman* prisoners and deserters to him. 2. That they should recal their armies out of *Italy* and *Gaul*. 3. That they should never again set foot in *Spain*, and should retire out of all the islands between *Italy* and *Africa*. 4. That they should deliver up all their ships to the *Romans*, 20 only excepted. 5. And should give to the *Roman* republic 500,000 bushels of wheat, 300,000 of barley, and pay 5000 talents, or, according to some, 5000 pound weight of silver. The *Carthaginians* feigned a compliance with these terms, and a truce being granted them, they immediately sent deputies to *Rome*, and at the same time dispatched an express to *Hannibal*, to hasten his return to *Africa*.

Syphax totally defeated by *Massinissa*. The *Carthaginians* sue to *Scipio* for peace.

During these transactions, *Mago* was defeated in *Insubria*, by *M. Cornelius* and *P. Quintilius Varus*. *Mago* distinguished himself greatly throughout the whole action, but being wounded in the thigh, and carried out of the field, his troops were put to flight, with the loss of 5000 men. The *Romans* lost 2300 men, besides the best part of the 12th legion. *Mago*, after having made an excellent retreat, by the favour of the night, returned

Mago defeated in *Insubria*.

to the coaſts of *Liguria*, where he received orders to return forthwith to *Carthage*; but he ſcarce reached the iſland of *Sardinia*, when he died of his wounds.

Hannibal recalled from *Italy*. Bef. Ch. 190.

Hannibal, in the mean time, was pent up in a corner of *Brutium*; but when the meſſengers from *Africa* informed him of the ſenate's pleaſure, he expreſt the utmoſt concern and indignation, groaning and gnaſhing his teeth, unable almoſt to refrain from tears. "*Hannibal*," he exclaimed, "is not vanquiſhed by the *Romans*, but by the ſenate of *Carthage*." As he had foreſeen what would happen, he had prepared a proper number of veſſels to tranſport his forces to *Africa*; and accordingly embarked them without delay, cauſing ſome *Brutian* troops, that refuſed to accompany him, to be cruelly maſſacred. Never baniſhed man, according to *Livy*, ſhewed ſo much regret in leaving his native country, as *Hannibal* did in going out of that of the enemy. He often turned his eyes wiſhfully to *Italy*, accuſing gods and men for his misfortunes, and calling down a thouſand curſes upon himſelf, if we will credit the ſame author, for his not having, after the battle of *Cannæ*, advanced to the walls of *Rome*.

The *Romans* gave but a very indifferent reception to the *Carthaginian* ambaſſadors, and ſuſpecting their ſincerity, referred them to the deciſion of *Scipio*. They were confirmed in their ſentiments, upon being informed, that the *Carthaginians* had violated the truce, by ſeizing ſome *Roman* ſhips, which had been driven by a ſtorm before their harbour, and attacking thoſe envoys whom *Scipio* had ſent to demand them back.

He arrives in *Africa*.

Hannibal landed with his troops at little *Leptis*, near *Adrumetum*, after he had been abſent from *Africa* about twenty years. Upon his landing, he entered into a league with the prince of the *Areacidæ*, a *Numidian* tribe not far from *Adrumetum*, and was ſoon after joined by 4000 of *Syphax*'s horſe, which deſerted from the ſervice of *Maſſiniſſa*. As he did not think it proper to repoſe any confidence in them, he put them all to the ſword, and diſtributed their horſes among his troops. The ſecond ſon of *Syphax*, and another *Numidian* prince, likewiſe joined him with a very conſiderable body of horſe. Having reduced moſt of the fortreſſes in *Maſſiniſſa*'s kingdom, either by force or capitulation, and being joined by another *Numidian* prince with 2000 horſe, he advanced to *Zama*, a town about five days march from *Carthage*. Some of his ſpies having been ſeized, kindly treated, and diſmiſſed by *Scipio*, he was ſo charmed with this noble behaviour, that he ſent a meſſenger to deſire an interview

Has a conference with *Scipio*.

with him, which, by means of *Maſſiniſſa*, he obtained, in an open plain, their guards keeping at a diſtance on both ſides. *Hannibal*, having flattered *Scipio* in the moſt refined and artful manner, propoſed the ceſſion of *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and of all the iſlands between *Italy* and *Africa*, as the terms of peace. *Scipio*, however, replied, that he offered nothing but what the *Romans* already poſſeſſed, and that his republic, from the perfidiouſneſs of the *Carthaginians*, thought proper to impoſe more

rigorous

rigorous conditions upon them, which if they did not ſubmit to, the deciſion of the diſpute betwixt them muſt be left entirely to the ſword.

This conference, between two of the greateſt generals the world ever produced, thus ending without ſucceſs, they both retired to their reſpective camps. Next morning both commanders drew up their armies in order of battle, repreſenting to them, that victory muſt decide whether *Rome* or *Carthage* ſhould give law to the world. The engagement was for a long time moſt bloody and obſtinate, the *Roman* legionaries being many times repulſed by the *Carthaginians*, who were at laſt broken and routed. The phalanx of *Hannibal* for a long time withſtood the utmoſt efforts of the *Romans*; but at length, being attacked in the rear by *Lælius* and *Maſſiniſſa*, who had returned from the purſuit, they were put into diſorder, and almoſt all cut to pieces. *Hannibal*, according to *Appian*, firſt engaged *Scipio*, and afterwards *Maſſiniſſa*, in ſingle combat, wherein he had the advantage. After having greatly ſignalized himſelf by his conduct and bravery, he was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight; and eſcaping to *Thon*, a ſmall city in that neighbourhood, from whence he fled, with one man only in whom he could confide, to *Adrumetum*. The loſs of the *Carthaginians* on this occaſion is, by *Livy* and *Polybius*, reckoned 20,000 men killed, and as many taken priſoners; others reckon 25,000 killed, and 8000 taken priſoners. The *Romans* loſt only 2000 or 2500 men. *Hannibal*, returning to *Carthage*, preſſed his countrymen immediately to conclude a peace. To this they were the more ſtrongly excited, by the news they received of the overthrow of their ally, the ſon of *Syphax*, who was routed with the loſs of 15,000 men ſlain, and 1200 made priſoners. They accordingly ſent thirty of their chief ſenators to *Scipio*, who, that he might have the honour of concluding the war, was alſo deſirous of a peace, and at their ſecond audience, propoſed to them the following conditions: 1. The *Carthaginians* ſhall be governed by their own laws, and remain in poſſeſſion of all their *African* dominions. 2. The *Carthaginians* ſhall deliver up to the *Romans* all their deſerters, fugitive ſlaves, priſoners of war, and all the *Italians* whom *Hannibal* forced to follow him, within thirty days after the treaty is ſigned. 3. They ſhall alſo deliver up all their ſhips of war, except 10 triremes, and all their tame elephants, and ſhall train up no more of thoſe animals for the ſervice. 4. The ſenate and people of *Carthage* ſhall not engage in any war without the conſent of the *Romans*. 5. They ſhall ſupply the *Roman* legions with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the ambaſſadors they ſhall ſend to *Rome*. 6. They ſhall pay the *Romans*, in the ſpace of fifty years, 10,000 talents, at equal payments. 7. They ſhall deliver up to *Scipio* 100 ſuch hoſtages as he ſhall chuſe. 8. Neither the peace nor truce ſhall take place, till the *Carthaginians* have reſtored to the *Romans* the ſhips and effects taken from them during the laſt truce. 9. They ſhall reſtore to *Maſſiniſſa* all they have uſurped from him and his anceſtors, and even enter

Is defeated by him at *Zama*.

A peace concluded between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. Bef. Chriſt 188.

into an alliance with him. 10. They ſhall never, for the future, make any levies in *Gaul* or *Liguria*. 11. They ſhall aſſiſt the *Romans* both by ſea and land, whenever they are called upon ſo to do. 12. The *Roman* armies ſhall leave *Africa* within fifty days after the concluſion of the treaty. Theſe terms appeared ſo intolerable to the populace of *Carthage*, that they threatned to plunder and burn the houſes of the nobility; but *Hannibal*, having aſſembled a body of 6000 foot, prevented an inſurrection, and by his influence completed an accommodation. He repreſented to the ſenators the importance of uniting in their ſuffrages, intimating that it might be of fatal conſequence to the ſtate, if, by their diviſions, they ſhould throw more weight into the popular ſcale, which already did but too much preponderate. The ſenate therefore, accepting the terms propoſed by *Scipio*, ſent deputies to his camp, and made ſatisfaction for the ſhips and effects taken from the *Romans* during the laſt truce, the ſum amounting to 25,000 pounds weight of ſilver. The ſenate and people of *Rome* having confirmed the articles granted by *Scipio*, the *Carthaginians*, in purſuance of the treaty, delivered up to that general above 500 ſhips, all of which he burnt in ſight of *Carthage*. They likewiſe delivered up into the hands of the *Romans* all their elephants, all the ſlave deſerters, and priſoners of war. The public funds of *Carthage* being exhauſted by ſo long and expenſive a war, the ſenate found it vaſtly difficult to raiſe a ſum ſufficient for the payment of the firſt tax impoſed by the treaty, which threw them into a melancholy ſilence, and many could not even refrain from tears. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal*, laughing on this occaſion, was reproved by *Aſdrubal Hædus*, of *Hanno*'s faction, for inſulting his country in the time of its affliction, which, he inſinuated, was owing to his conduct. The money was raiſed, by laying a tax on all the citizens of *Carthage*. Thus ended the ſecond *Punic* war, which, according to *Livy* and *Polybius*, was terminated eighteen years after the firſt hoſtilities committed againſt the *Romans* by *Hannibal*.

The following year an army of *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, headed by one *Hamilcar* a *Carthaginian*, having ravaged the territories of the allies of *Rome*, the *Roman* ſenate threatned to renew the war with the *Carthaginians*, if they did not deliver up *Hamilcar*. What anſwer the *Carthaginians* returned to this menace is not mentioned; but the death of *Hamilcar*, who was ſoon after killed in an engagement, put an end to this diſpute between the two republics. *Maſſiniſſa* in the mean time, at the inſtigation of the *Romans*, had unjuſtly ſeized on part of the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Africa*, under pretence that thoſe territories formerly belonged to his family. The *Carthaginians*, being conſtrained to accept of the *Romans* as mediators, were obliged to cede thoſe territories to that ambitious prince, and to enter into an alliance with him.

The *Carthaginians* are forced by the *Romans* to agree to a diſhonourable peace with *Maſſiniſſa*.

The year following the *Carthaginians* ſent 50 *Euboic* talents of ſilver to *Rome*, in purſuance of the late treaty; but the ſilver not

not being good, the quæſtors refuſed it. Upon examination, it being found wanting one fourth part, the *Carthaginian* miniſters were obliged to borrow a ſum of money at *Rome* to make up the deficiency. According to *Appian*, the trade of the *Carthaginians* began, even at this time, to flouriſh, notwithſtanding all their ſhipping had ſo lately been in a manner deſtroyed. This is a ſtrong proof of the ſurprizing genius of that people for commerce, even in their moſt depreſſed and miſerable condition. Not long after theſe tranſactions, *Livy* tells us, that one *Hamilcar*, a *Carthaginian* general, commanded an army of *Gauls*; but was defeated, and taken priſoner by *Cethegus*. What influence this event had on the *Carthaginian* affairs hiſtory informs us not. *Hannibal*, in the mean time, ſtill kept up his credit at *Carthage*, and obtained the command of an army, deſtined to act againſt ſome neighbouring *African* powers; which gave ſuch offence to the *Romans*, that, notwithſtanding the *Carthaginians* had made them a preſent of a golden crown, and thanked them in a moſt polite manner for the peace they had granted them, they refuſed to releaſe the *Carthaginian* priſoners, ſtill detained in *Italy*; declaring, that they could not releaſe them, as long as *Hannibal*, their moſt avowed and inveterate enemy, was at the head of an army in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians*, upon this remonſtrance, recalled *Hannibal* home, and conferred upon him the office of prætor, in which poſt he behaved ſo as to gain univerſal applauſe. He regulated the finances in ſuch a manner, that conſiderable ſavings were laid up yearly for the public ſervice. As ſuch a laudable conduct muſt have been founded upon a reformation of many abuſes, it undoubtedly drew upon him the hatred of many perſons concerned therein. He not only put the management of the public revenues upon a good footing; but alſo rectified thoſe irregularities that had crept into the adminiſtration of juſtice. To prevent the rapacity and arbitrary proceedings of the judges, he procured the paſſing of a law, whereby it was enacted, that the judges ſhould be choſen annually, and that none ſhould continue in office beyond their year. This ſtep greatly irritated the nobles, but extremely pleaſed the populace of *Carthage*. *Hannibal* having detected the frauds of the officers concerned in the public revenues, as well as the colluſions of thoſe poſſeſſed of other lucrative poſts, they exerted their utmoſt malice to ruin him, by exciting the *Romans* to purſue him to deſtruction. Accordingly, *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Culeo* arrived at *Carthage*, to accommodate, as it was pretended, the difference between the *Carthaginians* and *Maſſiniſſa*; but in reality to ruin *Hannibal*, whom they accuſed of carrying on a ſecret intelligence with king *Antiochus*, to the prejudice of the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, knowing the diſpoſition of his countrymen, thought it prudent to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times; and having made all the proper diſpoſitions for his departure, went out of the city in the duſk of the evening, in a foreign dreſs, attended only by two companions, ignorant of his deſign.

Hannibal reforms ſeveral abuſes at *Carthage*.

He is obliged to leave the city.

Having

Having previouſly ſtationed horſes at different places on his route, he quickly arrived at a little caſtle of his own near *Thapſus*, and embarking on board a veſſel that waited for him, ſailed over to the iſland *Cercina*. The populace of *Carthage*, the morning after his departure, were in a great ferment upon his abandoning the city, ſome thinking he had fled, and others that he had been aſſaſſinated by the *Roman* faction; but in a few days the truth was diſcovered. *Hannibal* pretended at *Cercina*, that the republic of *Carthage* had ſent him their ambaſſador to *Tyre*, and accordingly ſet ſail for that city; where, upon his arrival, he was treated with all the marks of diſtinction due to his exalted merit. Having a conference ſoon after with the ſon of *Antiochus* at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, he from thence poſted to *Epheſus*, where he met with a moſt kind reception from that prince himſelf, and fixed him in a reſolution to declare war againſt *Rome*. The *Carthaginians*, being apprehenſive that by *Hannibal*'s intrigues they might be embroiled with the *Romans*, thought proper to ſend them advice, that he was withdrawn to the court of *Antiochus*. This news not a little alarmed them, and the king might have turned ſo lucky an accident greatly to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper uſe of it. *Hannibal* preſſed the king to carry his arms into *Italy*, and offered to ſail to *Carthage*, not doubting but he ſhould perſuade his countrymen to take up arms againſt the common enemy, provided the king would truſt him with the command of a fleet of 100 ſhips, and a body of 11,000 land forces. *Antiochus* at firſt approving very much of this propoſal, *Hannibal* diſpatched one *Ariſto*, a *Tyrian*, to *Carthage*, in order to engage the ſenate there more ſtrongly in his intereſt. As *Ariſto* aſſociated chiefly with the members of the *Barcinian* faction, the other party ſuſpecting his deſign, ſeized him, and called upon him to clear himſelf. What he alledged in his juſtification not giving ſatisfaction, ſome of the members of the ſenate were for treating him as a ſpy; but others thought this might be a bad precedent, as no evidence could be produced againſt him. The determination of the affair being deferred till next day, the crafty *Tyrian* in the mean time made his eſcape; but before his departure, left in the public hall, where juſtice was adminiſtred, a writing that fully declared the reaſon of his coming to *Carthage*. The ſenate, to ſhew how religiouſly they intended to obſerve the laſt treaty, immediately ſent advice of this to the *Romans*. *Hannibal* not long after had ſeveral conferences at *Epheſus* with *P. Sulpitius*, one of the *Roman* ambaſſadors, who had come to *Antiochus*. *Sulpitius* affected to ſhew him a particular eſteem on all occaſions; but his chief aim, by all his inſidious behaviour, was to render him ſuſpected, and to leſſen his credit with the king, in which he ſucceeded. Some authors relate, that *Scipio* was alſo joined in this embaſſy, and that he likewiſe viſited *Hannibal*. *Scipio*, it is ſaid, in one of his converſations, deſired *Hannibal* to tell him, who was the moſt celebrated general in hiſtory? He replied, *Alexander*, king of *Macedon*; becauſe, with

He preſſes *Antiochus* to invade *Italy*.

Endeavours alſo to incite the *Carthaginians* againſt the *Romans*.

Conference betwixt *Hannibal* and *Scipio*.

with an inconſiderable body of troops, he had extended his conqueſts into countries ſo widely diſtant. Being then aſked who was the next to him, he anſwered *Pyrrhus*, who firſt underſtood the art of encamping to advantage. *Scipio* then demanding of him whom he looked upon as the third captain, he made no ſcruple of mentioning himſelf. *Scipio* here not being able to refrain from laughing, added, "What would you "have ſaid if you had vanquiſhed me?" "I would," replied *Hannibal*, "have ranked myſelf above *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*, and "all the generals the world ever produced." *Plutarch* relates this ſtory in a different manner, and ſays, that *Hannibal* gave the firſt place to *Pyrrhus*, the ſecond to *Scipio*, and the third to himſelf; but the relation of *Livy* is more ſpirited and more conformable to *Hannibal*'s character.

Antiochus having entertained a ſuſpicion of *Hannibal* on account of his conferences with the *Roman* ambaſſadors, would not for ſome time admit him into his councils. *Hannibal* at firſt took no notice of this ſlight; but at length entreated *Antiochus* to diſcover to him the cauſe of his late coldneſs. Having learned the reaſon, he ſoon ſatisfied the prince of the falſehood of his ſuſpicions, by declaring to him, that in his tender infancy he had ſworn at the altar always to bear an implacable enmity to the *Romans*. *Hannibal* being reſtored to favour, preparations were made to execute the ſcheme he had formed; however, ſoon after *Antiochus*, by the intrigues of his miniſters, and the malicious ſuggeſtions of *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, was prevailed upon to drop the deſign, and purſued other meaſures, which proved fatal to himſelf.

The *Carthaginians* offer aſſiſtance to the *Romans*.

Some time after, the *Carthaginians* offered to ſupply the *Romans* with a million of buſhels of wheat, and 500,000 buſhels of barley, as a free gift. They alſo propoſed to equip a fleet at their own expence for their ſervice, and to remit to *Rome* at once the whole remainder of the ſum impoſed upon them by the late treaty. The *Romans* gave their ambaſſadors a kind reception, but refuſed to accept of their offers. From this incident, we may form ſome idea of the incredible induſtry of the *Carthaginians*, as well as of their ſurpriſing genius for trade. For tho' they had been exhauſted by a moſt ruinous war, ſtript of almoſt all their dominions, deprived of their ſhips, and ſeemingly reduced to the extremeſt miſery, they yet found means, in ten or twelve years time, again to become wealthy and powerful.

Antiochus, ſome time after, finding the bad ſucceſs of his own ſchemes, again had recourſe to *Hannibal*; who forgetting the ill uſage he had met with, moſt willingly gave his advice to the diſtreſſed prince, tho' his counſels were again neglected. After a ſeries of misfortunes, *Antiochus* was obliged to aſk a peace of the *Roman* generals upon any terms; and they inſiſting, as the chief article, that *Hannibal* ſhould be delivered up to them, he was obliged to condeſcend to their demand. *Hannibal*, however, foreſeeing

Hannibal retires to *Crete*, foreſeeing what would happen, had taken care to retire in time to the iſland of *Crete*. It appears from *Scipio Naſica*'s ſpeech in *Livy*, that *Hannibal* was a general in the *Syrian* army at the battle of *Magneſia*; from whence, as well as from other circumſtances, we have reaſon to believe that he was preſent in all the principal actions that happened between the *Romans* and *Antiochus*. *Hannibal*, upon his arrival among the *Gortynii* in *Crete*, was afraid of being robbed of his riches; and therefore filled ſeveral veſſels with molten lead, juſt covering them over with gold and ſilver, and placed them for ſecurity, as he pretended, in the temple of *Diana*, at the ſame time concealing his treaſure in hollow ſtatues of braſs.

and from thence to *Bythinia*. From *Crete* he retired to the court of *Pruſias* king of *Bythynia*, with whom he found means to unite ſeveral neighbouring princes and ſtates in a league againſt *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, a profeſſed friend to the *Romans*. During the war, which ſoon after commenced betwixt them, *Hannibal* is ſaid to have given *Eumenes* ſeveral defeats, and to have reduced him to great ſtraits, more by force of genius than ſuperiority of ſtrength.

He is betrayed by *Pruſias*. The *Romans* ſending ambaſſadors to *Pruſias*, and complaining of the protection he afforded *Hannibal*, that ungrateful prince reſolved to deliver him up, and ſent a party of ſoldiers to ſurround his houſe. *Hannibal*, having before diſcovered that no confidence was to be repoſed in *Pruſias*, had contrived ſeven ſecret paſſages from his houſe; but guards being poſted on theſe, he found it impoſſible to eſcape, and had recourſe to poiſon, which he had long reſerved for this melancholy occaſion.

He poiſons himſelf. Having drank the poiſon, he expired at 70 years of age, his death reflecting an eternal ignominy upon the *Romans*, whoſe inſatible thirſt after empire had extinguiſhed all generous ſentiments and heroic virtue in their minds. *Polybius* ſeems to make *Hannibal* a pattern for all ſucceeding commanders; and *Livy*, notwithſtanding his partiality, owns himſelf aſtoniſhed at his wonderful conduct after the defeat of his brother *Aſdrubal*. The perfect harmony kept up in his army, compoſed of ſuch a variety of nations, differing in language, manners, genius, and other particulars, even after fortune had declared againſt him, and when they were in want both of money and proviſions, was a full demonſtration of his conſummate abilities. *Polybius* obſerves, that it would have been much more fatal to the *Carthaginians* to have loſt him, than any of the armies he ever commanded. What we have already obſerved of his facetious diſpoſition and love for the muſes, is confirmed be *Gellius* and others. He expreſſed a great reverence for the gods; and was diſtinguiſhed for his continence, temperance, uncommon wiſdom, and contempt of riches. He ſeems, however, to have had little humanity in his diſpoſition, and not to have been much ſwayed by the rules of juſtice and probity. *Polybius*, as an apology for his defects, thinks that it would be but fair to conclude, that they ought rather to be attributed to the difficulties with

which

which he was obliged to ſtruggle, during the courſe of ſo long and burdenſome a war, than to his own natural diſpoſition *.

After *Hannibal*'s flight to *Antiochus*, the *Romans* began to look upon the *Carthaginians* with a ſuſpicious eye; tho' to prevent all diſtruſt, the latter of theſe ſtates had ordered two ſhips to purſue *Hannibal*, confiſcated his effects, razed his houſe, and by a public decree declared him an exile. They likewiſe notified to the *Romans* the commiſſion of *Ariſto*, the emiſſary of *Hannibal*; complaining at the ſame time to the *Roman* ſenate of the unjuſt encroachment of *Maſſiniſſa*, who had ſeized upon and the part of a maritime territory called *Emporia*, which was ſituated near the leſſer *Syrtis*, and was extremely rich and fruitful. The *Romans* ſent deputies to examine the matter upon the ſpot; but theſe returned without coming to any reſolution, *Maſſiniſſa* being ſtill left in poſſeſſion of what he had ſeized.

Diſputes betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Maſſiniſſa*.

About ten years after, *Maſſiniſſa* over-ran another province that his father *Gala* had taken from the *Carthaginians*, and *Syphax* from him, from whom it had returned to its former maſters thro' the charms and endearments of *Sophoniſba*. The *Romans* were again appealed to by both parties; but left the affair for ſome time undecided. At length they effected an accommodation between *Maſſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*, confirming the former in the poſſeſſion of his unjuſt acquiſitions, and reſtoring to the latter 100 hoſtages whom they had till that time detained. *Maſſiniſſa* graſping at farther conqueſts, endeavoured ſoon after to embroil the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*, concerting meaſures with the *Roman* ambaſſadors in *Africa* for that purpoſe. The latter affirmed, that the ſenate of *Carthage* had aſſembled by night in the temple of *Æſculapius*, to confer with ſome ambaſſadors ſent to them by *Perſeus* king of *Macedon*, with whom the *Romans* were about to engage in a war. *Maſſiniſſa* at the ſame time aſſerted, that the *Carthaginians* had diſpatched miniſters to *Perſeus* to conclude a treaty with him. This, tho' denied by the *Carthaginians*, was believed to be true. Not long after *Maſſiniſſa* made an irruption into the province of *Tyſca*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of above 70, or as *Appian* will have it, 50 towns and caſtles. The *Carthaginians*, upon this, applied with great importunity to the *Roman* ſenate for redreſs. The repreſentations of the *Carthaginian* ambaſſadors at *Rome* making a deep impreſſion upon the ſenate, *Guluſſa*, *Maſſiniſſa*'s ſon, who was then preſent, was called upon to vindicate his father's conduct. The young prince making but a lame excuſe for the proceedings of his father, the ſenate declared that they would maintain the *Carthaginians* in the poſſeſſion of their juſt territories, and deſired him to ſet out for *Numidia*, to acquaint his father that he muſt

The *Romans* favour the *Maſſiniſſa*.

Maſſiniſſa commits new hoſtilities againſt the *Carthaginians*.

* Aul. Gel. Noct. At. l. v. Polyb. l. xi. Liv. l. xxviii. & alibi paſ. Juſt. l. xxxii. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. Corn. Nep: & Aur. Vict. Plut. in Hannib. in Marcel. in Flamin. & alib. Val. Max. &c.

ſend

ſend deputies to *Rome* to clear up the diſpute. The *Romans* acted in this evaſive manner partly from their implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and partly in hopes of receiving ſuccours from *Maſſiniſſa* in the *Macedonian* war, which they were juſt going to enter upon.

The *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding the lamentable ſlavery under which they groaned, diſpatched ambaſſadors to *Rome*, and offered to tranſport immediately a million of buſhels of wheat, and 500,000 buſhels of barley into what part of the *Roman* territories the ſenate ſhould appoint. *Maſſiniſſa*'s ambaſſadors not only offered the ſame quantity of corn, but likewiſe to add 1200 horſes, and 12 elephants, to thoſe reinforcements which they had already ſent to the *Roman* army. The abject and mean-ſpirited behaviour of the *Carthaginians*, was far from making the *Romans* their hearty friends. The *Roman* ſenate, however, affected to ſhew a great regard to the principles of juſtice and honour, and ſent *Cato*, a man famous for committing enormities under the ſpecious pretext of public ſpirit, to accommodate all differences betwixt *Maſſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*. The latter refuſed to ſubmit to his mediation, and appealed to the treaty concluded by *Scipio*; which ſo incenſed *Cato*, that upon his return home, he preſſed the ſenate in the moſt abſurd and at the ſame time moſt virulent manner, to deſtroy *Carthage*.

Cato incenſed againſt the *Carthaginians*.

Some years before this period, *Carthage* was miſerably rent by three potent factions. That devoted to the *Romans* was headed by one *Hanno*; that in the intereſt of *Maſſiniſſa* by *Hannibal Paſſer*; and that formed of the populace by *Carthalo* and *Hamilcar Sannis*. Two powerful parties ſucceeding theſe, ſtruggled for the dominion of the city. The popular faction prevailed over the other, compoſed of the grandees and their adherents, and expelled forty of the ſenators, who retiring to the court of *Maſſiniſſa*, excited him to a war with the *Carthaginians*. *Maſſiniſſa* ſent two of his ſons to *Carthage*, to ſolicit the return of the exiles; but the *Carthaginians* would not admit them into their city, and even purſued them and cut off ſome of their retinue. This occaſioning a freſh rupture, *Maſſiniſſa* beſieged *Oroſcopa*; which *Aſdrubal*, a *Carthaginian* general, attempted to relieve. His army, which conſiſted of 25,000 foot and 400 horſe, was reinforced by 6000 men, under the command of two *Numidian* captains who deſerted from *Maſſiniſſa*. *Aſdrubal* being decoyed by *Maſſiniſſa* into a barren plain, was there defeated by him, and obliged to ſue for peace.

Maſſiniſſa ſupports a faction in *Carthage*.

He defeats the *Carthaginians* under *Aſdrubal*.

The *Carthaginians*, in order to terminate their conteſts with this prince, offered to yield up to him the territory of *Emporium*, to pay down 200 talents of ſilver, and to remit 800 more at a ſtipulated time. But *Maſſiniſſa* inſiſting upon the return of the exiles, they did not come to any deciſion. The *Roman* deputies, who arrived in the *Numidian* camp ſoon after the battle, had orders to inſiſt upon a peace if the *Carthaginians* had obtained the victory; but in caſe *Maſſiniſſa* was victorious, to aſſure him of the continuance of their friendſhip; and

and to push him on to the war, which continued for some time longer with great animosity. The *Carthaginians* at length were blocked up in their camp, where they were soon distressed with a famine, which produced a plague that swept off great numbers of their men; so that they were obliged to submit to the terms prescribed by *Massinissa*, who, among other things, forced them to pass under the yoke unarmed and half naked. *Gulussa*, however, not satisfied with this revenge, fell upon them with his *Numidian* horse, and cut them almost all to pieces, only *Asdrubal*, and some other officers of distinction, escaping out of 58,000 men.

The *Carthaginians* being fully apprised of the enmity of the *Romans*, and being now apprehensive of their resentment, they impeached *Asdrubal*, general of the army, and *Carthalo*, commander of the auxiliary forces, together with their accomplices, as guilty of high treason, for being the authors of the war waged with the king of *Numidia*. They also sent a deputation to *Rome*, to discover what sentiments were entertained there of their late conduct; offering all kinds of submission, and even leaving it to the senate to propose their own terms. These ministers meeting with a cold reception, other deputies were dispatched, who returned with the same success. The *Carthaginians* now believing their destruction resolved upon, were filled with the utmost despair; especially when they heard of the great preparations making at *Rome*, and that the populous and flourishing city of *Utica* had entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, and voluntarily submitted to them.

The *Carthaginians* routed again by *Massinissa*.

The new consuls, in the mean time, formally declared war against *Carthage*; and having embarked their troops, proceeded to *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, from whence it was proposed to transport them to *Utica*. The *Carthaginians*, to avert the impending danger, dispatched to *Rome* other ambassadors, with full powers to act as they should think fit for the good of the republic, and even to submit themselves without reserve to the pleasure of the *Romans*. The senate of *Rome* seemed to be in some measure satisfied with this absolute surrender, and promised them their liberty and the enjoyment of their laws, on condition that they sent 300 hostages to the consuls at *Lilybæum*, and comply with all their orders. The *Carthaginians* being absolutely incapable of coping with so formidable an enemy, and at this juncture in want of almost every thing, one of their senators exhorted them for the present to obey. No scene can be conceived more moving than that exhibited at *Carthage* when the hostages were delivered up. As the ambassadors delivered them to the consuls before the thirty days were expired, they were not entirely without hopes of softening their hard-hearted enemy: but the consul only told them, that upon their arrival at *Utica*, they should learn the farther orders of the republic. The consuls, upon their arrival at *Utica*, were again waited upon by the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, who desired to know the real intentions of the *Roman* senate. They were

The *Romans* declare war against the *Carthaginians*, who agree to give 300 hostages to the consuls.

received

The *Romans* nevertheless invade *Africa*. Bef. Chriſt 149.

received with great pomp by the conſuls; who did not think it expedient to communicate all the commands of their republic at once, leſt they ſhould appear ſo harſh and ſevere, that the *Carthaginians* would have refuſed a compliance with them. They therefore firſt demanded a ſufficient ſupply of corn for the ſubſiſtence of their troops: then, that all their triremes ſhould be delivered up, and afterwards their military machines, and laſtly their arms. The *Carthaginians* found themſelves ensnared by theſe exceſſive demands; but not being able to reject the laſt of them, obeyed with the utmoſt reluctance and concern.

The *Carthaginians* deliver up all their arms to the *Romans*, who command them to abandon their city.

Cenſorinus the conſul, now imagining the *Carthaginians* not capable of ſuſtaining a ſiege, commanded them to abandon their city, or, as *Zonaras* will have it, to demoliſh it, permitting them to build another 80 ſtadia from the ſea; but without walls or fortifications. The embaſſadors, thunder-ſtruck with this decree, in vain endeavoured by their entreaties and tears to excite the compaſſion of the *Romans*. When this laſt cruel command was mentioned in *Carthage*, the citizens were ſtruck with deſpair, and for ſome time behaved in a frantic and furious manner; but when their firſt tranſports of grief were over, and their paſſions began to ſubſide, they unanimouſly reſolved to die upon the ſpot, rather than comply with the barbarous orders of the *Romans*, whoſe baſeneſs and perfidy on this occaſion cannot be too greatly deteſted.

The *Carthaginians* reſolve to defend themſelves.

The *Carthaginians* being animated by deſpair, took the malefactors out of priſon, gave the ſlaves their liberty, and incorporated both with their troops. A pardon was then granted to *Aſdrubal*, who was invited to employ the 20,000 men he had raiſed in defence of his country. To ſupply themſelves with arms, men and women were continually employed in all the public buildings as in ſo many work-houſes, and every day made 144 bucklers, 300 ſwords, 1000 darts, and 500 lances and javelins. When iron and braſs were wanting for their larger machines, they made uſe of gold and ſilver, melting down the ſtatues, and vaſes, and even the utenſils of private families, the moſt covetous on this occaſion becoming liberal. As they were deſtitute of materials for making ropes, the women, even thoſe of the firſt rank, cut off their hair, and abundantly ſupplied their wants on this occaſion.

Carthage inveſted by the *Romans*.

The conſuls not being under any apprehenſions from *Carthage*, as it was now diſarmed, made no great haſte to march againſt the city. The *Romans*, when they inveſted the place, propoſed immediately to take it by ſtorm; but to their great aſtoniſhment found the ramparts well guarded with armed men, and were repulſed with loſs. *Aſdrubal*, in the mean time, having greatly encreaſed his army, came and encamped in their neighbourhood, and ſoon reduced them to great ſtraits by intercepting their foraging parties. The garriſon likewiſe repulſed the *Romans* in all the attacks they made; and by their vigorous ſallies, deſtroyed moſt of their works and battering engines. *Cenſorinus*,

ſpirius, we are told by *Appian*, played one vaſt ram againſt the walls with 6000 foot, and another with a prodigious number of rowers. The *Carthaginians*, however, repulſed the *Romans*, when they attempted to ſtorm the breach made by their rams, and afterwards repaired it in the night. After a very unſucceſsful campaign, in which the *Roman* army had met with ſeveral defeats, and part of the fleet had been burnt by the beſiegers, one of the conſuls was recalled to *Italy*. The *Romans* having imprudently attacked *Aſdrubal*, their whole army would have been cut off, had not *Scipio Æmilianus*, who was then only a military tribune, with great intrepidity covered their retreat. *Scipio* having greatly raiſed his reputation by his bravery and conduct, *Maſſiniſſa*, who was on his death-bed, ſent for him to conſult him about regulating the ſucceſſion of his three ſons, whom he left joint heirs of his dominions. The *Romans*, about the ſame time, took ſeveral ſtrong holds belonging to the *Carthaginians*; and *Scipio*, upon his return from *Numidia*, prevailed with *Phameas*, general of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, to deſert to the *Romans* with 2200 of his horſe.

The next campaign the conſul *Calpurnius Piſo*, and his lieutenant *Mancinus*, conducted the war in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* were ſo ſtrong this year, that they obtained ſeveral advantages over the *Romans*; and towards the cloſe of it, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of *Hippo Zaritus*, which they had carried on the whole ſummer. The ſiege of *Carthage* ſeemed for the preſent to be ſuſpended; and the *Roman* generals, after having ſpent the whole campaign in fruitleſs expeditions, returned, in the beginning of winter, with their fleet and army to *Utica*. The *Carthaginians*, in the mean time, having encreaſed their troops, daily got new allies, and applied for aſſiſtance to the counterfeit *Philip*, who paſſed for the ſon of *Perſeus* king of *Macedon*, and was then at war with the *Romans*, promiſing to ſupply him with money and ſhips.

The *Carthaginians* gain ſeveral advantages over the *Romans*.

The following ſpring, having put all their places of ſtrength in the beſt poſture of defence, they ſent ambaſſadors to two of the ſons of *Maſſiniſſa*, who had hitherto remained neuter, and to the independant *Mauritanian* princes, in order to form a powerful alliance againſt the *Romans*. About this time *Aſdrubal*, the general of the *Carthaginian* army, being deſirous alſo of commanding in the town, falſely accuſed another *Aſdrubal*, who was commander of the garriſon, of a deſign to betray the republic; and the innocent perſon being inſtantly diſpatched without any juſt proceſs, he obtained his deſire.

Not long after *Mancinus*, who had the conduct of the ſiege, while the conſul *Calpurnius* marched againſt the inland towns, took poſt in part of the town, which, on account of its rocky ſituation, had been neglected by the *Carthaginians*. The beſieged not only prevented any ill conſequences from this lodgement, but even cut off the retreat of the *Romans*, who were ſoon reduced to great difficulties. *Scipio Æmilianus* at this time

The conducting of the siege committed to *Scipio.*

landing in *Utica* in quality of conſul, immediately ſailed to their relief, and brought them off ſafe in his ſhips. Soon after, having ordered *Calpurnius* to join him with his troops, he marched to *Carthage*, and in the night-time attacked that part of the city called *Magalia*, which after an obſtinate reſiſtance he took by ſtorm, the *Carthaginians*, in great conſternation, retreating to *Byrſa*, being followed by the forces that were encamped without the town. *Aſdrubal* was ſo enraged at the loſs of *Magalia*, that next morning, either to gratify his revengeful temper, or to render the beſieged deſperate, he ordered all the *Roman* priſoners taken during the war to be maſſacred.

Whilſt he was thus venting his fury upon the *Roman* captives, and even murdering many *Carthaginian* ſenators who had been ſo brave as to oppoſe his tyranny, *Scipio* drew lines of circumvallation and contravallation acroſs the iſthmus, and entirely cut off the communication of the city with the land. Having compleated this work, the conſul next blocked up the mouth of the old harbour by a mole, which he accompliſhed with vaſt labour. The beſieged, inſtigated by deſpair, ſet all hands to work, and with an induſtry ſcarce to be paralleled, dug a new baſon, and opened a communication with the ſea. They equipped with great diligence a fleet of 50 quinqueremes, with a vaſt number of other veſſels, built chiefly of the old materials found in their magazines. Theſe amazing works were ſo ſecretly carried on, and ſo ſuddenly compleated, that the *Romans* were confounded when they ſaw their ſquadron appear at ſea; and ſo great was their ſurprize, that *Appian* believes the *Carthaginians* might have totally ruined the *Roman* fleet, had they immediately attacked it; which indeed ſeems very probable, as they would have found the *Roman* veſſels, deſtitute of rowers, ſoldiers, and officers. The *Carthaginians* imprudently deferred the engagement for two days; which gave the *Romans* leiſure to prepare for an action, which tho' very bloody, was indeciſive. The following morning the battle was again renewed, and continued with great obſtinacy till late at night; when the *Carthaginians* were obliged to retire, and ſail for ſhelter to the city. *Æmilianus* next morning attempted to make himſelf maſter of a terrace which had been thrown up againſt the walls towards the ſea, for the convenience of loading and unloading goods. The beſieged repulſed him with prodigious ſlaughter, and at night many of them ſwimed out to ſea, and ſet fire to the engines that had been erected on his gallies. A few days afterwards, however, he took the place by aſſault, and erected a wall upon it cloſe to the walls of the city, and of equal height with them. Winter approaching, he ſuſpended all further attacks upon the city till the return of good weather.

In the mean time he marched againſt the *Carthaginian* army that was encamped near *Nepheris*, and from thence ſent convoys of proviſions by ſea to *Carthage*. After a deſperate attack he forced their entrenchments, the whole *Carthaginian* army,

army, which consisted of 84,000 men, being either cut to pieces or taken prisoners, except 4000, who dispersed themselves in the neighbouring villages. *Asdrubal*, disheartned by the loss of the army, offered, in the name of the *Carthaginians*, to submit to what conditions the *Romans* pleased, provided they would only spare the city: but the consul absolutely refused to recede from his instructions with regard to the demolition of *Carthage*. Early the following spring *Scipio* again returned to the siege, and ordered *Lælius*, his lieutenant-general, to attack the *Cothon*, while he made another attack upon *Byrsa*. *Lælius* forced the wall that surrounded the *Cothon*, and being joined by *Scipio*, threw himself into the great square of the city that was near it. Next morning, having received a reinforcement of 4000 men from their camp, they attempted to force their way through the streets to the citadel. The *Carthaginians* having been greatly weakened by a famine, insomuch that they had been obliged for some time to feed upon human flesh, and having scarce strength to handle their arms, *Scipio* in six days effected this; but in the contest lost a vast number of men. Having set fire to that part of the city next to *Byrsa*, he afterwards levelled the rubbish, and appeared with his whole army before the citadel. The *Carthaginians*, who had fled thither for refuge, were so terrified, that first of all 25,000 women, and soon after 30,000 men, came out of the gates and begged for life; which *Scipio* granted to all who were in *Byrsa*, except the *Roman* deserters, whose number amounted to 900. *Asdrubal* also basely deserted his wife and children, whom he would not allow to join the supplicant women, and went, in a cowardly manner, and threw himself at the feet of the consul. This instance of perfidiousness so affected his wife, that she threw herself and children into the flames of the temple of *Æsculapius*, which the *Roman* deserters had set fire to.

He defeats the *Carthaginian* army,

and takes *Carthage* by storm. Bef. Christ 146.

Thus fell *Carthage*, after it had subsisted about 748 years, given laws to many distant provinces, and for the space of 118 years rivalled *Rome* itself. Its destruction ought to be attributed more to the intrigues of an abandoned faction, composed of the most profligate part of its citizens, than to the power of its villainous rival. The treasure carried off by *Æmilianus*, exclusive of the plunder of the soldiers, was so immense, that it exceeded all belief. *Pliny* makes it amount to 4,470,000 pounds weight of silver. According to *Salust*, *Æmilianus* preserved from the flames several valuable libraries, which he presented to the grandsons of *Massinissa*. The *Romans* ordered *Carthage* never again to be inhabited, and denounced dreadful imprecations against those, who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any part of it. Nevertheless, about 24 years after, *C. Gracchus*, tribune of the *Roman* people, undertook to rebuild it, and to that end conducted thither a colony of 6000 *Roman* citizens. The workmen, according to *Plutarch*, were terrified by many unlucky omens, on which account the senate would have suspended the attempt; but the tribune, little affected

He carries an immense plunder to *Rome*.

Carthage rebuilt by the *Romans*.

fected with ſuperſtitious fears, continued the work, which he finiſhed in a few days. From hence, it ſeems probable, that only a ſlight kind of huts were erected, as *Velleius* tells us that *Marius*, after his flight from *Italy*, lived in a poor condition amidſt the ruins of *Carthage*. According to *Appian*, *Julius Cæſar*, on account of a dream he had upon his landing in *Africa*, formed a deſign of rebuilding *Carthage* and *Corinth*, which he noted down in his pocket-book; but he was murdered before he could put it in execution. However, *Auguſtus Cæſar*, his adopted ſon, he ſays, finding this memoir among his papers, built a city at ſome ſmall diſtance from the ſpot on which antient *Carthage* ſtood, which he called by the ſame name. Thither he ſent a colony of 3000 men, who were ſoon joined by conſiderable numbers from neighbouring towns. According to *Strabo*, however, both *Carthage* and *Corinth* were rebuilt at the ſame time by *Julius Cæſar*; and the ſame author affirms, that, in his time, that is, in the reign of *Tiberius Cæſar*, *Carthage* was equal, if not ſuperior, to the largeſt city in *Africa*; which can ſcarce be admitted, if we ſuppoſe it to have been built by *Auguſtus* after the concluſion of all his wars. *Plutarch* follows *Strabo*, and *Pliny* mentions it as a very conſiderable colony in his days. After the commencement of the Chriſtian Æra, it was looked upon as the capital of *Africa* for ſeveral centuries. In the reign of *Conſtantine*, *Maxentius* laid it in aſhes; and *Genſeric* king of the *Vandals* took it in the year 439.

Is razed by the *Saracens*.

About a century afterwards, it was re-annexed to the *Roman* empire by that renowned commander *Beliſarius*; but at laſt the *Saracens*, towards the cloſe of the 7th century, ſo completely deſtroyed it, that ſcarce any traces of it are now to be diſcovered *.

* Appian in Lybic. Strabo, l. xvi. Plut. in Grach. & Cæſ. Dio. Caſſ. l. xliii. Plin. l. v. Solin. c. xxvii.

BOOK

BOOK X.

The History of the MACEDONIANS, *including the History of* ALEXANDER'S *Successors.*

CHAP. I.

SECT. I.

A Description of MACEDONIA.

THIS country, in antient times, was called *Æmathia*, from one of its provinces so named. Afterwards it obtained the name of *Macedonia*, from *Macedo*, one of its kings, as some think; but according to *Cluverius*, by an alteration of *Mygdonia*,, the name of one of its provinces. Its bounds are not easily assigned, it having been at some times esteemed larger and at others less, according to the fortune of its princes. Antiently it was bounded on the east by the *Ægean* sea, on the south by *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, on the west by the *Adriatic* or the *Ionian* sea, and on the north by the river *Strymon*, tho' afterwards by the river *Nessus*, or *Nestus*. On its eastern coasts, while the power of the *Macedonian* kings was confined to very narrow limits, the *Athenians*, *Corcyrians*, and *Corinthians*, for a long time held very large districts, and in different parts of it other states had also established themselves. *Pliny* affirms, that no less than 150 different nations were seated in this country; and according to *Mela*, it had as many nations as cities. On the coasts of the *Adriatic* were seated the *Taulantii*, within whose territory stood the city *Epidamnum*; which name the *Romans* looking upon as unlucky, changed into *Dyrrachium*. It was originally a colony of the *Corcyrians*, and is at present called *Durazzo*. In the confines of this people also stood *Apollonia*, on the river *Laous*, seven miles from the sea, a city remarkable for it excellent laws, and under the *Romans*, celebrated as a seat of learning. South of the *Taulantii*, on the *Adriatic* coast, lay the country of the *Elymiotæ*, whose chief cities were *Elyma* and *Bullis*, both sea ports. To the east of the *Elymiotæ* lay a small inland district, called the kingdom of *Orestes*, so called from the son of *Agamemnon*, of that name, who, it is said, settled here after he had slain his mother. This people, tho' for some time subject to the *Macedonian* kings, yet preserved such privileges, and vindicated

The antient name of *Macedonia*.

Its boundaries.

Inhabited by different nations.

their liberty with ſuch firmneſs, that the *Romans* even allowed them to maintain the form of a commonwealth, acknowleging the *Roman* protection, but not the juriſdiction of the provincial magiſtrates. Their capital was *Gyrtone*. Between this people and the *Taulantii* lay the *Eordians*; and to the north of theſe lay the territory of the *Daſſaretæ*, whoſe chief cities were *Lychnides* and *Evia*. Eaſt of this country lay *Æmathia*, which ſtretched itſelf quite to the *Sinus Tharmaicus*, and contained ſeveral famous cities, particularly *Ægæa*, or *Edeſſa*, the antient capital of the *Macedonian* kingdom, and *Pella*, ſeated at the mouth of the river *Actius*, famous for being the birth-place of *Philip* and his ſon *Alexander*. South-eaſt from *Æmathia*, on the ſhore of the gulf of *Saloniotis*, lies the little country of *Pieria*, famous for its being the region of the muſes. Its chief cities were *Pydna*, *Phylace*, and *Dion* or *Dium*. To the north of *Æmathia* lay the country of *Mygdonia*, in which were the cities of *Antigonia*, *Letæ*, and *Terpilus*. Eaſt of this the region of *Amphaxitis* was ſituated, in which ſtood the noble city of *Theſſalonica*, at this day the moſt conſiderable place in *Macedonia* under the name of *Salonichi*. In this province alſo ſtood *Stagyra*, the birth-place of *Hipparchus* the philoſopher, and of the celebrated *Ariſtotle*. On the ſouth-eaſt of this country lay *Chalcidica*, in which were the towns of *Augæa*, *Singus*, and *Acanthus*. Next to this lay the country *Paraxis*, in which were the cities of *Palena*; *Potidæa*, a colony of *Corinthians*, now called *Caſſandria*; *Torone*, and *Olynthus*. In the northern part of *Macedonia* the *Biſaltæ* held a ſmall country; and north-weſt from them lay the region of *Edonia*, in which ſtood the cities of *Amphipolis*, *Scotuſa*, and *Berga*. Theſe are ſome of the many nations who inhabited this country.

Macedonia lies between the 40th and 42d degrees of north latitude, and extends in longitude about 4 degrees. From north to ſouth it is about 160 miles, and from eaſt to weſt about 220. It is advantageouſly ſituated between the *Ægean* and *Ionian* ſeas; which advantages, however, were never greatly regarded by the *Macedonians*.

Its chief mountains,

The chief mountains in this country were that great ridge running acroſs its northern boundary called the *Scordian* mountains. In this part of *Macedon* alſo ſtood *Pangæus*, noted for its woods and valuable mines. In the *Chalcidian* region ſtood *Athos*, now *Monte Santo*, one of the moſt celebrated mountains of the world. It is joined to the continent by an iſthmus about a mile and a half broad, and ſtretches many miles out into the ſea. It was a received opinion, that it never rained upon its ſummit, as the aſhes that remained on the altars there were always found as they were left, dry and unſcattered. The later *Greeks*, ſtruck with its ſingular ſituation, erected ſo many churches, monaſteries, and hermitages thereon, that it became in a manner inhabited by devotees. On the ſouthern confines ſtood the famous *Olympus*, ſuppoſed by the poets, on account of its height, to have ſupported Heaven, and to have

been the ſeat of the gods; but *Xenagoras* the philoſopher found, upon meaſuring it, that it did not much exceed an *Engliſh* mile in height.

Among the chief rivers of *Macedonia* may be reckoned the following: *Panyaſus*, after a winding courſe of 100 miles, diſcharged itſelf into the *Adriatic* near *Dyrrachium*. The *Apſus* diſcharges itſelf within ten miles of the *Panyaſus*. The *Laous* and *Celydnus* alſo empty themſelves into the *Adriatic*, the latter being reckoned the boundary between *Macedonia* and *Epirus*. The chief rivers running into the *Ægean* ſea are the *Aliacmon*, the *Erigon*, the *Aſcius*, the *Strymon*, and the *Neſtus*. The air of *Macedonia* is, generally ſpeaking, clear, ſharp, and wholeſom, and the ſoil is in moſt places fruitful, on the ſea coaſt eſpecially, abounding with corn, wine and oil, and indeed with every thing that could be deſired either for the uſe or convenience of men. The chief riches of the country conſiſted in its mines, of which it had many, of almoſt all kinds of metals, but of gold particularly, which enabled *Philip* the father of *Alexander* to obtain the ſovereignty of *Greece*. and rivers.

SECT. II.

Of the antiquity, government, cuſtoms, laws, and manners of the MACEDONIANS.

THE inhabitants of that part of *Macedon*, which in proceſs of time gave laws to the whole country, and even to all *Greece*, were originally *Argives*. *Caranus* the ſon of *Temenus*, and grandſon of *Hercules*, led them thither, and procured a ſettlement for himſelf and them by force. They afterwards, by their valour, but chiefly by their prudence and condeſcenſion, greatly enlarged their dominions; for after their victories they took away all diſtinctions, and gradually reduced various tribes into one nation. The *Macedonians* originally *Argives*.

Tho' the *Macedonians* had always kings, yet under their adminiſtration they preſerved as great, or greater, liberty, than was enjoyed under moſt of the *Grecian* commonwealths. The people, under their kings, enjoyed great privileges; on which account *Lucian*, in one of his dialogues, calls them *freemen*. In caſes where the puniſhment was capital, the cauſes was heard and judged by the army or by the people. The throne was hereditary, and continued in the race of *Caranus* till the ſlaughter of *Alexander*'s family; but the *Macedonians* do not ſeem to have been very ſtrict as to the ſucceſſion, ſo the prince was of the royal houſe. The antient kings of *Macedon* were very modeſt in the enſigns of their dignity, being only diſtinguiſhed from their ſubjects by ſplendid armour, and a chair of ſtate. The people were remarkable for their loyalty, and were zealouſly Their government. The moderation of their kings.

zealouſly addicted to the ſervice of their prince. Inſtead, however, of imitating the *Perſians*, and paying idolatrous ſubmiſſion to their princes, they, on the contrary, converſed with them freely, and ſaluted them with a kiſs. The *Macedonian* kings, in point of marriage, ſeem to have allowed themſelves greater liberties than the *Greeks*; for it appears from hiſtory, that they had frequently ſeveral wives at once, and concubines not a few. In the education of their children they were exceedingly ſtrict, their ſons being brought up under the beſt maſters in the love and knowlege of all things great and glorious, their daughters in the practice of all things virtuous. The *Macedonian* kings did not affect magnificent entertainments, but eat plainly with their friends, and admitted all ſorts of perſons into their preſence, attending cloſely to buſineſs, and making themſelves at once neceſſary and agreeable to their ſubjects. They were, generally ſpeaking, learned, or favourers of learned men. They heard cauſes in perſon, and ſuffered thoſe who pleaded before them to ſpeak with the utmoſt freedom.

The great men of the kingdom were honoured with the titles of the king's friends and counſellors, and were ſo not in name only, but in reality; for *Juſtin* informs us, that they were not only companions in war, but aſſociates in empire. They were allowed to wear purple, had the unlimited command of armies, and in the flouriſhing ſtate of the *Macedonian* power were appointed governors of kingdoms, with the court and ſtate of kings. The king's life-guard, which conſiſted but of a ſmall number, was a poſt of high honour. Beſides theſe there were other houſehold troops, which with their commanders were all honourable perſons. The king's ſeal, which was on his ring, remained generally in his cuſtody, whatever was ſealed with it being held moſt ſacred and inviolable. Sometimes, however, for ſpecial purpoſes, it was entruſted to one of his friends. The royal phyſicians were highly conſidered by the *Macedonian* kings, and were treated by them as if they had been their intimate friends.

The religion of the *Macedonians*.

In point of religion, the *Macedonians* followed the opinions embraced by the reſt of the *Greeks*, worſhiping many gods, among whom *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Diana* were the chief. As they were ſtrict in their morals, ſo, according to the mode of thoſe times, they were very religious, and their princes, on ſpecial occaſions, acted as prieſts, and offered ſacrifices for themſelves and their people. Like the other heathens, they were greatly influenced by omens, and were very ſuperſtitious.

Their manners and cuſtoms.

In their ordinary manner of living, the *Macedonians* were remarkably temperate; but when they feaſted, they were always magnificent, and loved to eat well and drink hard. The young men, as ſoon as they had killed a wild boar with their ſpears, were admitted to their feaſts; but no women were ever allowed to appear there; and it was an invariable rule with them, that nothing ſaid at their banquets ſhould be repeated. Their captives

ives they made uſe of as their concubines, but it was held diſhonourable to marry them; tho' *Alexander* broke thro' this cuſtom, and numbers followed his example. The *Macedonians* were particularly fond of hunting; and beſides this, they were addicted to all the *Grecian* exerciſes, particularly wreſtling and boxing, for which ſports there was a place ſet apart in all their camps.

The puniſhments among them were of different kinds; ſometimes the criminals were thruſt thro' with darts, at other times crucified with their heads downwards, and ſometimes thrown chained into rivers. Theſe, however, ſeem to have been either foreign cuſtoms, or puniſhments inflicted in extraordinary caſes. That which was moſt frequent, and ſeems conſequently to have been legal, was ſtoning to death; wherein the army, as they had been made judges, were executioners.

Their kalendar.

The *Macedonian* year, according to the learned *Uſher*, contained twelve months; namely, ſeven of 30 days each, and five conſiſting each of 31 days. The firſt month, *Dius*, contained 30 days, the firſt of which anſwered to the 24th of *September*. 2. *Apellacus*, conſiſted of 30 days. 3. *Audynæus*, contained 31 days. 4. *Peritius*, 30 days. 5. *Dyſtrus*, 30 days. 6. *Xanthicus*, contained 31 days, the firſt anſwering to the 22d of *February*. In this month there was a luſtration ſolemnly performed, which from the name of the month was called *Xanthica*. 7. *Artemiſius* was alſo 31 days. 8. *Daeſius* contained 30 days. As this month was looked upon as unfortunate, *Alexander* changed its name, and ordered it to be called *Artemiſius* II. 9. *Panemus* conſiſted of 31 days. 10. *Lous* of 30 days. 11. *Gorpiacus* of 31 days. And, 12. *Hyperberetaes* of 30 days. Every fourth year, however, this laſt month conſiſted of 31 days, which ſupplied the place of our leap-year*.

The *Macedonian* kings drawing great wealth from their mines, coined great variety both of ſilver and gold pieces. Of the latter ſort were the *Philipics*, ſo called from bearing the buſt of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, which were for a long time the moſt current money in *Greece*.

Their language.

The language of the *Macedonians* differed very much from the *Greek*, as is evident from *Strabo* and *Athenæus*, but eſpecially from *Curtius*. It is clear from his account of the proceedings againſt *Philotas*, that the natives of *Greece*, who ſerved in *Alexander*'s army, were not able to underſtand a diſcourſe delivered in the *Macedonian* tongue.

Their military diſcipline and laws.

The *Macedonians* were remarkably diſtinguiſhed for their military diſcipline, which raiſed them from a mean and obſcure people, to be lords of *Greece*. They had, for a long time, powerful enemies on every ſide to ſtruggle with; which by degrees they overcame. By theſe conteſts they were inured to hardſhips, and war at length became in a manner the buſineſs of

* Uſher. Diſſert. de Maced. & Aſian. anno Solari.

the

the whole nation. After the *Macedonian* kings became conſiderable, they formed their army, 1ſt, Of their natural born ſubjects; 2dly, Of their allies; 3dly, Of mercenaries. The natural *Macedonians* ſerved at their own expence, and contented themſelves with the ſpoil of their enemies. The allies were compoſed of the reſpective quotas of the dependant provinces, as alſo of the auxiliary forces furniſhed by *Greece* after the kings of *Macedonia* were elected captains general. The mercenaries were ſoldiers of fortune, who chiefly minded their pay.

Their troops were compoſed of three ſorts; namely, the light armed; the peltaſtæ, who were better armed; and the heavy armed ſoldiers, of whom the phalanx was compoſed, which were generally drawn up in the centre of the army. *Polybius* tells us, that the phalanx conſiſted of 16 in flank, and 500 in front, all pikemen, the ſoldiers ſtanding ſo cloſe, that the pikes of the fifth rank reached their points beyond the front of the battle. As the pikes of the laſt ranks could not, according to this diſpoſition, be uſed as weapons, the hindermoſt ranks leaned them on the ſhoulders of thoſe who ſtood before them, and locking them faſt, preſſed briſkly againſt them when they made the charge; by which means its ſhock was generally irreſiſtible. Their kings, who in all their wars were commanders in chief, never affected to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the other commanders, either by a large train or pomp of habit; but, on the contrary, fared as meanly as any of their ſoldiers, and exceeded them in all their labours.

The *Macedonians*, at firſt, uſed only targets made of wood or wicker; but in proceſs of time they had them of leather and braſs. The heavy armed troops had a large ſtrong ſhield, called in *Greek Aſpis*; and the peltaſtæ, or targeteers, wore a ſmall light buckler called *Pelte*. Beſides their ſwords, which were made both for puſhing and cutting, they alſo uſed daggers. Their ſpears were of two kinds; namely, long and ſhort. The former were uſed by the ſoldiers compoſing the phalanx, and were ſometimes 16, at leaſt 14, cubits, or 21 feet in length. The ſhorter ſpear was uſed by the light armed troops. The head-piece was made of a raw ox's hide, that is, untanned; and their breaſt-plates of fine linen quilted to a proper thickneſs. The horſe wore the ſame defenſive arms as the foot, except that their bucklers were lighter and ſmaller, and their ſpears ſhorter.

All authors are agreed as to the hardineſs, frugality, and good order of the *Macedonian* troops. Tho' their ſtrictneſs was in ſome meaſure relaxed, when *Alexander* diſtributed amongſt them the ſpoils of the eaſt; yet, by degrees, the antient rules were reſtored; ſo that the very laſt *Macedonian* armies were much admired for the regularity of their diſcipline. They fortified their camp with a good ditch and rampart; and when they were to remove, they levelled part of the entrenchments that they might march in order. Their tents were ſmall, holding two ſoldiers; and being made of ſkins, they made uſe of

them

them sometimes in passing of rivers. When in quarters, to keep up discipline, and to preserve the army from corruption, military games were instituted, wherein rewards, both honorary and lucrative, were bestowed. Their kings, after victories obtained, rewarded all such as particularly distinguished themselves; and those who died in the service, were honoured with public monuments, and their children and relations freed from tribute. The soldiers, when the time limited for their service expired, or their wounds rendered them incapable of serving, were dismissed, with ample provision for themselves and families, that by living in peace and ease, they might excite younger and more robust men to serve chearfully in their stead.

SECT. III.

The History of the MACEDONIAN *Kings.*

THOUGH the early period of the history of the *Macedonians* is very obscure, yet the series of their antient kings is pretty well settled. The first of their monarchs was *Caranus*, a descendant of *Hercules*, according to some in the 11th degree, but according to others, in the 16th from that hero. When he resolved to settle a new colony, he consulted the oracle about his intended enterprize; and was answered, that he ought to follow the direction of the goats. Probably he could affix no meaning to this answer; however, pursuing his first intention, he arrived with a considerable body of *Greeks* at the little kingdom of *Æmathia*, at that time governed by king *Midas*, and drew near to its capital, then called *Edessa*. On a sudden a great storm arising, *Caranus* observed a herd of goats running for shelter to the city; which bringing to his remembrance the answer of the oracle, he followed them closely with his men, and surprizing the city, possessed himself first of it, and after of the whole kingdom. To perpetuate the memory of this extraordinary event, he painted a goat in his standard, and called the city *Ægea*, and his people *Ægeates*. *Caranus*, by degrees, subdued such of his neighbours as were inferior to him in force, and added their dominions to his own. Chronologers are by no means agreed as to the beginning of his reign; but the most received opinion is, that he founded this kingdom about 17 years before the first Olympiad. *Caranus* first king of *Macedonia*. Bef. Ch. 795.

Caranus, after reigning 28 years, was succeeded by his son *Cænus*, of whom nothing remarkable is related. After a reign of 23 years, he left the throne to his son *Thurmias*, or *Thyrmas*, concerning the transactions of whose reign, which lasted 45 years, historians are wholly silent. *Cænus*. *Thurimas*.

His son *Perdiccas* I. was no less remarkable for his vast abilities than for his great success. He performed many great ac- *Perdiccas*.

tions,

tions, and extended his dominions at the expence of his neighbours. He is ſaid, when near his end, to have ſhewn his ſon the place where he deſired to be buried, exhorting him alſo to order his own body to be laid there, and thoſe of his poſterity; aſſuring him, that till this cuſtom was aboliſhed, there ſhould not want one of his line to ſit upon the throne.

Argæus. *Perdiccas*, after a reign of 48 years, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Argæus*, who was a prince of great affability and goodneſs, and at the ſame time wiſe and valiant. The *Illyrians*, a fierce and barbarous nation, having invaded the *Macedonians*, *Argæus* marched out againſt them, and drawing them into an ambuſcade, routed them with great ſlaughter.

Philip I. He reigned 32 years, and left the kingdom to *Philip* the Firſt, who was alſo a prudent and valiant monarch. He was engaged in wars with the *Illyrians*, by whom he was ſlain in battle in the 35th year of his reign, leaving the crown to his ſon *Æropas*, an infant in the cradle.

Æropas. During the infancy of *Æropas*, the *Illyrians* and *Thracians* ravaged all his country, and were continually ſucceſsful in their battles againſt his ſubjects. The *Macedonians*, perſuaded that the preſence of their king would enſure ſucceſs, cauſed the young *Æropas* to be carried into the midſt of the battle in his cradle, and on that occaſion fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that they entirely defeated the *Illyrians*, and forced them to retire. No other tranſactions of his reign are mentioned by hiſtorians. After reigning 42 years, he was ſucceeded by his ſon

Alcetas. *Alcetas*, who was contemporary with the great *Cyrus*, and reigned 28 years. Hiſtorians are alſo ſilent as to his exploits.

Amyntas. *Amyntas* ſucceeding his father *Alcetas*, received an embaſſy of ſeven *Perſian* noblemen from the general *Megabyzus*, requiring him to acknowlege king *Darius*. The ambaſſadors demanded, in the name of *Darius*, earth and water from *Amyntas*; who not only gave them what they required, but received them for his gueſts; and having prepared a magnificent feaſt, entertained them with great humanity. When the *Perſians* were beginning to drink after ſupper, they ſaid, "*Macedonian* friend, "our manner in *Perſia*, when we make a great feaſt, is to "bring in our concubines and young women to the company; "we, therefore, ſince you have received us ſo affectionately, "invite you to imitate our cuſtom." *Amyntas* anſwered, "The "manner of our country is quite different; nevertheleſs, be-"cauſe you are our maſters, we will do as you deſire." The women were accordingly introduced, and placed themſelves on the other ſide of the table. The *Perſians*, not ſatisfied with this compliance, prevailed with *Amyntas*, tho' contrary to his inclination, to order the women to ſit down among the men; which, when they had done, the *Perſians*, full of wine, began to handle their breaſts, and ſome would have proceeded to kiſſes. *Amyntas*, from politic views, ſtifled his indignation; but his ſon *Alexander*, who was preſent, being a young man,

He ſubmits to the *Perſians.*

and

and unacquainted with adverſity, was not able to endure their inſolence, and ſaid to *Amyntas*, "Father, conſider your age, "and leave the company to retire to your reſt. I will ſtay "here, and furniſh theſe ſtrangers with all things neceſſary." *Amyntas*, perceiving that his ſon had ſome raſh deſign to put in execution, charged him not to do any thing to the prejudice of the ambaſſadors, and leaving the company, retired to reſt. After his departure, *Alexander* told the ambaſſadors, that they might uſe the women as they pleaſed, but it was proper they ſhould allow them firſt to go out to bathe. The *Perſians* applauding the propoſal, *Alexander* ſent away the women, and ſoon after introduced a like number of ſmooth young men in women's habits, furniſhed every one with a poniard, who, ſitting down beſide the *Perſians*, inſtantly diſpatched them whenever they began to careſs them. This was the fate of theſe *Perſians*; and their attendants, together with the chariots, and all the baggage, preſently diſappeared. After ſome time, *Megabyzus* ſent *Bubaris*, with a conſiderable body of troops to *Macedon* to enquire after the ambaſſadors. *Alexander* put a ſtop to the enquiry, by giving a conſiderable ſum of money, and his ſiſter *Gygea*, to *Bubaris*, who adjuſted all things to the ſatisfaction of *Amyntas*. Thenceforward the kings of *Macedon* became dependant on the *Perſian* emperors; but were always regarded by them as faithful allies.

Alexander aſſiſts Xerxes and his generals.

When *Xerxes*, the ſucceſſor of *Darius*, marched with his army into *Macedonia*, in his way to *Greece*, the diligence and fidelity of *Amyntas* and his ſubjects, appeared in ſo fair a light to the *Perſians*, that he thought fit to add to the *Macedonian* kingdom the country lying near mount *Hæmus* and *Olympus*. After the famous battle of *Salamis*, the *Macedonians*, with ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, ſent 200,000 men to *Mardonius*, who was left behind in *Greece* with an army of 400,000 men. The *Potidæans*, however, and the *Pallenians* and *Olynthians*, abſolutely refuſed to ſend any ſuccours to the *Perſians*. *Mardonius*, to put a ſtop to any further defection, ſent *Artabazus* with 60,000 men to reduce theſe rebels. *Artabazus*, after a ſhort ſiege, took *Olynthus*, and put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword. He alſo reduced *Pallene*, and then encamped with his whole army before *Potidæa*, which made a moſt vigorous defence, but was almoſt betrayed into the hands of the *Perſians*. After *Artabazus* had continued the ſiege three months, the ſea broke into his camp; upon which he raiſed the ſiege, and marched off with the utmoſt expedition; but the waters overtaking him, and the *Potidæans* alſo in their boats, the greateſt part of his troops were either cut off or drowned. A few months after, *Alexander*, at the deſire of *Mardonius*, went to *Athens*, to draw off, if poſſible, the *Athenians* from the general alliance; but his journey proving ineffectual, *Mardonius* marched into *Attica*, and a ſecond time deſtroyed *Athens*. Returning from thence into *Bœotia*, and encamping on the river *Æſopus*, he was followed thither by the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Ariſtides* and *Pauſanias*, who defeated him at *Platæa*, and cut

off

off himself and almost his whole army. A few days before that memorable battle, *Alexander* went in the night to the *Athenian* camp, and informed the *Greek* commanders of the resolution of *Mardonius*. There is nothing else related of *Alexander*, who, after his father *Amyntas* had reigned 49 years, succeeded to the throne, and reigned 43 years, leaving behind him three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*.

Perdiccas II.

Perdiccas succeeded his father on the throne; but his brother *Philip* keeping up pretensions thereto for a long time, thereby created great disturbances in the kingdom. At this time, the encreasing power of the *Macedonians* was looked upon by the *Thracians*, and other barbarous nations, with an envious eye. The *Persians* treated them as vassals, and the *Athenians*, by encreasing their colonies and alliances on the sea coast, rendered themselves very formidable neighbours. *Perdiccas*, in the beginning of his reign, soon discovered great presence of mind and forecast, and finding that the *Athenians* treated him with an air of superiority and haughtiness, he resolved to check their progress on his frontiers. A war breaking out betwixt the *Corcyrians* and *Corinthians*, on account of their pretensions to *Epidamnum*, the *Athenians* declared for the former, and the latter, in resentment,

He prevails with the *Potidæans* to revolt from *Athens*.

prevailed with the *Potidæans* to revolt from *Athens*. *Perdiccas* seized that opportunity of distressing the *Athenians* on the coast of *Macedon*, and persuaded the *Chalcidians* to abandon their seaports, and to fortify the city of *Olynthus*. The *Athenians* sent a fleet and army to besiege *Potidæa*, and to reduce the *Chalcidians*; but the troops being infected with the plague, were obliged to return, without effecting any thing of consequence. Those who remained, however, so straithed the *Potidæans*, that a few months after they were obliged to surrender at discretion. The next year the *Athenians* made war upon the *Chalcidians*, but with ill success: *Perdiccas*, judging that the *Athenians* in the end would prove too strong for him, made a shew of seeking an accommodation, being assisted by *Sytacles* king of *Thrace*, a powerful prince, and one who sought to augment his dominions at the expence of his neighbours. The *Athenians*, however, suspecting *Perdiccas*, prevailed with *Sytacles* to make war upon him, under pretence of placing *Amyntas*, the son of his brother *Philip*, upon the throne of *Macedon*. *Sytacles* accordingly invaded *Macedon* with an army of 100,000 foot and 50,000 cavalry, and took possession of the principal cities of that territory, which formerly belonged to *Philip*. He wasted *Mygdonia*, *Gustonia*, and *Anthemus* without opposition; but in several skirmishes he received considerable damage from the *Macedonian* horse. *Perdiccas* did not venture to hazard an engagement, but was chiefly attentive to defend the principal cities. At length, having entered into a correspondence with one *Seuthes*, a near relation of the *Thracian* king, he promised him his sister *Stratonica*, with a vast fortune, in case he should bring about a peace. *Seuthes*, accepting of the offer, soon prevailed with *Sytacles* to return to his own dominions, and had his wife given him with

The *Athenians* stir up the king of *Thrace* against *Perdiccas*.

a large

a large ſum of money, *Amyntas* being left in the ſame melancholy ſtate he was in before the war *.

Perdiccas now wanting to be revenged of the *Athenians*, ſollicited the *Lacedæmonians* their enemies to attack their ſettlements on the *Macedonian* coaſts. The *Lacedæmonians* gladly agreed to this propoſal, which was made in the eighth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, and ſent *Braſidas* thither with a well provided army. *Braſidas*, having marched through *Theſſaly* without oppoſition, arrived at *Dion*, a ſmall city near *Olympus*, when *Perdiccas* declared openly againſt the *Athenians*, and owned that he had called the *Lacedæmonians* to expel them out of his own country and *Thrace*. *Perdiccas* enters into an alliance with the *Lacedæmonians*.

Though he gave out, that he only ſought to protect his own dominions and the *Chalcidians*, who had been perſuaded by him to revolt from the *Athenians*, yet he had formed a deſign of ſubduing the *Lynceſtheans*, a bold and warlike people, very troubleſome to him. *Arrhibæus*, king of the *Lynceſtheans*, however, declaring himſelf the friend of *Sparta*, *Braſidas* refuſed to attack him, which greatly offended *Perdiccas*, who, though he had before furniſhed half the expences of his army, now would only furniſh a third. About this time *Scuthes*, the brother-in-law of *Perdiccas*, ſucceeded *Sytacles*.

Braſidas, in the winter following, blocked up *Amphipolis*, an important city in the poſſeſſion of the *Athenians*, which ſome time after was obliged to ſurrender. *Perdiccas* then joining him, they together made many other conqueſts. Having reduced almoſt the whole country about *Athos*, they marched againſt *Torone*, a ſtrong city in *Chalcidia*, poſſeſſed by the *Athenians*, which *Braſidas* ſurprized in the night without fighting. The *Athenians* ſoon after procuring a truce, made uſe of the time afforded them, thereby to put their affairs in *Thrace* into better order.

Perdiccas, in the mean time, neglected nothing which might tend towards eſtabliſhing the *Macedonian* power ſo effectually, as to leave him for the future without apprehenſions either of *Greeks* or barbarians. He accordingly prevailed with *Braſidas* to march againſt the *Lynceſtheans*, who had neglected to perform their promiſes to that general. *Arrhibæus* aſſembled an army to defend his dominions; but being defeated, his troops were obliged to take ſhelter in their fortreſſes. *Perdiccas* would have purſued them thither, but *Braſidas* would not conſent, becauſe his heart was ſet upon a ſpeedy return to the ſea coaſts. In the mean time, a body of *Illyrians* deſerting from *Perdiccas* to the enemy, the *Macedonians* were ſtruck with ſuch a pannic, that they fled in the night, carrying their king with them by force, without ſo much as ſuffering him to confer with *Braſidas*, who made his retreat not without great difficulty and loſs.

* Thucyd. l. ii. Diod. Sic. lib. xii.

From

From this time there was no right underſtanding between that general and the king, who, looking upon all the *Greeks* as allies that principally regarded their own intereſt, without much regard to the affairs of thoſe in alliance with them, reſolved to act in the ſame manner. He accordingly now concluded a peace with the *Athenians*; and by his intereſt in *Theſſaly*, prevented a body of *Spartans* from paſſing through that country to reinforce *Braſidas*, who was ſoon after killed in an engagement with the *Athenians* before *Amphipolis*.

Perdiccas concludes a peace with the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians*, not long after charging *Perdiccas* with coldneſs in their affairs, poſted troops in ſuch a manner that he had no communication with the ſea. The following year they even made ſeveral inroads into *Macedonia*, when the *Lacedæmonians*, from a deſire of checking their power, ordered the *Chalcidians* to aſſiſt *Perdiccas*. The *Chalcidians*, however, already dreading the power of the *Macedonians*, did not think fit to act as they were directed. From this time we meet with very little concerning *Perdiccas* in the *Greek* hiſtorians: however, it is ſaid, he maintained himſelf in a ſtate of independancy, and notwithſtanding he had to ſtruggle both with the power of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, and was not ſupported by the *Perſians*, he left his kingdom in a better condition, and larger in extent, than he found it.

Archelaus ſucceeds *Perdiccas*.

Perdiccas, after reigning twenty-three years, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Archelaus*, who, it is ſaid, was only his natural ſon, and obtained the kingdom, by throwing his brother, who was the lawful heir, into a well, and paſſing it upon his mother, that he tumbled in by chance as he was purſuing a gooſe. He was a prince of great abilities and application. In the beginning of his reign he fortified ſome of his principal cities, that his neighbours, who were powerful in horſe, and who could eaſily draw aſſiſtance from *Athens*, might meet with ſome interruption, if they ſhould invade his kingdom. He likewiſe took other meaſures for raiſing the courage of his people, and the reputation of the *Macedonian* monarchy. The inhabitants of *Pydna*, alarmed by his proceedings, ſolicited the aid of the *Athenians*, and declared againſt him, upon which he inveſted their city. The *Athenians* ſent a fleet and army to the relief of the beſieged; but having no opportunity to act, they were obliged to return. *Archelaus*, making himſelf maſter of the place, forced the inhabitants to remove twenty furlongs from the ſea. *Archelaus* was greatly diſtinguiſhed for his love of learning and learned men, many of whom he maintained at his court with a generoſity worthy of a prince, converſing freely with them, as if they had been his equals. He is ſaid to have ſtrongly ſollicited the friendſhip of *Socrates*; but that philoſopher, on account of the violences he had committed in the beginning of his reign, declined correſponding with him. *Euripides* the tragic poet was his gueſt, and lived in the greateſt intimacy with him. He was murdered in the 14th year of his reign

He makes himſelf maſter of *Pydna*.

Is murdered.

reign by his favourite *Craterus*, who was put to death four days after.

Orestes, the son of *Archelaus*, succeeding to the crown when a child, *Æropus*, one of the royal blood, governed as protector, and by degrees assumed an absolute power. During his government, *Agesilaus*, returning from *Asia* to *Greece*, desired the liberty of passing through *Macedonia*; *Æropus* answered his messengers, that he would consider of it; which answer being reported to *Agesilaus*, *Let him consider*, said he, *but let us march*, and accordingly he advanced into *Macedonia*. *Æropus* did not think proper to oppose him, but ordered him and his army to be treated with the utmost civility. After a troublesome reign of six years, he was succeeded by his son *Pausanias*, who, before he had reigned a year, was cut off by *Amyntas*, who seized the crown. *Orestes.* *Æropus.* *Pausanias.*

Argæus, another son of *Æropus*, upon the murder of his brother, began to intrigue with the *Macedonian* nobles and with the neighbouring princes, by whose assistance he raised a numerous army, with which he entered *Macedonia*, and *Amyntas* not being able to face him, was forced to abandon the throne. *Argæus* remained in possession of *Macedon* about two years, when he was in his turn dethroned by *Amyntas*, who was assisted by the *Thessalians*. *Amyntas*, soon after his restoration, was engaged in a quarrel with the *Olynthians*, to whom, upon his former departure, he had ceded part of the *Macedonian* territories, which he now unjustly demanded back. The king, persisting in his demand, applied for assistance to the *Lacedæmonians*, who sent *Phœbides* with 10,000 men to support him. The *Olynthians* having defeated *Amyntas* and his allies, the *Spartans* sent a fresh body of troops to *Macedon* under *Tallutius*, the brother of king *Agesilaus*. This general, before the *Olynthians* were ready to take the field, wasted their country; but was soon after defeated and slain by them, with the loss of 1200 *Spartans*. The *Lacedæmonians* sent a third army to *Macedon*, which they entrusted to their king *Agesipolis*, who died the following year, and was succeeded by *Polyndas*. This new general gained several victories, and at length besieging *Olynthus*, obliged the *Olynthians* to agree to a peace prescribed by *Amyntas*. The *Macedonian* king also procured the friendship of the *Athenians*, by insinuating that *Amphipolis* belonged to them, and that he would do all in his power to put it into their hands. He likewise, by good offices, bound the *Thessalians* to his interest; and after a reign of 24 years, died much respected by all the *Grecian* states. He left behind him three legitimate sons, *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*, and several illegitimate ones. *Argæus.* *Amyntas.* The *Olynthians* obliged to submit to a peace with *Amyntas.*

Alexander, who succeeded his father, was a prince of great parts, but of little probity. Having promised his assistance to the *Thessalians*, who were in danger of being enslaved by *Alexander* of *Pheræ*, that tyrant invaded *Macedon*; but was defeated by *Alexander*, who marched directly to *Larissa*, the capital of *Thessaly*, where he was received with great joy by the inhabitants. Their example was followed by many other considerable *Alexander* II.

cities in that country, the king promiſing to reſtore them all to their liberty. He, however, neglecting his promiſe, and puting garriſons in every one of them, the *Theſſalians* found that they had only exchanged one tyrant for another, and applied to the *Thebans* to be delivered from both. *Pelopidas* being ordered to march with a body of *Thebans* to the relief of the *Theſſalians*, the king of *Macedon*, upon this news, immediately began to execute the treaty he had made with the *Theſſalians*, and to evacuate their towns; and the tyrant of *Pheræ* alſo began to act with greater moderation.

Ptolemy, one of the baſtard brothers of *Alexander*, about this time began to raiſe commotions in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and prevailed with many of the nobles to favour his party. *Alexander* applying to *Pelopidas*, that great general came to *Macedonia*, and having there accommodated both parties, left the throne to *Alexander*, and carried *Philip* his younger brother, with ſeveral young *Macedonian* noblemen as hoſtages to *Thebes*. *Pelopidas* was no ſooner gone, than *Alexander* was ſlain, after he had reigned two years, and his brother *Perdiccas* mounted the throne. Immediately after his ſucceſſion, the throne was claimed by one *Pauſanias*, a prince of the royal houſe; and he was ſo agreeable to the people, that the whole family of *Amyntas* were in the utmoſt danger. What were the original ſources of theſe diſputes is not mentioned; but it is moſt likely that the preſent factions ſprung from thoſe which diſturbed the kingdom before the reign of *Amyntas*. *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian*, about this time arriving with a ſmall fleet on the *Macedonian* coaſt, *Eurydice*, the mother of *Perdiccas*, prevailed on him to eſpouſe the cauſe of her family. He accordingly drove out *Pauſanias*, and reſtored *Perdiccas*, who ſoon after was again diſturbed by his baſtard brother *Ptolemy*. This pretender by degrees wrought himſelf into ſuch favour with the people, that he aſſumed the royal enſigns, and diſcharged the functions of a king, a very ſmall part of the country owning the authority of *Perdiccas*, who ſolicited in vain the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians* and *Spartans*. *Pelopidas* at length generouſly raiſed a ſmall body of mercenaries, and came to the aſſiſtance of *Perdiccas*. Though his troops baſely deſerted him at the perſuaſion of *Ptolomy*, yet the pretender was ſo awed by him, that he laid down his arms, and ſubmitted to his deciſion. He ſettled *Perdiccas* on the throne, and took *Ptolemy*'s ſon, and 50 others of his faction, as hoſtages. *Philip*, the king's brother, who the year before had been carried to *Thebes*, was committed to *Epaminondas*, who had in his houſe a *Pythagorean* philoſopher of great reputation. Under his care he learned the principles of philoſophy, and making *Epaminondas* his pattern, learned from him his military ſkill and activity, which were the leaſt parts of that great man's excellencies; but of his temperance, juſtice, magnanimity, and clemency, *Philip* poſſeſſed no ſhare at all, either from nature or imitation. A few years after *Ptolemy* had ceded his pretenſions to the throne, *Perdiccas* was engaged in a war with the *Illyrians*, by whom he

He is aſſiſted by *Pelopidas* againſt his brother.

Is afterwards murdered.

Perdiccas eſtabliſhed on the throne by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*.

He is killed in a battle with the *Illyrians*.

was defeated and slain in a great battle; leaving behind him a son named *Amyntas*, then in his infancy.

Philip, the brother of *Perdiccas*, upon the news of his death, made his escape from *Thebes*, and came to *Macedon*. Upon his arrival, he found his countrymen in the greatest consternation. The kingdom was threatned with an invasion from the *Illyrians*, who were assembling an army for that purpose; and the *Pæonians* were actually ravaging the eastern frontiers. The throne was possessed by an infant, and at the same time claimed by two powerful competitors; *Pausanias* supported by the *Thracians*, and *Argæus* by the *Athenians*. *Philip*, though but twenty-two years old, was far from being discouraged by those impending clouds of mischief; but on the contrary, by his intrepidity and eloquence, wherein he excelled, he revived the drooping spirits of the *Macedonians*. Bef. Ch. 360.

His brother *Philip* assumes the administration of the government.

He applied himself directly to reform the military discipline, and, by his courteous and affable behaviour, secured the affections of the people. Observing that the *Athenians* declared for *Argæus*, merely in hopes of receiving assistance from him against *Amphipolis*, he declared that city free, by which step he in a manner attached the *Amphipolitans* more strongly to his interest, even by disjoining their city from his kingdom, and frustrated the *Athenian* designs in that quarter. By making considerable presents to the chief men of *Pæonia*, his ambassadors, whom he sent thither, procured a peace from the *Pæonians*. He likewise prevented any disturbances from *Pausanias*, by bribing the *Thracian* king, who had promised to assist him.

The *Athenian* admiral, in the mean time, sending *Argæus* with a body of mercenaries to *Ægæ*, he in vain endeavoured to prevail with the inhabitants to espouse his cause. In his retreat to *Methone*, where he had left the *Athenian* commander, he was overtaken by *Philip*, and cut off with a considerable body of his men. *Philip*, contented with the victory he had gained, thought it prudent not to irritate the *Athenians* too much, and granted an honourable capitulation to the remains of their troops, whom he had surrounded, allowing them full liberty to retire. Immediately after, he sent ambassadors to *Athens*, and giving up all pretensions to *Amphipolis*, prevailed on the *Athenians* to agree to a peace.

His active and indefatigable pains, joined to his good fortune, so charmed the *Macedonians*, that they set aside the infant son of *Perdiccas*, and declared *Philip* king, an oracle being then mentioned, which foretold that *Macedonia* should flourish greatly under one of the sons of *Amyntas*. Soon after the conclusion of the peace with the *Athenians*, the king of *Pæonia* dying, *Philip* immediately invaded the territories of the *Pæonians* with a powerful and well disciplined army, and soon reduced them to such extremities, that they were constrained to submit to him, and become his subjects. He is declared king. He reduces the *Pæonians*.

Having then encouraged the *Macedonians* to revenge the injuries they had received from the *Illyrians*, he invaded that coun-

Obliges the *Illyrians* to give up all their conquests in *Macedon.*

try with an army of 10,000 foot and 600 horſe. *Bradylis*, king of *Illyria*, had endeavoured to prevent this invaſion, by offering to conclude a peace, on the condition that each ſhould keep what he then poſſeſſed: but this offer being rejected, he aſſembled an army of 10,000 men and 500 horſe to oppoſe *Philip*, who entirely defeated him, and ſlew 7000 of his men. The *Illyrians*, after this defeat, ſolicited a peace, which they obtained, by delivering up all the cities they held in *Macedon.*

Philip was now greatly honoured and reſpected by all the *Macedonians*, who ſaw their kingdom already in a flouriſhing ſtate by his politic and enterprizing genius. As the cities on the coaſt were wealthy, and claimed to be independant, *Philip* formed a reſolution of reducing them; and, without regarding his late declaration in favour of *Amphipolis*, he ſuddenly inveſted that city. The *Amphipolitans*, alarmed by the late ſucceſſes of the *Macedonians*, offered themſelves and their city to the *Athenians*, if they would defend them from the enemy. The famous *Demoſthenes*, who was already ſuſpicious of the ambitious deſigns of *Philip*, warmly urged the *Athenians* to ſuccour *Amphipolis*; but *Philip*'s agents giving out that he intended to deliver the city to the *Athenian* republic when taken, they gave themſelves no trouble about his enterprizes. He ſoon after took the place by ſtorm, and having put to death or baniſhed ſuch as were not in his intereſt, he treated the reſt of the inhabitants kindly. He quickly after reduced *Pydna* and *Potidæa*, in the laſt of which was an *Athenian* garriſon, which he diſmiſſed with all the marks of honour. As he did not think himſelf powerful enough to attack the *Olynthians*, he pretended to be their friend, and entering into an alliance with them, gave them *Pydna* and *Potidæa*, acting according to his maxim, *That thoſe are to be obliged whom we cannot overcome.*

Makes himſelf maſter of *Amphipolis, Pydna*, and *Potidæa.* Bef. Ch. 358.

Subdues the country between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus.* Bef. Ch. 357.

The *Athenians* now ſaw themſelves not only ſtript of part of their territories, but of their allies in thoſe parts, yet were nevertheleſs lulled into ſecurity by the agents of *Philip*, who, being ſenſible he had nothing to fear from them, turned his arms northwards, and conquered from the *Thracians* all the country between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus*, in which were many gold mines. *Philip*, who looked upon gold as the beſt weapon, and the beſt ſervant of the world, reſolved to ſecure the poſſeſſion of this country, fortified *Crenides*, and changing its name into *Philippi*, made it the capital of his dominions. He likewiſe gave directions for working the gold mines to greater advantage than had been made of them before, by which means he drew from them a yearly revenue of 1000 talents.

The birth of *Alexander* the Great. Bef. Chriſt 356.

Philip, in the fourth year of his reign, being then in the field, received advice that his wife *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, king of *Epire*, was brought to bed of a ſon at *Pella*. At the ſame time news arrived, that his chariot had gained the prize at the *Olympic* games, and quickly after a third courier came, with an account that *Parmenio* had beaten the *Illyrians*. This ſurpriſing run of good fortune is ſaid to have affected *Philip*

ſo

ſo much, that he wiſhed it might be tempered with ſome ſlight miſhap, from an apprehenſion that his fortune might decline as ſwiftly as it had riſen.

All the ſtates of *Greece* were at this time in confuſion, occaſioned by the *Phocian*, or *ſacred*, *war*, ſo called from the ſacrilege of the *Phocians*, who had plundered the temple of *Delphi*. *Philip* ſeized this opportunity of extending his frontiers, and the city of *Methone* having given him ſome offence, he inveſted that place. It is ſaid, that one *Aſter*, a moſt excellent archer, was at this time recommended to him, with this commendation, that he could ſtrike the ſwifteſt bird in its flight; *Very well*, replied *Philip*, *we will call for him when we make war with ſtarlings*. This ſo ſtung the archer, that he entered the beſieged city, and when *Philip* was one day viewing the place, diſcharged an arrow at him with this inſcription, *For the right eye of* Philip, which it accordingly ſtruck and put out. The king ſhot back the ſame arrow with this inſcription, Philip, *when the town is taken, will cauſe* After *to be hanged*, which he accordingly performed *. *Philip*'s misfortune was in ſome meaſure alleviated by the ſkill of his ſurgeon, who preſerved the form of the king's eye from ſuffering any diſfigurement. After an obſtinate defence the inhabitants of *Methone* ſurrendered, on condition of having liberty to quit the place; which being granted them, *Philip* razed the city, and divided its territories among his ſoldiers.

Philip exTends his conqueſts in *Thrace*.

Reduces *Methone*.

Philip, after the reduction of *Methone*, was invited by the *Aleuadæ*, or *Theſſalian* chiefs, into their country, againſt *Lycophron*, the brother and ſucceſſor of *Alexander*, tyrant of *Pheræ*, who had been murdered by his own wife and brethren. *Lycophron*, finding himſelf too weak to oppoſe *Philip* and the *Theſſalians* who had joined him, upon his entering their country, obtained a reinforcement of 7000 *Phocians*, under the command of *Phayllus*, the brother of *Onomarchus*; but was nevertheleſs defeated by the *Macedonians*, who drove the *Phocians* out of *Theſſaly*. *Onomarchus* immediately marched with all his forces to ſupport *Lycophron*, and defeated *Philip* in two general engagements, obliging him to retire out of *Theſſaly* in great diſtreſs.

Marches into *Theſſaly*. Bef. Ch. 353.

He is twice defeated, and obliged to leave that country.

Philip, convinced that the reduction of *Theſſaly* was abſolutely neceſſary to his propoſed empire, applied himſelf with all diligence to the recruiting of his troops, and not long after again entered *Theſſaly*, where many *Theſſalians* joining him, his army amounted to 20,000 foot and 3000 horſe. *Onomarchus* arriving with 20,000 foot and 5000 horſe to the aſſiſtance of *Lycophron*, a general battle ſoon enſued, in which *Philip* gained a complete victory, 6000 *Phocians* with their general being ſlain, and 3000 taken priſoners. *Philip* cauſed the body of *Onomarchus* to be hung up with ignominy, and denied funeral rites to all the *Phocians* who were ſlain, looking upon them as ſacrilegious perſons. *Lycophron*, and his brother *Pitholaus*, now reſigned their

He at laſt defeats the *Theſſalian* tyrant.

* Suidas in voce λαδειν. Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. vii.

principality, and delivered up the city of *Pherea* to *Philip*, who, as he had promiſed, reſtored all the *Theſſalian* cities to their liberty. Having thus ſecured the friendſhip of the *Theſſalians*, he attempted to paſs the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*, to carry the war into the country of the *Phocians*; but the *Athenians*, who were allies of the *Phocians*, marched to *Thermopylæ* with the utmoſt expedition, and obliged *Philip* to lay aſide his deſign.

He meditates the ruin of the *Athenian* power.

Philip, from this time, reſolved to undermine the power of the *Athenians*, who, he perceived, were the only people of *Greece* capable of defeating his projects. He therefore fitted out a fleet compoſed of light ſhips, which continually diſturbed their trade, and encreaſing his army by new levies, projected the deſtruction of the *Athenian* colonies in *Thrace*. Mean while, in *Athens* he bribed ſeveral of the eminent orators, who charmed the people with deluſive hopes of peace, or pretending a zeal for the war, frightened them with very expenſive eſtimates. *Demoſthenes* was the only man in *Athens* who had a juſt idea of the dangerous deſigns of *Philip*, and who had likewiſe capacity enough to point out the proper methods for reducing his exorbitant greatneſs. He adviſed his countrymen to tranſport 2000 foot and 200 horſe into *Macedonia*, aſſuring them, that if they had once an army there, how ſmall ſoever, the enemies of *Philip* would advance it to a formidable greatneſs. *Philip*, being informed of this advice, which was neglected by the *Athenians*, provided with greater vigour, being determined at all events to have neither ſtate nor prince, within the limits of *Macedon*, independant of himſelf. Though in the beginning of his reign he had concluded a peace with the *Olynthians*, and had even given them certain cities and territories, this was only to lull them aſleep, and to ſave himſelf the expence of garriſons, when it ſuited not his circumſtances to maintain them. As his power was now firmly fixed, and very formidable, he reſolved to ſubdue the *Olynthian* republick, which had been hitherto an overmatch for *Macedon*. The *Olynthians*, as ſoon as *Philip* advanced towards the *Chalcidian* region, put themſelves on their guard, and ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*. *Demoſthenes* failed not to eſpouſe their cauſe, and having ſhewn the danger of allowing the *Olynthians* to be overpowered, urged that a conſiderable ſuccour ſhould be inſtantly ſent to them. *Demades*, and the reſt of the orators, who were corrupted by *Philip*, oppoſed this propoſition with all their eloquence; but as they neither had truth on their ſide, nor a power of ſpeaking equal to *Demoſthenes*, the *Athenians* followed his advice. *Philip*, in the mean time, having taken and razed *Zeira*, a town in the *Chalcidian* region, marched againſt *Mycaberna* and *Torone*, both of which he ſubdued. After this he openly attacked the *Olynthians*, defeated them twice in the field, and at laſt ſhut them up in their city.

He reſolves to make war on the *Olynthians*.

As the *Athenian* ſuccours conſiſted of mercenaries, their fidelity was ſuſpected by the *Olynthians*, who again applied to the *Athenians* for aſſiſtance, entreating that it might be of their natives. *Demoſthenes* ardently ſeconding this motion, the *Athenians* ſent

17 gal-

17 gallies, and a land army of 2000 foot and 3000 horſe, all citizens of *Athens*. This reinforcement gaining ſome ſmall advantages, the *Athenians* grew ſo elate, that *Demoſthenes* could not prevail on them to take any further care of the war. *Philip* in the mean time, perſevering in his deſign, was ſo ſucceſsful as to corrupt two of the principal magiſtrates of the city, *Euthycrates* and *Laſthenes*, who baſely betrayed their country, and opened the gates to the *Macedonians*. *Philip* gave up the houſes of the *Olynthians* to be plundered, and expoſed their perſons to ſale, acquiring thereby an immenſe treaſure, and at the ſame time ridding himſelf of his implacable enemies. He then celebrated *Olympic* games in honour of his conqueſt, cauſing ſplendid ſhews to be exhibited, making magnificent feaſts, and giving great rewards to ſuch as had ſignalized themſelves during the ſiege. The king, on this occaſion, obſerving *Satyrus* a player, whom he admitted to great familiarity with him, appearing inſenſible of the general joy, aſked him how he came to look ſo dull; and why he would not ſuffer himſelf to be obliged as well as other people? He anſwered, *I don't either affect gravity, Sir, or put any ſlight on your preſents; on the contrary, I ſhould be extremely glad if you would give me yonder girls*, pointing to two young women among the captives. *They are the daughters of a man in whoſe houſe I lodged, and I would wiſh to give them ſuch portions as may procure them honeſt huſbands*. *Philip* commended his generoſity, granted his requeſt, and loaded him with preſents of great value *. About the ſame time *Euthycrates* and *Laſthenes*, complaining againſt the *Macedonian* ſoldiers for calling them traitors, *Philip* gave them this anſwer: *You muſt never mind what ſuch fellows ſay, they are a ſort of clowniſh people, who will call a ſpade a ſpade* †.

He reduces *Olynthus*. Bef. Ch. 348.

The *Phocian*, or ſacred war ſtill continuing, *Philip* was ſolicited by the confederates on both ſides to eſpouſe their cauſe. He politicly held both parties in ſuſpenſe, and though in his heart he favoured the alliance againſt the *Phocians*, which he judged would beſt ſerve his own intereſt, yet he treated the ambaſſadors of the oppoſite party with great complaiſance, particularly thoſe of the *Athenians*, from which republic ten plenipotentiaries arrived, to treat of a full and laſting peace with him. *Philip* immediately named *Antipater*, *Parmenio*, and *Eurylochus* to confer with them. *Demoſthenes*, who was one of the deputies, being obliged to return to *Athens*, recommended it to his collegues not to carry on their negotiations with *Philip*'s miniſters, but to proceed with all diligence to court; they however, inſtead of following his inſtructions, ſuffered themſelves to be put off by the arts of *Philip* and his miniſters. The king, in the mean time, took from the *Athenians* ſuch places in *Thrace* as might beſt cover his frontiers, aſſuring the

He concludes a peace with the *Athenians*.

* Diod. Sic. lib. 17.

† Plut. in apothegm.

Athenian deputies, that his good will ſhould be as beneficial to their ſtate as ever their colonies had been. When a peace was at laſt concluded, the ratification of it was deferred, till *Philip* had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Pherea* in *Theſſaly*, and ſaw himſelf at the head of a numerous army. *Demoſthenes* ſtill inſiſted, that *Philip* ought not to be implicitly truſted, but the *Athenians*, who were deſirous of quiet, and addicted to pleaſure, were influenced by the other orators, eſpecially as *Phocion*, the worthieſt man in the republic, did not declare againſt *Philip*, from a perſuaſion that his countrymen were no longer fit for great undertakings.

Philip paſſes *Thermopylæ*, and puts an end to the ſacred war. Eſt. Ch. 346.

The *Athenians* thinking it now needleſs to watch the motions of *Philip*, allowed him to paſs the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ* with his army, without knowing whether he would fall on *Phocis* or *Thebes*. He ſoon put an end to their conjectures, by commanding his ſoldiers to put on crowns of laurel, thereby declaring them the troops of *Apollo*; and cauſing the *Phocians* to be declared ſacrilegious perſons, entered their territories with an air of triumph, which ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they immediately ſubmitted. He remitted their ſentence to the *Amphyctions*, or grand council of *Greece*, who ordained, that the *Phocians* ſhould be deprived of their double voice in the council, which ſhould be given to the *Macedonians*; that they ſhould only inhabit in villages, pay a yearly tribute of 60 talents, and neither make uſe of horſes or arms, till they had repaid to the temple of *Apollo* the money they had ſacrilegiouſly carried from thence. Other regulations were made for reſettling the affairs of religion and ſtate throughout *Greece*, which *Philip* executed with great exactneſs and moderation, and then retired peaceably with his army to *Macedon*.

The *Athenians*, who had been allies of the *Phocians*, and had received large ſubſidies from them, were far from being pleaſed with this expedition of *Philip*. They now perceived, that in conſequence of their late peace, the *Phocians* had been ruined, *Philip* had become maſter of *Thermopylæ*, and had raiſed his intereſt in *Greece*. They ſeemed inclined to queſtion *Philip*'s election into the council of the *Amphictyons*, and even to proceed to an open war; but their unſeaſonable reſentment was checked by *Demoſthenes*, who told them, that though he was not for making the peace, he was, however, for keeping it, and that it would be the heighth of imprudence to think of oppoſing not only *Philip*, but all thoſe ſtates who concurred with him in the late tranſaction.

He extends his conqueſts in *Thrace*.

Philip, having now rendered himſelf reſpectable all over *Greece*, turned his arms againſt the *Thracians*, and by his conqueſts in that country terribly incommoded the *Athenians*. *Diopithes*, the governor of their colonies in thoſe parts, perceiving well what end *Philip* had in view, did not ſtay for inſtructions from home; but aſſembling a body of troops, made an incurſion into the *Macedonian* territories, while *Philip* was abſent with his army. *Philip*, rather than divide his army, and hazard

hazard a defeat, ſent no relief to the provinces that were ra- The *Athe-*
vaged by the enemy; but made complaints at *Athens* againſt *nians* in
Diopithes. Many of his partiſans exclaimed vehemently againſt that coun-
that governor; but *Demoſthenes* defended him, and undertook try invade
to ſhew that he deſerved the praiſe, and not the cenſure of the his terri-
Athenians. He therefore moved, that inſtead of diſowning tories.
what *Diopithes* had done, they ſhould ſend him recruits, and An. Chr.
ſhew the king of *Macedon* that they knew how to protect their 344.
territories, and maintain the dignity of their ſtate as well as
their anceſtors. His diſcourſe had ſuch an effect, that a decree
was made conformable to his motion. The cauſe of this rup-
ture is not clearly narrated by hiſtorians; ſo that it is doubtful
which of the parties were the aggreſſors. *Cherſobleptes*, the
ſon of *Cotys* king of *Thrace*, finding himſelf unable to oppoſe
Philip, had given up the *Cherſoneſe* to the *Athenians*, reſerving
only the city of *Cardia*, which ſtood on the iſthmus. *Philip*,
in this campaign having diſpoſſeſſed *Cherſobleptes* of his kingdom,
the *Cardians* voluntarily ſurrendered to him, rather than fall
under the *Athenians*, which gave *Diopithes* a pretence for be-
ginning hoſtilities.

While affairs ſtood thus between *Philip* and the *Athenians*, He ſud-
the *Illyrians* harraſſed the frontiers of *Macedon* next to them, denly in-
and threatned a formidable invaſion. *Philip*, by quick marches vades *Il-*
arriving on the borders of *Illyrium*, ſtruck the barbarians with *lyrium*.
ſuch a pannic, that they were glad to compound for their for-
mer robberies at the price he was pleaſed to ſet. Moſt of the
Greek cities in *Thrace* were now prevailed upon to ſeek the
friendſhip of the king, and entered into a league with him for
their mutual defence.

About this time the effect of *Philip*'s negotiations in the *Pelo-*
ponneſe began to appear. The *Argives* and *Meſſenians* applying to
Thebes for protection againſt the oppreſſive government of the *Spar-*
tans, the *Thebans* ſought to open a paſſage for *Philip* into the *Pelo-*
ponneſe. *Philip* propoſed to procure a decree from the *Amphictyons*,
directing the *Lacedæmonians* to leave *Argos* and *Meſſene* free;
and if the *Spartans* refuſed obedience to that ſentence, he was
reſolved to enforce it by arms. The *Athenians*, on this occa-
ſion were ſolicited both by the *Spartans*, the *Argives*, and *Meſ-*
ſenians, and *Philip*, to uſe his own expreſſion, was outwreſtled
by *Demoſthenes*, who, by a vehement harangue, not only deter-
mined the *Athenians* to become the avowed enemies of the king,
but alſo made the *Argives* and *Meſſenians* not over fond of him
for an ally.

Philip therefore laid aſide this enterprize, the affairs of *Eu-* He en-
bœa appearing to him more intereſting. This iſland, which gages in
was ſeparated from *Greece* by the narrow ſtrait called *Euripus*, the diſ-
was full of great cities, each of which was a kind of republic; putes of
but, to preſerve its independancy from the reſt, courted the *Eubœa*.
friendſhip ſometimes of the *Athenians*, and ſometimes of the
Thebans and *Lacedæmonians*. In ſome late diſputes in the iſland,
one of the parties had ſolicited the aſſiſtance of *Philip*, who ſent
a body

a body of troops thither and demoliſhed *Porthmos*, the ſtrongeſt city in thoſe parts, leaving the country under the government of three lords, whom *Demoſthenes* calls tyrants. The *Macedonians*, not long after, took *Oreus*, which was left under the government of five magiſtrates. *Plutarch* of *Eretria*, one of the moſt conſiderable perſons in *Eubæa*, went to *Athens*, to ſolicite the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*; and *Demoſthenes* warmly recommending his cauſe to the people, they ſent a very ſlender army thither under the command of *Phocion*. This general, by his prudent conduct, ſoon obliged *Philip* to drop the proſecution of his deſigns in *Eubæa*.

The enterprizing king only retired in one quarter, to become more formidable in another. Having formed a deſign of extending his conqueſts in *Thrace*, he made extraordinary preparations for the campaign; and encreaſing his army conſiderably by new levies, appointed his ſon *Alexander* regent of the kingdom during his abſence. When the ſeaſon of the year permitted, he began his march with 30,000 men, and advancing northwards, inveſted *Perinthus*, one of the moſt conſiderable cities on the coaſt of the *Propontis*, and faithfully attached to the *Athenians*. The ſiege was hardly formed, when he received advice that ſome of his neighbours had taken arms; but quickly after news arrived, that *Alexander*, who was not then above 15 years of age, had marched with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition againſt the invaders, that being routed by him, they had retired with the utmoſt precipitation. *Philip* fearing that this ſucceſs might make his ſon too adventurous, and that fortune might not always prove ſo favourable, ſent for him to the camp.

He beſieges *Perinthus*.

Alexander defeats the *Illyrians*.

Perinthus being ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, its inhabitants made a moſt gallant defence. *Philip*, on his ſide, preſſed it cloſely, both by his battering rams and moveable towers, and by ſapping. The *Athenians*, at the ſolicitation of the *Perinthian* ambaſſadors, and the perſuaſions of *Demoſthenes*, ſent ſuccours to the beſieged, but unfortunately gave the command of thoſe troops to *Chares*, who was vain, luxurious, inſolent, haughty, and unjuſt; and tho' very indifferently ſkilled in military affairs, yet full of promiſes of what he would perform. His profligate and rapacious character was ſo well known, that the *Perinthians*, ſtraitned as they then were, refuſed to admit him into their port. *Philip*, irritated by the proceedings of the *Athenians*, and apprehenſive leſt their engaging in a war ſhould revive that ſpirit of ambition and appetite for glory which had in former times rendered their republic ſo powerful, wrote them a long letter, in which he recapitulated all the grievances he had to complain of againſt them, and pretended to infer, that they ought not to intermeddle or intereſt themſelves with his tranſactions. He juſtly accuſed them of ſeveral arbitrary proceedings, and intermixed in his account of theſe, other facts which he wanted to be conſidered in the ſame view; expatiating at the ſame time upon his own moderation and ſtrict obſervance of treaties; ſo that the *Athenians*, in all probability, would have been deterred from acting any further;

further, if *Demoſthenes*, the conſtant adverſary of *Philip*, had not undertaken to open their eyes. He warmly repreſented to them, that the king's deſign was only to ſuſpend their judgements, and to hinder their taking any vigorous reſolution, till he had ſubdued ſuch places in the country, where his army now lay, as would leave him without apprehenſions from that quarter. News arriving about this time at *Athens* that *Chares* was excluded the ports of the allies, great debates aroſe in the popular aſſembly, till *Phocion* repreſented, that the inſult was not offered to the *Athenians*, but to their rapacious admiral; and that if they would ſend back the ſuccours under a man of honour, they would retrieve their reputation. This motion being highly approved, *Phocion* himſelf was named admiral; which command he readily accepted.

Philip, by his uninterrupted proſperity, had alarmed the king of *Perſia* as well as the *Greeks*. When, therefore, he led his troops againſt *Perinthus*, the great king, as he was ſtiled by the *Greeks*, ordered the governors of his maritime provinces to ſupply the place with all things in their power. In conſequence of this order, they filled it with troops, granted ſubſidies in ready money, and ſent beſides great convoys of proviſions and ammunition. The *Byzantines* alſo concluding that they would be the next who would ſuffer, ſent to *Perinthus* the flower of their troops, and all neceſſaries for an obſtinate defence. The difficulties which *Philip* had to ſtruggle with in this enterprize, only ſerved to ſtimulate his ambition. As ſoon, therefore, as he ſaw a ſmall breach made in the wall, he ordered a general aſſault; but after a great ſlaughter on both ſides, he was obliged to retreat. Finding it impoſſible to gain the place by force, he left it blocked up, and marched with the greateſt part of his army againſt *Byzantium*; which being exhauſted by the ſuccours ſent to *Perinthus*, would have quickly fallen into his hands, if *Phocion* had not very opportunely arrived. *Philip* now ſeeing all hopes of ſucceeding taken away, raiſed both his ſieges, and marched off with an army exceſſively haraſſed, and not a little diſpirited. *Phocion* ſoon made himſelf maſter of ſuch places as the *Macedonians* had garriſoned in thoſe parts, took many of their ſhips, and by frequent deſcents raiſed contributions throughout the maritime provinces of *Macedonia*.

Philip beſieges *Byzantium*, but is obliged to retire from that city, and *Perinthus*. Bef. Chr. 339.

Philip having concluded a peace with thoſe ſtates, to recover the reputation of his arms, turned them inſtantly againſt a *Scythian* prince, who ſought to take advantage of his misfortune. Having routed the *Scythians*, and enriched his army with their plunder, he, in his return, attacked the *Triballi*, who refuſed him a paſſage, unleſs he would ſhare his plunder with them. This engagement had well nigh proved fatal to *Philip*; for being wounded in the thigh, and his horſe killed under him, he was trampled on the ground, and ſurrounded by the enemy. The young *Alexander* obſerving his danger, flew immediately to his aſſiſtance, and covering his father's body with his

Makes war on the *Scythians*, and defeats the *Triballi*.

his ſhield, repulſed the barbarians. *Philip* being remounted gained a ſignal victory, and on his return to *Macedon*, was received with loud acclamations; tho' in himſelf he was much diſſatisfied. He found himſelf greatly diſtreſſed by the *Athenian* fleets, which continually infeſted his coaſts; and that republic itſelf now ſhewed no inclination to a peace.

As he found it abſolutely neceſſary, for the ſucceſs of his ambitious ſchemes, that the *Athenian* power ſhould be ſuppreſſed, he formed a project for invading *Attica*, tho' he had no fleet to tranſport his troops, and ſuſpected that both the *Theſſalians* and *Thebans* would oppoſe his paſſage thro' the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*. To obviate all theſe difficulties, he had recourſe to *Athens* itſelf, where, by means of his partizans, he procured the orator *Æſchines* to be ſent their deputy to the *Amphictyons*. A queſtion being propoſed in this council, whether the *Locrians* had not been guilty of ſacrilege in plowing the fields of of *Cyrrha* in the neighbourhood of *Delphi*? *Æſchines* propoſed a ſurvey, which was accordingly agreed to. The *Amphictyons*, as they were ſurveying the fields, being aſſaulted by the *Locrians*, decreed that an army ſhould be raiſed to puniſh the delinquents. The *Greek* ſtates paying but a ſmall attention to this decree, and neglecting to ſend their quotas of troops to the rendezvous, *Æſchines*, in a long and eloquent harangue, repreſented the neceſſity of having their decrees reverenced, and moved that they ſhould elect *Philip* for their general, and pray him to execute their decree. This motion being approved of, it was decreed that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Philip* in the name of *Apollo* and the *Amphictyons*, to notify to him, that the ſtates of *Greece* had unanimouſly choſen him their general. Thus, of a ſudden, *Philip*, by this round-about method, acquired all that he ſought, and immediately marched with his army to execute the commands of the *Amphictyons* in appearance, but in truth to fulfill his own deſigns. Having entered *Greece*, inſtead of medling with the *Locrians*, he ſeized *Elatea*, a great city in *Phocis* on the river *Cephiſus*, it being one of his baſe maxims, that an advantage gained by policy, or, what meant the ſame thing with him, by treachery, was more glorious than a conqueſt by arms.

He is choſen general by the *Amphictyons*.

The *Greeks*, inſtead of running to arms, ſtood amazed at his proceeding; and the *Athenians*, who were in the utmoſt conſternation, called an extraordinary aſſembly, and demanded advice of *Demoſthenes* by name. That great orator exhorted them to ſend ambaſſadors throughout all *Greece*, but eſpecially to the *Thebans*, to engage them to riſe at once, and oppoſe the *Macedonian* torrent before it bore down all. *Demoſthenes*, with ſome other ambaſſadors, were inſtantly ſent by the *Athenians* to *Thebes*; and he having prevailed with the *Thebans* to join in an alliance againſt *Philip*, concerted with them the proper meaſures to be taken. *Philip* finding his ambaſſadors ſlighted by the *Thebans*, ſent deputies to *Athens* to treat of peace, and is ſaid to have engaged the prieſteſs of *Delphi* to prophcſy

nothing

nothing but deſtruction to thoſe who oppoſed him. *Demoſ-* The *Athe-*
thenes prevailed with the *Athenians* to reject the propoſitions *nians* and
made to them by *Philip*, and ridiculed the oracle, by telling *Thebans*
them that *Pythia philippized*. The *Athenian* and *Theban* troops enter into
accordingly joined at *Eleuſis*, and prepared for a battle, which an alli-
a few days after was fought at *Cheronæa*, where *Philip* gained ance to
a compleat victory. This ſucceſs, which eſtabliſhed the pre- oppoſe
eminence of *Macedon*, ſo affected *Philip*, that he danced about him.
like one diſtracted with joy. He cauſed the decree of *Demoſ-* They are
thenes to be ſung in his preſence, ſpoke contemptibly of the defeated
powers of *Greece*, and inſulted his priſoners, till *Demades*, an by him at
Athenian priſoner, by a ſevere reproof, checked his indecent *Cheronæa*.
tranſports. He inſtantly returned to his uſual moderation, or-
dered *Demades* and all the other priſoners to be releaſed, and at
their requeſt even returned them their baggage. He carried his
moderation ſtill farther; for he concluded a peace with the
Athenians on their own terms; and leaving a good garriſon in
Thebes, did the reſt of the *Beotians* no manner of hurt.

Philip having now eſtabliſhed himſelf as ſovereign of *Greece*,
did not diſtrub his countrymen, whom he had enſlaved, with
the rattling of their chains, tho' he did not ſpare to ſhew them,
when there was a neceſſity, that he was, and would be, their
maſter. Having convoked a general aſſembly of the *Greeks*, he He is cho-
was therein declared generaliſſimo, and appointed their leader ſen gene-
againſt the *Perſians*, with full authority. By virtue of his new raliſſimo
commiſſion, he ſettled a general peace among the ſtates, and of the
appointing the quota which each of them ſhould furniſh for the *Greeks*
war, he returned into *Macedon*, and began to make great pre- againſt
parations for his *Aſiatic* expedition. the *Per-*

The *Greeks*, from the time of *Xerxes'* invaſion, had projected *ſians*.
a return of his viſit, with a view of making an abſolute con-
queſt of the *Perſian* dominions, or at leaſt of ſo much of them
as might ſuit them beſt. One of the *Spartan* kings before *Age-*
ſilaus, *Herodotus* tells us, gave ear to a plan laid before him
for that purpoſe; and *Ageſilaus*, with a ſmall army, actually
made a conſiderable conqueſt in *Aſia*, being encouraged to that
expedition by the retreat of the 10,000 *Greeks* under *Xenophon*,
who forced their way thro' the greateſt part of the *Perſian* em-
pire in ſpite of all oppoſition. An *Aſiatic* expedition, it is
ſaid, was alſo meditated by *Jaſon* of *Theſſaly*, a little before his
death. The preſent deſign of *Philip* ſeems to have been well
matured, and formed upon very ſolid principles of policy. The
weakneſs of the *Perſian* empire was well known all over *Greece*,
and the riches of its provinces were a great bait to the *Greeks*.
The whole power of *Greece* was now centered in *Philip*, who
beſides ſaw himſelf at the head of a numerous army of well diſ-
ciplined and veteran troops, under experienced and brave offi-
cers. The different provinces of his kingdom were now form-
ed into a ſocial union, which prevented it from being any
longer a prey to factions or foreign invaders; and the admi-
niſtration of affairs was committed to faithful miniſters of great
capacity.

capacity. The chief of these was *Antipater*, whose character *Philip* summed up in a few words; for having risen one morning later than usual, he said, rubbing his eyes at his levee, *I have slept soundly to-day; for I know* Antipater *was waking*. *Alexander* afterwards described him more fully; for one observing to him, that all his lieutenants, except *Antipater*, wore purple, *True*, said he, *but* Antipater *is all purple within*.

Dissensions in *Philip*'s family.

Philip, notwithstanding all his victories and conquests, was far from enjoying that happiness which prosperity is generally thought to afford. In his family he was not only uneasy, but even miserable. His wife *Olympias* was a woman of great abilities, and fine address; but of an high and turbulent spirit, much artifice, and loose manners. Her influence with her husband seems at one time to have been very great; for *Philip* not only raised her father *Neoptolemus* to a participation of the throne of *Epire* with his brother, but afterwards gave the sole possession of that crown to *Alexander* the brother of *Olympias*, to the prejudice of the son of the elder brother. For several years past, however, there had been a great misunderstanding between her and *Philip*; but what were the real grounds of it, might even in those days have been impossible to discover. What-

He divorces *Olympias*, and marries *Cleopatra*.

ever was the cause, the king was so extremely offended with her, that he proceeded to a divorce, and married *Cleopatra*, the niece of *Attalus*. *Alexander*, on account of this behaviour to his mother, and in resentment of some other slights, conceived a warm dislike of his father, which he was at no pains to conceal; so that the whole court knew and observed it. At the nuptial feast, *Attalus*, the uncle of *Cleopatra*, was so unpolite as to tell the king, in the hearing of his son, that his *Macedonians* hoped he would give them now a lawful heir to the throne. *What then*, said *Alexander*, *rascal*, *do you take me for a bastard?* and with these words he threw a flaggon at his head. *Attalus* returned the compliment in the same way. The king, ex-

Quarrels with his son *Alexander*.

treamly provoked at the disturbance, drew his sword, and forgetting that he was a cripple, hastily made towards his son, but in his passage fell down; which gave the courtiers time to get between them. *Alexander* rising from his seat quitted the room; but, forgetting the respect due to his father and his king, before he went out said, *The* Macedonians *are likely to conquer* Asia, *when led out of* Europe *by a prince who cannot go from one table to another without hazarding his neck*. After this speech, he rightly conjectured that it would not be proper for him to remain in *Macedon*, and therefore retired with his mother into *Epire*.

Not long after *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, who had been *Philip*'s host, came to make him a visit. *Philip* asking him if all things were quiet in *Greece*; he answered, *You have reason, Sir, to trouble yourself about the peace of* Greece, *you who have filled your own family with quarrels and dissentions*. The king received this reproof as kindly as it was meant, immediately made up

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the breach betwixt himſelf and his ſon *Alexander*, and recalled him to court, *Olympias* alſo being allowed to return.

Is reconciled to his ſon.

Some time before, *Philip* in an engagement with the *Illyrians*, had been in great danger of his life, when *Pauſanias*, a comely young nobleman, threw himſelf before him, and received thoſe weapons into his body which were directed againſt the king. Before he expired, he told *Attalus*, the uncle of *Cleopatra*, that he had been prompted to this deſperate action by the inſult of another nobleman named *Pauſanias*, who had reproached him with having a vicious intimacy with the king. *Attalus*, upon the return of the army to *Macedonia*, invited the other *Pauſanias* to a feaſt, and when he had intoxicated him with wine, expoſed him to the brutality of his grooms, who abuſed him according to their beaſtly appetites. *Pauſanias*, when ſenſible of the outrages he had ſuffered, frequently applied himſelf to the king for juſtice againſt *Attalus*. *Philip* not chuſing to proceed againſt the uncle of his queen, endeavoured to pacify *Pauſanias*, by beſtowing on him many rich gifts, and appointing him a captain of his guards. The denial of juſtice only ſerved to irritate the reſentment of *Pauſanias*, which was alſo kept alive by the partizans of *Olympias* and *Alexander*, who repreſented to him, that *Philip*, by refuſing to puniſh *Attalus*, rendered himſelf an accomplice in his guilt. *Alexander* himſelf is accuſed of practiſing theſe arts, and of ſpurring *Pauſanias* on to the ampleſt revenge*. The emiſſaries of *Perſia* ſeem alſo to have ſeized this favourable opportunity of forming a conſpiracy againſt the life of *Philip*, of which *Pauſanias* was the principal inſtrument, tho' ſeveral other perſons were concerned, among whom were the four ſons of *Æropus*, *Alexander*, *Amyntas*, *Heromenes*, and *Arabæus* †. *Pauſanias*, while his mind was glowing with reſentment, happened one day to aſk *Hermocrates* the ſophiſt the following queſtion: "What muſt that "man do who would be famous?" "He muſt," replied *Hermocrates*, "kill him who hath atchieved the greateſt actions; "thus ſhall the memory of the hero be joined with his who "ſlew him, and both deſcend together to poſterity." *Pauſanias* being confirmed in his deſign by the ſophiſt's maxim, prepared every thing for the execution of his deteſtable purpoſe.

Philip, in the mean time, was fully bent on forwarding his *Aſiatic* expedition, and he ordered *Attalus* and *Parmenio* to march before him into *Aſia* with ſome forces, to free the *Greek* cities there from ſlavery. About the ſame time he ſent to conſult the oracle of *Delphi* concerning the event of his great deſign, and received the following anſwer:

He prepares for his *Aſiatic* expedition.

The prieſt is ready, ſoon the ox ſhall bleed.

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* Plut. in Alex. † Arrian. l. i. & ii.

This

This doubtful oracle *Philip* conſtrued to his own advantage; concluding, that the *Perſian* king was marked out as a victim to be ſacrificed to the *Grecian* gods. He therefore, without delay, offered moſt coſtly and magnificent ſacrifices; and to put an end to all domeſtic diſturbances, gave his daughter *Cleopatra* in marriage to *Alexander* king of *Epire*, the brother of *Olympias*. His queen *Cleopatra* being a few days before delivered of a ſon, *Philip* reſolved to celebrate both theſe joyful events by ſolemn games and feſtivals at *Ægæ*, whither he invited the deputies of all the *Grecian* ſtates, and all his particular friends throughout *Greece*; deſiring alſo his courtiers to ſend invitations to all their acquaintances. The concourſe of people was moſt numerous and ſplendid, and many crowns of gold were offered to *Philip* by the noblemen and the deputies from the *Greek* ſtates. The day being ſpent in feaſting, the entertainments of the theatre were to be exhibited next morning; on which account great numbers of people crowded thither before day-break. The ſhews began with a ſplendid proceſſion, wherein the images of the twelve ſuperior deities of *Greece* were carried, as alſo the image of *Philip* habited in like manner, as if he now made up the thirteenth. Soon after came *Philip* alone, crowned and cloathed in a white robe, his guards being at a conſiderable diſtance, that the *Greeks* might ſee he placed his ſafety not in them, but in the affections of the people. As he approached the entrance of the theatre, *Pauſanias*, who had choſen this opportunity for the execution of his revenge, and ſtationed himſelf there, made up to him, and ſuddenly ſtabbed him in the left ſide with a dagger, ſo that he fell dead at his feet. The aſſaſſin inſtantly fled to the gates, where horſes were waiting for him; and would have eſcaped, if the twig of a vine had not catched his ſhoe and thrown him down; which gave *Perdiccas*, *Attalus*, and *Leonatus* time to come up with him, by whom he was quickly diſpatched.

Makes ſumptuous entertainments at *Ægæ*.

Is murdered by *Pauſanias*. Bef. Ch. 336.

Philip was ſlain in the 24th year of his reign, and the 47th year of his life. He was a prince of boundleſs ambition, to gratify which paſſion he ſcrupled not to employ deceit, craft, falſehood and perjury. His life was polluted with every kind of vice, and he abandoned himſelf to all the various debaucheries which the moſt ſenſual wits could deviſe. His great abilities, and his indefatigable ſpirit, have, however, rendered him the object of admiration. He was, without diſpute, the greateſt warrior and ſtateſman of his time. He was ſecret without affecting reſerve, very eloquent, affable, and obliging in his deportment; and preſerved great moderation when he was ſpoken to, even in ſhocking and injurious terms. He was alſo learned, and a great patron and lover of learning *.

By his firſt wife *Olympias*, *Philip* had *Alexander* his ſucceſſor, and *Cleopatra*. By an *Illyrian* he had a daughter named *Cyna*,

* Theopomp. ap Athen. l. vi. Diod. Sic. Arrian.

who

who was married to *Amyntas* the lawful heir of the *Macedonian* crown, being the ſon of *Perdiccas*, *Philip*'s elder brother. By a *Theſſalian* he had *Nicæa*, who became afterwards the wife of *Caſſander*. By *Cleopatra*, the neice of *Attalus*, he had a ſon named *Caranus*, and a daughter, *Europa*, both ſlain by *Olympias*, the laſt in her mother's arms. By a dancer of *Lariſſa* he had *Aridæus*, who was for a while titular king of *Macedon*, but was afterwards put to death by the cruel *Olympias*. *Arſinoe*, one of his concubines, he gave in marriage to *Lagus* when ſhe was big with child; which child proved a ſon, and was the famous *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*.

Alexander ſucceeds to the throne.

On the death of *Philip*, *Alexander* his ſon, then twenty years of age, ſucceeded to the throne of *Macedon*. *Alexander*, in his early youth, began to diſcover very ſolid talents. When a perfect boy, he entertained the *Perſian* ambaſſadors in the abſence of his father, with much civility and politeneſs. Inſtead of aſking queſtions about the hanging gardens, the ſplendid palaces, or other marks of grandeur for which the *Perſian* court was famous, he enquired about the road leading to the Upper *Aſia*, the forces which the great king could raiſe, their diſcipline, and in what part of the line of battle the king generally fought. Whenever he heard that *Philip* had taken any town of importance, or gained any ſignal victory, inſtead of rejoicing at the news, he would tell his companians, that his father would anticipate every thing, and leave him and them no opportunities of performing great and illuſtrious actions.

His natural capacity.

His ſtrict education under the care of *Leonidas* and *Ariſtotle*.

This admirable genius was cultivated by an excellent education, and all ſorts of maſters were given him according as his years and improvements required them. Over his preceptors and tutors, *Leonidas*, his mother's relation, and a man of ſevere morals, preſided. Afterwards *Ariſtotle* became not only his tutor in reſpect of literature, but his maſter alſo in reſpect of politics. In his exerciſes he diſtinguiſhed the uſeful from the fanciful; in his diverſions he declined whatever was unmanly, and in his ſtudies he was chiefly attentive to what could improve his mind. He applied himſelf to metaphyſics and natural philoſophy, but morality eſpeciaily pleaſed him, and the knowlege of the duties which are eſſential to ſocial life. In order to underſtand theſe he ſtudied *Homer*, which *Ariſtotle* was at great pains to explain to him; not enlarging upon the beauty of the compoſition, or the ſublimity of the verſe, but remarking the different characters naturally painted, by which virtue was in a manner animated and rendered more alluring. The turbulent tranſactions in the middle of *Philip*'s reign, ſerved as a ſchool of war to *Alexander*, as the laſt years of peace afforded an opportunity of teaching him true policy and the intereſts of *Greece*.

He puniſhes his father's murderers.

The firſt act, as a king, was the puniſhing his father's murderers, it may be from a double motive; namely, to ſhew affection to *Philip*'s memory, which he always honoured, and to wipe

wipe away the imputation of being concerned in his death; which, according to *Plutarch*, was not eaſily done.

The *Greeks* enter into a confederacy againſt him.

Mean while, the neighbouring nations hearing of *Philip*'s death, began to think of diſclaiming the authority of *Macedon*. The reſpective ſtates of *Greece* longed to throw off the yoke, and at *Athens*, *Demoſthenes*, by his example, drew the people into open teſtimonies of exceſſive joy, and into immediate negotiations againſt *Alexander*, whom he ſtiled a giddy boy, unfit for empire. *Attalus*, who with *Parmenio* had the joint command of the *Macedonian* army on the frontiers of *Aſia*, aſpired to the crown, and ſought to debauch the ſoldiers. The *Macedonians* reflecting on the precarious ſituation of affairs, adviſed *Alexander* to relinquiſh *Greece*, and to recover, by gentle methods, the barbarians, who had taken arms. *Alexander*, however, would not liſten to theſe timorous counſels, but reſolved to ſecure and ſupport his affairs by boldneſs and magnanimity.

He cauſes *Attalus*, who pretended to the throne, to be put to death.

To prevent the deſigns of *Attalus*, he ſent *Hecateus* with a reinforcement of troops to the army in *Aſia*, with orders to bring *Attalus* a priſoner to *Macedonia*; or if he could not effect that, to put him to death. About the ſame time he marched into *Theſſaly*, and aſſembling the *Theſſalian* princes, made a long and eloquent oration to them, inſiſting on their common deſcent from *Hercules*, the kindneſs between their anceſtors, and the victories they had won together; by which he ſo charmed them to his intereſts, that they declared him general of *Greece* as ſucceſſor to his father. The neighbouring ſtates he drew over in the ſame manner, partly by awing them with his army, and partly by the force of his eloquence. *Attalus*, in the mean time, finding it impoſſible to draw the army to favour his deſign, profeſſed great loyalty to *Alexander*, and ſent to him a letter which he received from *Demoſthenes*; but was nevertheleſs put to death by *Hecateus*.

He defeats the *Triballians* and *Illyrians*.

To quell the barbarians towards the north, *Alexander*, the following ſpring, marched into *Thrace*, acting according to the principle he had laid down, that the power of *Macedon* was to be ſupported by the ſame vigorous meaſures by which it had been attained. After a march of ten days from *Amphipolis*, he reached mount *Hæmus*, which poſt the barbarians had fortified. *Alexander*, however, forced their entrenchments, and ſeized their camp, which was full of women, children, and cattle.

He paſſes the *Iſter*, and obliges the barbarians to ſubmit.

Three days after he reached the river *Iſter*, or the *Danube*, and tranſporting part of his army over the river on the ſkins which ſerved to cover their tents, marched againſt the *Getæ*, who fled at his approach. Having taken poſſeſſion of one of their chief cities which they had abandoned, he razed the place, after having collected the ſpoil, which he ordered to be conveyed to the ſea. Here he ſacrificed to *Jupiter Soter* or the Saviour, to *Hercules*, and to the *Iſter*, for affording him a ſafe paſſage. Having then tranſported his whole army over the *Danube*, ambaſſadors came to him from all the neighbouring nations to make peace with him. Deputies came alſo from the *Celtes*, a reſolute

reſolute and high-ſpirited people. The king treated them all with great civility; and concluding that his name had ſtruck ſome of thoſe nations with terror, he aſked the deputies of the *Celtes*, *What, of all things, they feared moſt?* They boldly anſwered, *That they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the ſky and ſtars.* Pleaſed with this anſwer, *Alexander* granted them his friendſhip, and adjuſting his differences with the reſt of the neighbouring nations, prepared for his return into *Macedonia*. *Clytus* king of *Illyria*, in the mean time, renounced his dependance on *Macedon*, and entered into an alliance with *Glaucias* king of the *Taulanti*, and with the *Autariatæ*, to defend themſelves againſt the *Macedonians*. *Alexander*, before his return to *Macedon*, ſurprized *Glaucias* and *Clytus* in their camp, and after making a great ſlaughter of their troops, forced them to fly for ſhelter to the mountains.

In the midſt of theſe victories, *Alexander* received advice that all *Greece* was in commotion, *Demoſthenes* having prevailed on ſeveral ſtates to enter into a confederacy againſt him. A falſe report prevailing in *Greece* that he was dead in *Illyria*, the *Thebans* put two of the commanders of the *Macedonian* garriſon to death in their market-place, and beſieged the garriſon in the citadel. *Alexander*, upon this news, marched with the utmoſt expedition towards *Greece*, and in thirteen days entered *Bœotia*; which the *Thebans* looking upon as impoſſible, they at firſt perſuaded themſelves that it was ſome other body of *Macedonians* under another general. This ſudden march prevented the reſt of the *Grecian* ſtates from aiding the *Thebans*, tho' they were actually aſſembling forces for that purpoſe, and ſo alarmed the *Athenians*, that they applied themſelves wholly to provide for their own defence; anſwering exactly what *Alexander* had ſaid when he entered *Bœotia*, Demoſthenes *called me a child when I was in* Illyricum, *and a youth while I was in* Theſſaly; *but I will convince him when I approach the walls of* Athens *that I am a man.* The *Thebans* having rejected the offers of accommodation made to them by *Alexander*, he took the city by ſtorm, put above 6000 inhabitants to the ſword, and ſold the reſt, to the number of 30,000, for ſlaves, ſparing only the prieſts, ſuch as had a right of hoſpitality with the *Macedonians*, the deſcendants of the famous poet *Pindar*, and thoſe who had oppoſed the revolt. The city was then wholly razed, except the temples, and the houſe of *Pindar*.

The *Thebans* take arms againſt the *Macedonians*.

Alexander takes *Thebes*, and razes it to the ground.

This example of ſeverity, which *Alexander* endeavoured to palliate, by alleging, that he acted in obedience to a decree of the *Amphictyons*, ſtruck a terror into all the *Greek* ſtates. The *Eleans* reſtored their exiles becauſe they were his friends, the *Ætolians* deprecated his wrath by a moſt ſubmiſſive embaſſy, and the *Athenians* ſent ambaſſadors to him, begging pardon for not having ſooner owned his ſovereignty. *Alexander* required the *Athenians* to deliver up to him ten of their orators, whom he accuſed of being the authors of all the diſturbances in *Greece* for ſeveral years. At the interceſſion of *Demades*, however,

The *Athenians* court his friendſhip.

Alexander waved this demand, and only insisted that *Charidemus* the orator should banish himself. He not only pardoned the *Athenians*, but advised them to look to their affairs with caution and vigilance; because in case of his death, they probably would be the arbiters of *Greece*. *Plutarch* tells us, that he often repented of his severity to the *Thebans*, and that his remorse had such an influence on his temper, as to make him afterwards less rigorous to many others.

The *Grecian* deputies at *Corinth* declare him generalissimo.

Alexander having now broke the *Grecian* confederacy, proceeded to *Corinth*, where in a general assembly of the states of *Greece*, a war with *Persia* was unanimously decreed, and the king of *Macedon* declared generalissimo. While he staid there, many statesmen and philosophers came from all parts to visit him, and congratulate him upon his election. He expected the same compliment from *Diogenes* of *Sinope*, who then lived in a suburb of *Corinth*; but finding that philosopher took no notice of him, he went to visit him, attended by his courtiers.

He visits *Diogenes*.

He found him, as his manner was, lying on the ground basking himself in the sun. The philosopher, when the crowd surrounded him, looked up at *Alexander*; who after saluting him, asked him, with his usual civility, if he wanted any thing? *Yes*, replied he, *I would have you stand a little out of my sunshine*. *Alexander* was so affected at this answer, and so surprised at the greatness of the man's soul, that as he went away, he told his followers, who were laughing at the moroseness of the philosopher, that *if he were not* Alexander, *he would wish to be* Diogenes; intimating, that the next thing to possessing all things, was to bring his mind to such a frame as to want nothing.

Alexander returning to *Ægæ*, there held a grand council to deliberate about his expedition into *Asia*. The gravest of his counsellors, particularly *Antipater* and *Parmenio*, advised him to marry before he engaged in the *Persian* war. *Alexander* disliked this, and indeed every motion of delay. He therefore sacrificed to *Jupiter Olympius*, and to the Muses, consecrating a day to each muse. Having then entertained his friends with magnificent feasts, he distributed amongst them all the crown lands and the rest of his revenues; giving to one a farm, to another a village, and to a third the customs of a port. *Perdiccas* asked the king, what he reserved for himself? *My hopes*, answered *Alexander*. *Let us then*, said *Perdiccas*, *who are to share with you in your dangers, share with you in your hopes also*. *Perdiccas* therefore refused to accept the estate he had assigned to him, and some others of his friends did the same.

He sets out in his expedition.

His army being then assembled, which, according to some accounts, consisted of 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, and according to others, of 34,000 foot and 4000 horse, he began his march from *Amphipolis* for *Asia*, and in twenty days reached *Sestos*. His fund for paying his army, according to *Aristobulus* amounted only to 70 talents; but *Onesicritus*, who attended him in the expedition, says that he was 200 talents in debt

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The government of *Macedonia*, during his abſence, was committed to *Antipater*, with 12,000 foot and 1500 horſe.

Having paſſed the *Helleſpont* without oppoſition, *Alexander* proceeded to *Ilium*, a ſmall city near the ruins of *Troy*, where he ſacrificed to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, eſpecially to *Achilles*, whom he declared to be particularly happy in two things, in having *Patroclus* for a friend, and *Homer* to record his actions. As he approached the city of *Lampſacus*, which on account of its adhering to the *Perſians* he determined to deſtroy, *Anaximenes*, an eminent hiſtorian, well known in the court of *Philip*, met him to intercede for his townſmen. The king ſuſpecting the buſineſs he came upon, to be beforehand with him, ſwore, in expreſs terms, that he would never grant his requeſt. *The favour I have to deſire of you*, ſays *Anaximenes*, *is*, *that you would deſtroy* Lampſacus. *Alexander* finding himſelf thus entrapped by his own oath, was obliged to ſpare the city. He paſſes the *Helleſpont*.

The *Perſians*, upon the news of his entering *Aſia*, aſſembled an army on the *Granicus*, which, according to *Diodorus*, conſiſted of 10,000 horſe and 100,000 foot. When *Alexander* arrived at the river, he ordered his troops, without delay, to paſs over, tho' the ſtream was very rapid, and the oppoſite bank, which was very ſteep, was lined by the enemy. The *Perſian* horſe, which were drawn up in a line before their foot, made a moſt furious attack; but the *Macedonians*, animated by the behaviour of *Alexander*, who paſſed with eagerneſs into the greateſt dangers, advanced in the midſt of a ſhower of arrows and darts, and in a very ſhort time put the enemy to flight. The victory was chiefly attributed to the perſonal bravery of *Alexander*, and the *Theſſalian* cavalry. Twenty thouſand foot, and 2500 horſe, were killed on the ſide of the *Perſians*. Of the *Macedonians* there fell only 115. He defeats the *Perſians* at the *Granicus*.

Alexander, in conſequence of this victory, obtained the poſſeſſion of all the weſtern coaſt of leſſer *Aſia*, which he conſtituted into a province, ordering the ſame tribute to be paid to him as heretofore had been exacted by *Darius*. Being put in poſſeſſion of *Sardis*, and of the royal treaſures contained in the caſtle, he granted to the *Sardians* and other *Lydians*, the privilege of being governed by their antient laws. At *Sardis* he built a temple to *Jupiter Olympius*; and hearing that the *Perſians* had abandoned *Epheſus*, he proceeded thither, where he was received with great joy. He reſtored the democracy, and ordered the tribute that had been paid to the *Perſians*, to be applied to the rebuilding of the temple of *Diana*. His favours encouraged the *Epheſians* to fall upon ſome perſons of note, who had been formerly in the adminiſtration of affairs, and to drag them from the temples to the market-place, where they ſtoned them. Theſe men being guilty of very flagrant oppreſſions, *Alexander* did not interpoſe to ſave them; but immediately after their deaths he iſſued out an edict, forbidding any farther enquiry into the conduct of the former magiſtrates, by which he gained *Sardis* and *Epheſus* ſubmit to him.

gained the favour of all degrees of people, the nobles at the ſame time acknowleging him as their preſerver. By another edict he ordered the popular government to be reſtored in all the *Greek* cities, and then advanced with his army againſt *Miletus*, which was defended by *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, one of the beſt officers of *Darius*, who had fled thither with part of the army after the battle of the *Granicus*. After a moſt obſtinate defence, the city was obliged to capitulate; but *Memnon*, with part of the mercenaries, retired to *Halicarnaſſus*. After the reduction of *Miletus*, *Alexander* diſmiſſed his fleet, as he had not money to pay the ſailors, and was afraid to truſt his fortune in an engagement at ſea. Being determined alſo to take poſſeſſion of all the ſea-ports on the *Aſiatic* coaſt, he concluded that the *Perſian* fleet would be thereby rendered uſeleſs. From *Miletus*, *Alexander* proceeded to *Halicarnaſſus*, which was moſt gallantly defended for a long time by *Memnon*, who was at laſt, however, obliged to abandon the place, carrying off on board his fleet the greateſt part of the inhabitants with their wealth, leaving the city in ruins to the *Macedonians*. *Alexander* razed the place, and alſo laid the city of *Tralles* level with the ground. From thence he marched into *Phrygia*, leaving *Ptolemy*, with 3000 foot and 200 horſe, to keep the country of *Caria* in obedience.

He reduces *Miletus*,

Halicarnaſſus,

and *Tralles*.

Upon *Alexander*'s arrival in *Caria*, *Ada*, the ſiſter and widow of *Idreus*, who had ſucceeded to *Artemiſia*, preſented him with the keys of *Alinda*, the only place which was then in her poſſeſſion, ſhe having been dethroned ſome years before by *Pixodorus*, and the throne being then held by his ſucceſſor *Orontobates*. As a farther mark of her reſpect, ſhe adopted *Alexander* for her ſon; which honour he received very kindly, and after reducing *Halicarnaſſus*, made her governeſs of *Caria*. She, to ſhew her kindneſs, ſent him every day many curious diſhes and ſweetmeats, and would have furniſhed him with ſuch cooks and makers of paſtry, as were excellent in their kind; but he refuſed them, and told her, *That he wanted none of them, his preceptor* Leonidas *having formerly given him the beſt*; *namely, long morning marches to give him a ſtomach for his dinner, and ſlender dinners to create an appetite for his ſupper*. By this conduct of *Alexander* to the queen of *Caria*, many of the princes of leſſer *Aſia* were induced to revolt from the *Perſians*, and put themſelves under his protection. In the number of theſe was *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, who upon viſiting *Alexander*, conceived ſuch a love for him, that he accompanied him in his *Perſian* expedition.

His kindneſs to *Ada* queen of *Caria*.

Alexander concluded the campaign with attacking the *Marmarians*, a people in the mountainous parts of *Lycia*, who had attacked the rear of his army, and cut a great many of his men in pieces. Having ſtormed their city, which was ſeated among rocks, for two whole days together, the young men found they could not defend the place, and therefore put to death all the old men, women, and children, and to the num-

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ber of 600, forced the *Macedonian* guard, and made their escape to the mountains.

Alexander, in the beginning of the winter, sent home, under the command of three officers, all the new married soldiers in his army, that they might spend the winter with their wives. As this was a proceeding exactly conformable to the law of *Moses*, some learned men have been tempted to believe, that *Aristotle* had learned it of some *Jew* in *Asia*, and recommended it to his pupil: tho', perhaps, it was only suggested to him by his own prudence, as he could not take a more effectual way to raise an ardour among the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* of following him in all his enterprizes. *Parmenio*, and some other general officers, were also sent some into *Europe*, and some into *Asia*, to raise recruits. The new married men sent back to *Macedonia*.

During the winter, *Alexander* son of *Æropus*, who was general of the *Thessalian* horse, entered into a treasonable correspondence with *Amyntas*, then in the service of *Darius*. *Amyntas* sent letters to this *Alexander* by *Asisines*, a *Persian*, promising him the kingdom of *Macedonia*, and 1000 talents of silver, if he would murder the king. *Parmenio*, upon some suspicion, seizing *Asisines*, and discovering the treason, gave intelligence of it to the king, who immediately caused the traitor to be seized. A conspiracy discovered.

Alexander, early the following spring, sent part of his army thro' the mountainous country to *Perga*, and led the rest by the sea-shore, taking his route by a certain promontory where the way is altogether impassible, except when the north winds blow. Upon the king's arrival, the south wind, which had held a long time, suddenly changed, and blew so violently from the north, that he and his followers declared they had obtained an easy passage by divine assistance. *Alexander*, in his letters, however, speaks of this passage in plain and simple terms; and *Strabo* tells us, that the beach at the foot of the mountain is dry at low water, but that *Alexander* was so eager to pass, that he ordered his men to march when the water came up to their middle. *Pamphylia* conquered by *Alexander*.

The *Aspendians*, about this time, submitted to him, and obtained, that no garrison should be sent to their city on condition of their paying 50 talents, and sending to his camp the same number of horses which they were wont to furnish to *Darius*. They, however, after having fortified their city, which was founded on a high and steep rock, refused to fulfil this treaty, which obliged *Alexander* to march against them. The *Macedonians* having quickly taken possession of part of the city at the bottom of the hill, the *Aspendians* began to despair of defending themselves, and entreated *Alexander* to accept of the former conditions. The king considering the strength of the place, and how unprovided he was to undertake a long siege, seemed not averse to an accommodation, but insisted now that their principal citizens should be delivered up as hostages, that the number of talents should be doubled, that they should admit a garrison of *Macedonians*, and pay an annual tribute.

He alſo reduces *Piſidia* and *Phrygia.*

Soon after he had conquered the *Piſidians* and *Phrygians*, he proceeded to *Gordium*, the capital of *Phrygia*, where he intended to reaſſemble all his troops, having ſent orders to the recruits and new married men, who were now returned from *Macedonia*. On his march he met with deputies from *Athens*, who beſought him to diſmiſs ſuch of their citizens as he had taken fighting in the ſervice of the *Perſians*; but from this the king deſired to be excuſed till the war was over.

He unties the *Gordian* knot.

Finding himſelf under a neceſſity of remaining ſome time at *Gordium*, till his army ſhould be united, he viewed the chariot of *Gordius*, famous for the knot in the harneſs, which no perſon as yet had been able to untie, tho' according to a tradition of the inhabitants, whoever ſhould untie it, would enjoy the empire of *Aſia*. Moſt authors relate, that *Alexander*, finding he could not untie it becauſe the ends of it were ſecretly folded up within it, cut it aſunder with his ſword; but *Ariſtobulus*, who attended him in his expedition, relates, that he very eaſily untied the knot, by only pulling from the beam the pin which faſtened it to the yoke, and afterwards drawing out the yoke itſelf.

Paphlagonia and *Cappadocia* alſo reduced by him.

Paphlagonia ſoon after ſubmitting to him, he reduced *Cappadocia* as far as the river *Halys*, and then marched on to poſſeſs himſelf of *Cilicia*, which was encompaſſed by very high mountains, except on the ſouth, where it was waſhed by the *Mediterranean*. Three narrow paſſes led into this province, one on the north, called *the Gate*, and on the eaſt *the paſs of* Amanus; and *the paſs of* Syria. The northern paſs was ſeized by the *Perſians*; but upon *Alexander*'s approach they imprudently abandoned it, ſo that he entered it without oppoſition, when he admired his good fortune, owning that a ſmall number of reſolute men might have ſtopped him with great eaſe, with no other weapons but ſtones.

During theſe tranſactions, *Darius*, by the advice of *Mentor*, had reſolved to carry the war into *Macedon*, and appointing him commander of his fleet, had ſent him to *Greece* with a conſiderable body of forces. That great general accordingly reduced the iſlands of *Chios* and *Leſbos*, except the city of *Mitylene*; but dying while he was employed in the ſiege of this place, the prudent meaſures he had propoſed were thereby defeated. The *Perſian* king being now at a great loſs how to act, was adviſed by *Charidemus*, an *Athenian*, who had ſerved long under *Philip* of *Macedon*, but was now a refugee at his court, not to hazard himſelf in the field, but to commit the war to an expert general, allowing him 100,000 troops, one third of which ſhould be mercenaries. *Darius* approved of this advice; but his courtiers maliciouſly inveighing againſt it, and charging *Charidemus* with treachery, as tho' he ſought the command of the army to betray it to the *Macedonians*, the king then ſuſpected him, and ordered him to be put to death. *Charidemus*, when he was hurried to his execution, ſaid aloud, Darius *will very ſoon repent of his cruelty towards me, when by*

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the loss of his kingdom, he shall find with how much injustice he has taken away my life. *Darius* indeed repented in a few days, but in consequence of the advice of his *Persian* counsellors, assembled an army of several 100,000 men, which he led in person thro' *Syria*.

Alexander, upon the news of *Mentor*'s death, resolved to carry the war into upper *Asia*, and with that design entered *Cilicia*. Soon after, by a sudden march, he took possession of *Tarsus*, arriving at the instant the *Persians* were setting fire to the place, which he quickly extinguished. *Alexander*, by saving this city, had well nigh lost his life; for either thro' the excessive fatigue of marching, or, as others relate, by bathing, when very hot, in the river *Cydnus*, the waters of which, as they run thro' thick shades, are exceeding cold, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the standers by thought he was dying. After fainting away he was carried to his tent, and the news of the sad disaster threw the army into the greatest consternation. *Alexander*, after recovering his senses, finding himself excessively weak, bitterly lamented his hard fate that confined him to his tent, while the *Persians* were advancing under *Darius* to give him battle. He desired the physicians to give him some powerful remedy; but they, sensible that they should be answerable for the event, scrupled to undertake his cure by violent means, especially as *Darius* had published, that he would reward, with 1000 talents, the man who should kill *Alexander*. *Philip* of *Acarnania*, however, offered to give him a medicine that would work a speedy cure. While *Philip* was preparing the medicine, the king received a letter from *Parmenio*, advising him, that *Philip* was suborned by *Darius* to take away his life. *Alexander*, however, took the potion from *Philip*, and putting *Parmenio*'s letter into his hands, drank off the mixture, without discovering the least suspicion or uneasiness. *Philip*, upon reading the letter, shewed not the least signs of fear, but confidently desired the king to quiet his thoughts, and to dispose himself to rest. The potion, tho' salutary, had a very violent effect; but the king was so relieved by it, that three days after he shewed himself to the army, testifying afterwards an extraordinary gratitude to the author of his cure.

His dangerous sickness.

Soon after his recovery, being informed that *Darius* was advanced within two days journey of the eastern straits of *Cilicia*, he marched to meet him; but while he proceeded southward along the coast to *Myrandrus*, *Darius* imprudently entered the pass of *Amanus*, and surprising *Issus*, put most of the *Macedonians* he found there to the sword. Hearing that *Darius* had entered within the straits, he hastened back to *Issus*, where the two armies came to a general engagement, in which the *Persians*, who had not room to extend themselves, were defeated with great slaughter. The first line, in which *Darius* fought, being soon put into disorder, he was obliged to fly; and leaving his chariot, with his bow and his royal mantle, escaped over

Darius advances to *Issus*,

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where he is totally routed by *Alexander.*

the mountains on horſeback. Of the *Perſians*, there fell 100,000 foot and 10,000 horſe, a great many of whom periſhed without a ſtroke of the enemy. But the *Macedonians* loſt only 300 foot and 150 horſe. When *Alexander* returned from the purſuit of *Darius*, he found his men buſy in pillaging the *Perſian* camp, which was exceeding rich, tho' *Darius* had left the greateſt part of his baggage behind him at *Damaſcus*. The tent of *Darius* was prepared for the reception of *Alexander*, who putting off his armour, ſaid, *Come, let us cleanſe and refreſh ourſelves in* Darius's *bath*. *No*, cried one of his attendants, *call it rather* Alexander's, *for the goods of the vanquiſhed belong to the victor by the law of arms*. Having here beheld the utenſils all of gold curiouſly wrought, and ſmelt the fragrant odours with which the whole place was exquiſitely perfumed, and being afterwards magnificently entertained in another ſpacious apartment, he turned to thoſe about him, and ſaid, *This, it ſeems, it is to be a king*. The day after the battle, *Alexander* went with *Hephæſtion* to comfort the mother, wife, and daughters of *Darius*, who were taken priſoners. *Hephæſtion* being much of the ſame age, but taller than *Alexander*, *Siſigambis*, the mother of *Darius*, fell down at his feet, ſuppoſing him to be the king; but ſome captive eunuchs ſhewing her *Alexander*, ſhe immediately fell proſtrate before him. He ſeeing her in ſome confuſion, took her by the hand and raiſed her up, ſaying, *Do not be uneaſy, mother, you were not miſtaken, for he too is* Alexander. *Arrian* ſeems diffident of the truth of this ſtory, but adds, that there is ſo much worth and beauty in the action, as ought to incline us to wiſh it true. It ſeems, indeed, contradicted by a letter of *Alexander* to *Parmenio*, mentioned by *Plutarch*, in which he ſays, *that he had not ſo much as ſeen, or deſired to ſee, the wife of* Darius.

Before Chr. 333.

Cælſyria ſubmits to *Alexander.*

Alexander advancing into *Cæleſyria*, encouraged the provinces and petty princes to ſubmit themſelves voluntarily, treating all that did ſo as old and hereditary ſubjects, neither burdening them with ſoldiers, nor oppreſſing them with tribute. *Parmenio* having gone with a detachment of troops to *Damaſcus*, that city was baſely betrayed into his hands by the governor. In this city there were 30,000 priſoners taken, among whom were very many perſons of diſtinction, beſides as much rich booty as loaded 7000 beaſts of burden.

Darius propoſes to treat of peace.

The king of the iſland *Arados* being at this time abſent with all his naval forces, acting in conjunction with the *Perſians*, as *Alexander* approached his dominions on the *Continent*, his ſon *Strato* went and ſubmitted to him, and preſented him with a crown of gold, being graciouſly received by the conqueror. *Alexander* remaining for ſome time at *Marathus*, a city on the *Continent* under the dominion of *Arados*, he received a letter from *Darius*, who in a very imperious ſtile deſired him to aſk what ſum he pleaſed for the ranſom of the royal captives, and offered to decide the diſpute for empire by one general battle; adviſing him, however, to content himſelf with

with his own dominions, rather than unjuſtly invade thoſe of another. *Alexander* ſent back the *Perſian* ambaſſadors, and wrote alſo to *Darius*. After enumerating the many injuries and calamities which the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* had ſuffered from the *Perſians*, he alledged, that they were the aggreſſors, eſpecially as they had hired aſſaſſins to murder his father. He offered to ſet the royal captives at liberty, if *Darius* would come in a ſuppliant manner, and deſire their freedom.

Sidon ſubmits to *Alexander*.

As *Alexander* approached the city of *Sidon*, the *Sidonians*, in oppoſition to *Strato* their king, ſubmitted to him. *Alexander*, having deprived *Strato* of the crown, gave his favourite, *Hephæſtion*, leave to beſtow it on whom he would. *Hephæſtion* offered the royal dignity to one of the chief citizens, in whoſe houſe he then lodged; but he, with a noble diſintereſtedneſs, refuſed it, and named for that honour one *Abdolonymus*, of the blood royal, who then ſupported himſelf by cultivating a ſmall kitchen garden in the ſuburbs. *Alexander* accordingly gave him the palace, furniture, and private eſtate of *Strato*, and even added part of the adjacent country to his kingdom *.

Tyre taken and burnt by him.

The *Tyrians*, after the battle of *Iſſus*, had ſent deputies to ſubmit themſelves to *Alexander*, who received them very graciouſly; but when he told them that he intended to come to their city, to ſacrifice to the *Tyrian Hercules*, they ſent their deputies to him again, to inform him, that they were ready to do whatever he ſhould command them; but that they could not conſent to his coming, and ſacrificing in their city, or allow any *Macedonians* to enter their gates. This refuſal highly provoked *Alexander*, who having repreſented to his officers, that it would be imprudent to carry on the war in diſtant provinces, till they had reduced *Tyre*, which would render them maſters of the ſea, marched his army thither to beſiege the place. After a moſt laborious ſiege, which laſted ſeven months, he at laſt made himſelf maſter of the city, which was burnt to the ground, almoſt all the inhabitants being either ſlain or made ſlaves, as we have related in the hiſtory of the *Phœnicians*. While he was engaged in this ſiege, he received a ſecond letter from *Darius*, who now condeſcended to give him the title of king, and offered him new terms of peace, which were rejected by *Alexander*.

He marches to *Jeruſalem*.

After the reduction of *Tyre*, *Alexander* marched towards *Jeruſalem*, with the deſign of chaſtiſing the *Jews*, who had highly offended him during the ſiege; for when he ſent to demand of them proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of his troops, they anſwered, that they were the ſubjects of *Darius*, bound by oath not to ſupply his enemies. The *Jews*, upon the news of the approach of the *Macedonians*, were under the greateſt terror, and implored the protection of God by prayers, particular faſts, and other ſolemn acts of devotion. God was at

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* Curt. lib. iv. Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Juſtin. lib. xi. See the hiſtory of Phœnice.

length

length pleaſed to anſwer their petitions, by commanding *Jaddua* the high-prieſt in a viſion, to array himſelf in his pontifical habit, to direct the prieſts to put on their proper garments, and ſolemnly to advance with the people clothed in white, to meet the *Grecian* prince. The *Jews* accordingly went out of their city in this ſolemn manner to meet *Alexander*, who, the moment he perceived the high-prieſt, haſted towards him, bowed himſelf before him, and ſaluted him with a religious veneration. The *Macedonians* were ſeized with inexpreſſible ſurprize; but the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, who, out of mere hatred to the *Jews*, had taken part in this expedition, were filled with ſorrow and diſcontent. *Parmenio* taking the liberty of aſking the king why he adored the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, he anſwered, that he did not adore the prieſt, but God, whoſe miniſter he was; for when he was at *Dium* in *Macedonia*, and much troubled in his mind about his *Aſiatic* expedition, this very perſon in his pontifical robes appeared to him in a dream, and exhorted him to lay aſide doubts and fears, and paſs boldly into *Aſia*; for that God would be his guide, and give him the empire of the *Perſians*. On ſeeing therefore this perſon, he was convinced, that what he did was by the expreſs aſſiſtance of the Deity, who, he doubted not, would protect him in all his future expeditions. *Alexander* then, embracing the high-prieſt and all his brethren, walked in the midſt of them to *Jeruſalem*, and offered ſacrifices in the temple. The high-prieſt afterwards ſhewed him the paſſages in the prophet *Daniel* relating to himſelf. *Alexander*, filled with joy and admiration, before he left *Jeruſalem*, aſſembled the *Jews*, and bid them aſk any favour whatſoever. They anſwered, that their requeſt was to be allowed to live according to the laws which their anceſtors had left them, and to be exempt from their uſual ſeventh year's tribute, in which they neither plowed nor ſowed. *Alexander* granted their requeſt; but when the *Samaritans*, who had aſſiſted him at the ſiege of *Tyre*, ſoon after applied to him for ſome favours of the ſame kind, he diſmiſſed them with an unſatisfactory anſwer, and proceeded to *Gaza*, which ſtill held for *Darius*. *Joſephus* is the only antient author who mentions *Alexander*'s journey to *Jeruſalem*. As there are ſome contradictory circumſtances in his account, and as all other authors ſay that the *Macedonians* marched directly from *Tyre* to *Gaza*, ſome modern critics have imagined that the ſtory of *Joſephus* is a mere fable *.

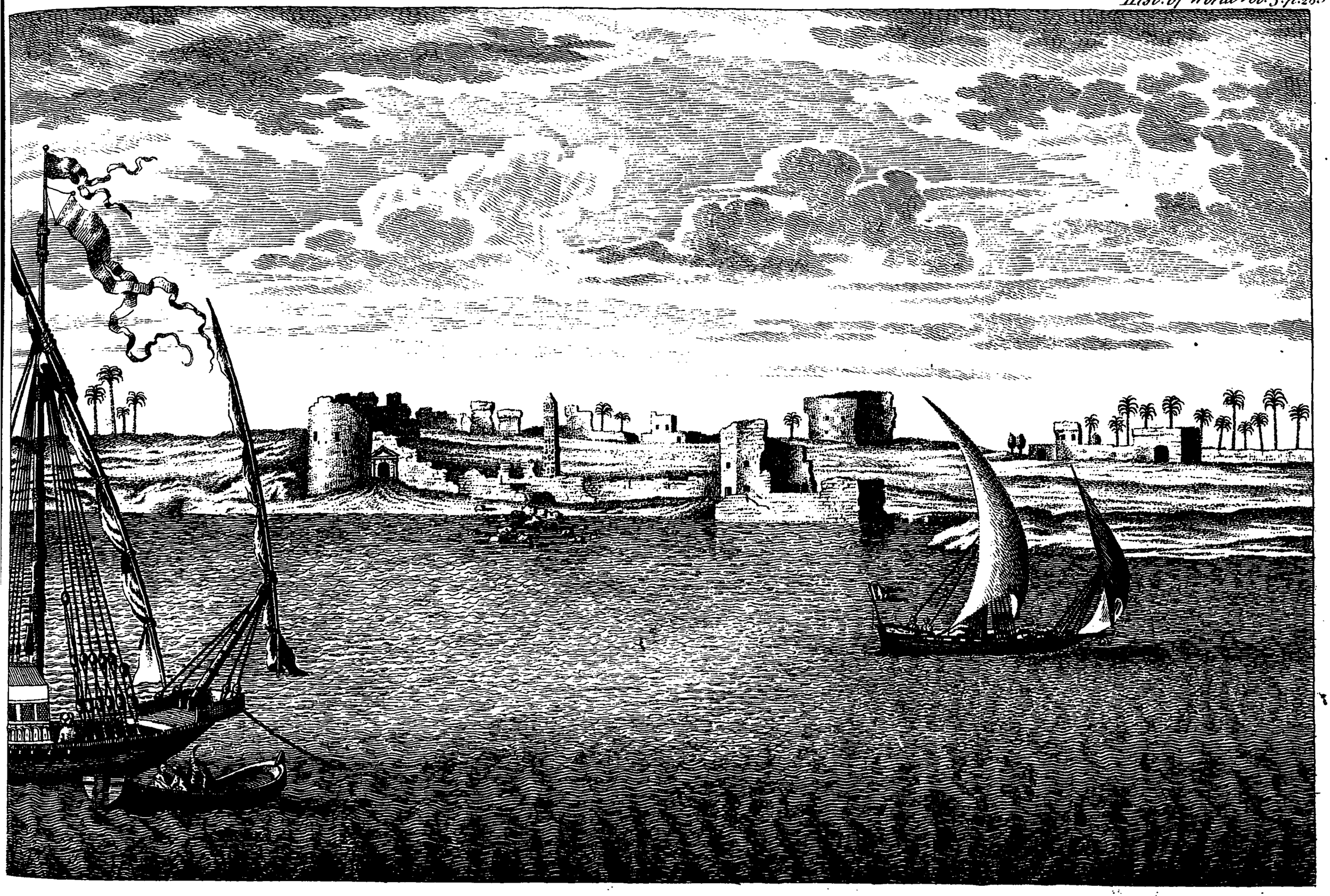
His kindneſs to the *Jews*.

Bætis, the governor of *Gaza*, having been at great pains to provide every thing neceſſary for a vigorous defence, refuſed, when ſummoned, to deliver up the place, upon which *Alexander* cauſed it to be immediately inveſted, although his council looked upon the place as impregnable. After a moſt obſtinate ſiege of two months, during which he himſelf had received two

He takes *Gaza*.

* Moyle's works, vol. II.

dangerous



A View of old Alexandria with the Obelisk commonly called the Needle of Cleopatra.

dangerous wounds, he took the place by ſtorm, when, in a moſt inhuman manner, he ordered the faithful *Bætis* to be dragged round the city till he expired, by a rope put through a hole bored in his heels. The inhabitants were alſo treated by him with great cruelty, in reſentment for their gallant defence. Though the loſs of the *Macedonians* on this occaſion is not ſpecified, yet it is probable that it muſt have been very great; for *Amyntas* was ſent to *Macedonia* for recruits, and *Alexander* ſoon after was at great pains to encreaſe his army by foreign ſoldiers.

Upon the arrival of ſome recruits from *Greece*, *Alexander* left a garriſon in *Gaza*, and in ſeven days arrived at *Peluſium*, which he took poſſeſſion of without any oppoſition, the *Perſian* governor judging it in vain to make any defence, as the *Egyptians* now openly teſtified a great diſaffection to his nation, in reſentment of the indignities thrown upon their idolatrous religion by the *Perſians*. *Alexander* was received by the *Egyptians* as their deliverer, and upon his arrival at *Memphis*, offered pompous ſacrifices not only to the *Grecian* gods, but alſo to the *Egyptian Apis*. He likewiſe celebrated magnificent games, and ſailing down the river from *Memphis* to the ſea, he fixed upon a ſpot, not far from the *Canopic* mouth of the *Nile*, for building a magnificent city, which he called *Alexandria*, after his own name. This city, which was built with great elegance by the architect, who had rebuilt the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, and was moſt conveniently ſituated for commerce, became in after ages ſo rich and famous, that, in the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, there were on its rolls 300,000 freemen. *Alexander* himſelf now directed where every public ſtructure ſhould be erected, and fixed the number of temples, and the deities to whom they ſhould be dedicated, aſſigning particularly a large and eminent ſite for a temple to the *Egyptian Iſis*.

He is joyfully received by the *Egyptians*; founds *Alexandria*;

Alexander, at this time, formed his extraordinary deſign of viſiting the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, in the deſarts of *Libya*; but with what intention authors are not agreed, though it is generally ſuppoſed he was prompted thereto by his ambition and vanity. According to *Arrian*, he wanted to imitate *Perſeus* and *Hercules*, both of whom, it is ſaid, conſulted this oracle. Whatever were his motives, it is certain he hazarded himſelf and his army in the higheſt degree, by undertaking a march of near 200 miles through a barren waſte, entirely deſtitute of water, and without any path, the ſands being ſo fluctuating, that they are moved by every wind, and ſometimes ſo raiſed as to bury whole armies. From theſe impending miſchiefs all authors agree that *Alexander* was miraculouſly delivered; for when the water brought on camels backs was ſpent, there fell a prodigious ſhower of rain, wherewith they filled all their veſſels; and when their guides could no longer diſtinguiſh the road, great numbers of ravens, as moſt authors relate, flew before the army with a ſlow motion, and continued with them till they arrived at the temple, which was ſituated in a moſt fertile ſpot, about five miles in circumference.

and viſits the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*.

This

This beautiful iſland, if it may be ſo called, is planted with groves of palm-trees, and watered with fountains and dews. There is alſo here a fountain, the nature and properties of which are very ſingular. Its waters at mid-day are cool, towards evening they begin to be warm, and at midnight are boiling hot. A kind of foſſile ſalt was dug up in the country, which the prieſts of *Ammon* carried to *Egypt* in little boxes, and beſtowed on the king, or ſome great men, as a preſent. It was tranſparent like cryſtal, and being purer than ſea ſalt, was uſed by the *Egyptians* in their ſacrifices. *Alexander*, according to *Arrian*, conſulted the oracle in perſon, and received its anſwer, which conſiſted, according to *Diodorus*, of three particulars, though other authors ſay that it was kept ſecret. The prieſt, *Diodorus* ſays, acknowledged him the ſon of *Jupiter Ammon*, he alſo declared to the king that he ſhould ſubdue the whole world, and aſſured him that the murderers of *Philip* were puniſhed. From this time, in all his letters, orders, and decrees, he always wrote in the ſtile following: Alexander *king*, *ſon of* Jupiter Ammon. His mother *Olympias*, however, was ſo offended with his propagating of theſe vain ſtories, that ſhe ſent to deſire him to forbear embroiling her with *Juno*.

He ſettles the government of *Egypt*,

Alexander, on his return to *Memphis*, received embaſſies of congratulation from moſt of the ſtates of *Greece*, as alſo recruits both of horſe and foot. As he allowed the *Egyptians* to live under their own laws, he appointed *Dolorpis*, an eminent *Egyptian*, governor of the province, leaving garriſons, however, in all the places of ſtrength under officers in whom he confided. Theſe commanders were independant of each other, the province being thought of too great conſequence to be committed to a ſingle perſon, or to be truſted in the hands of men of high quality.

and puniſhes the *Samaritans*.

Theſe regulations being made during the winter, *Alexander* early in the ſpring marched towards *Tyre*, where all his forces were ordered to aſſemble. On his way thither, he was informed that *Andromachus*, one of his favourites, whom he had left ſuperintendant of *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, was murdered with his retinue in *Samaria*. *Alexander* was highly exaſperated againſt the *Samaritans* for this cruel action, and having cauſed thoſe concerned in the murder, who could be diſcovered, to be put to death, eſtabliſhed a colony of *Macedonians* in *Samaria*, and gave part of its territories to the *Jews*. He alſo diſmiſſed 8000 *Samaritans* who had ſerved in his troops, and appointed them lands in upper *Egypt*.

Upon his arrival at *Tyre*, *Alexander*, at the requeſt of the *Athenian* ambaſſadors who met him in that city, pardoned thoſe *Athenians* whom he had found in the *Perſian* ſervice, and ſent alſo a fleet to the coaſt of *Greece*, to prevent the effects of ſome commotions which had lately happened in the *Peloponneſe*. Having regulated ſome other affairs relating to his conqueſts, he began his march for *Thapſacus*, a city on the *Euphrates*. *Statira*, the queen of *Darius*, dying during this march, *Alexander* cauſed her

her to be buried in the moſt magnificent manner. *Mazæus*, who was left to guard the *Euphrates* with a great body of horſe, having waſted the adjacent country, and abandoned his poſt, *Alexander* cauſed a bridge that had been broken down to be repaired, and marched over with his army without oppoſition. He then proceeded through *Meſopotamia* by an indirect road, which he took to avoid defiles, and for the eaſier procuring of proviſions. *Darius*, who had aſſembled another numerous army, ſent *Satropates* and *Mazæus* with 7000 horſe to guard the paſſage of the *Tigris*; but a little before their arrival the *Macedonians* had paſſed that river with great difficulty. The *Macedonians* having reſted on the banks of the *Tigris* two days, the night before they intended to begin their march the moon was eclipſed, which threw them into the greateſt conſternation, ſo that in a mutinous manner they refuſed to proceed, exclaiming that heaven diſplayed the marks of its anger, that they were dragged, againſt the will of the gods, to the utmoſt extremities of the earth, merely to ſatisfy the ambition of one man, who contemned his own country, diſowned his father, and pretended to paſs for a god. Some *Egyptian* ſoothſayers, however, who attended the army, declaring that this eclipſe foreboded ſome great calamity to the *Perſians*, as the moon was predominant in *Perſia* and the ſun in *Greece*, the hopes and courage of the *Macedonians* were quickly revived. As both armies were now within a few miles of each other, ambaſſadors again came to *Alexander* from *Darius* with new offers for a peace; but *Alexander* refuſed to hearken to any propoſals, unleſs *Darius* would acknowledge him as his lord and ſovereign. The two armies, a few days after, came to a deciſive engagement in the plains of *Gaugamela*, or *Arbela*, on the eaſt ſide of the *Tigris*, where the *Perſians*, after an obſtinate engagement, were at laſt totally routed. There is ſcarce any fixing of the number of the combatants or of the ſlain. According to *Arrian*, the *Macedonian* army conſiſted of 7000 horſe and 40,000 foot. Some hiſtorians make the number of the *Perſians* upwards of a million; but, according to the ſmalleſt accounts, it was ten times as numerous as that of the *Macedonians*. According to *Diodorus*, there were upwards of 90,000 *Perſians* ſlain, and 500 of the *Macedonians*, though there were many of the latter wounded. In the morning of the battle, *Alexander*, who had been fatigued the night before, ſleeped ſo long, that *Parmenio* was forced to awake him, and aſking him how he could ſleep ſo ſoundly, as if he were already victorious: *So I am*, ſaid *Alexander* ſmiling, *ſince I ſhall no longer be put to the trouble of following* Darius *hither and thither through a country already deſtroyed by the length of the war.*

Alexander, being informed that *Darius* was retired towards *Media*, thought it then unneceſſary, and indeed impracticable, to follow him, and therefore began his march to *Babylon*. *Arbela* having ſurrendered to him a few days after the battle, he found there all the rich baggage of the *Perſian* army, with 4000 talents,

Alexander paſſes the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, and the *Perſians* at *Gaugamela*. Bef. Ch. 331.

talents. As he approached *Babylon*, *Mazæus*, the governor of that city, who had behaved very gallantly in the late battle, put him in poſſeſſion of the place. He probably concluded, that it would be impoſſible to defend the city, as the *Babylonians*, whoſe temples and idols had been deſtroyed by the *Perſians*, were eager to revolt to *Alexander*. They welcomed the conqueror into their city with the greateſt acclamations, and having conducted him through their ſtreets in a grand proceſſion, made him preſents of very high value. *Alexander*, in return, ordered all their temples to be rebuilt, offered ſacrifices himſelf to *Belus*, and ſent for their prieſts and converſed with them. As he was a prince of great learning, he enquired after the aſtronomical obſervations which were ſaid to have been preſerved, for a long tract of time, in that city, and cauſed the beſt account that could be got of them to be tranſmitted to his tutor *Ariſtotle*.

He enters *Babylon*.

The conqueſts of *Alexander* were far from being acceptable to the *Greek* ſtates, who dreaded, that if they did not ſecure their liberties, before the *Perſian* empire was abſolutely deſtroyed, it would then be impoſſible to reſiſt the conqueror. Accordingly, ſoon after the battle of *Iſſus*, hearing that *Memnon*, governor of *Thrace*, had rebelled, and that *Antipater* was preparing to march againſt him, they took arms under the conduct of *Agis*, king of *Lacedæmon*. *Antipater*, compoſing matters in *Thrace*, marched againſt *Agis*, whom he defeated and killed, with 5300 of his men. *Antipater* himſelf loſt 3500 men; but the *Athenians* and ſeveral others declaring for him, the other ſtates were obliged to remain quiet.

Antipater obliges the *Greeks* to remain quiet.

Alexander having ſtaid thirty days at *Babylon*, where his troops had indulged themſelves in all manner of voluptuous pleaſures, left *Mazæus* governor of the city; but gave the command of the garriſon in the citadel to a *Macedonian*. He then proceeded to *Suſa*, where he was put in poſſeſſion of the treaſures of *Darius*, amounting, according to *Arrian*, to 50,000 talents, though others ſay that they were double that value. In this treaſury, among other curioſities, were veſſels filled with water from the *Nile* and the *Danube*, as monuments of the great extent of the *Perſian* empire. About this time arrived a body of recruits under the command of *Amyntas*; they conſiſted of about 2000 horſe and 13,500 foot, which he directly incorporated into his veteran army.

Alexander takes poſſeſſion of *Suſa*,

Leaving a ſtrong garriſon in *Suſa*, *Alexander*, after a march of four days, paſſed the *Paſitigris* with 9000 foot and 4000 horſe, and entered the country of the *Uxians*. *Madates*, the governor, defended the chief city of the province with great reſolution, and when it was taken, withdrew with ſome troops into the citadel, but was at length obliged to ſubmit. *Alexander*, though greatly irritated at the oppoſition he had made, not only pardoned him at the interceſſion of *Siſygambis*, whoſe niece he had married, but left him as governor over the *Uxians*, whoſe territories he would not ſuffer to be plundered.

reduces the *Uxians*,

The

The *Uxians* being reduced, *Alexander* ordered *Parmenio* to march with part of the army, together with the carriages and baggage, through the common open road, while he, with the *Macedonian* foot, the light armed troops, and a body of horſe and archers, marched over the mountains to the *Perſian* ſtreights, which he found guarded by *Ariobarzanes* with a ſmall body of men. After an ineffectual attack, he was obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs, many of his men having been killed by the ſtones thrown down by the *Perſians*. While *Alexander* was anxious to advance, a ſhepherd was brought to him, who offered to conduct him to the top of the mountains by another paſs. The king, leaving *Craterus* with the greateſt part of the troops in his camp, followed this guide, and marching during the night 100 furlongs, and paſſing a river, arrived at the new road, which conducted to the top of the mountain, where he ſurprized *Ariobarzanes*; and *Craterus* at the ſame time attacking the *Perſians* from below, they were ſoon routed and diſperſed. *Alexander*, being poſſeſſed of the ſtraits, proceeded to *Perſis*, and by long marches reached *Perſepolis*, which, the day after, he, in a barbarous manner, allowed his ſoldiers to plunder, when many of the inhabitants were moſt cruelly maſſacred. He is ſaid to have found in this city 120,000 talents. During his ſtay at *Perſepolis* he gave himſelf up to feaſting and drinking, and in one of his drunken entertainments he ſet fire to the *Perſian* palace, which was the moſt magnificent pile that, or perhaps any other, part of the world could boaſt of. Some authors, however, ſay, that the palace was burnt deliberately, contrary to the remonſtrances of *Parmenio*; but all agree, that *Alexander* quickly repented of what he had done, and gave orders to have the fire extinguiſhed.

forces a paſſage to *Perſepolis*,

plunders the city,

and ſets fire to the royal palace.

Being informed that *Darius* was at *Ecbatan* in *Media*, with an army of about 30,000 men, the following ſpring he left *Perſepolis* in purſuit of him, and marching near forty miles a day, in fifteen days he reached *Ecbatan*. Upon his arrival, he was informed that *Darius* had retired from thence five days before, with an intent to paſs into the remoteſt provinces of his empire. Seeing it now in vain to hurry himſelf in the purſuit, he gave leave to the *Theſſalian* horſe to depart, and beſides their pay ordered 2000 talents to be diſtributed amongſt them. Many of them, however, upon his declaring that he would accept of any volunteers among them, again enrolled themſelves. He ſent a body of horſe as an eſcort to the reſt, and ordered that they ſhould be ſafely landed in *Eubœa*, without any expence to themſelves. He then directed *Parmenio* to lay up all the treaſures of *Perſia* under a ſtrong guard, which he left there. Theſe treaſures, according to *Strabo*, amounted to 180,000 talents, or 190,000 according to *Juſtin*.

He goes in purſuit of *Darius*.

Antipater, in the mean time, having obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to aſk a peace, refuſed to come to any agreement, but on condition that they ſent deputies to *Aſia*, to beg pardon of *Alexander*. Theſe ſervices gave him a great intereſt in the heart of

The affairs of *Greece*.

his prince, who ſent inſtructions to keep always a guard about his perſon, and made him ſuch remittances, as were ſufficient to ſupport the expence neceſſary for preſerving the tranquillity of *Greece*. He likewiſe ſent immenſe ſums to his mother, and moſt magnificent preſents to his old friends and acquaintance. He never would allow his mother, however, to meddle with affairs of ſtate or war, well knowing her turbulent and intriguing ſpirit, as he received repeated complaints againſt her from *Antipater*. One day, after reading a long letter from *Antipater*, full of complaints againſt her, he ſaid, Antipater *ſeems not to know, that one tear of a mother effaces a thouſand ſuch letters as this.*

Alexander, after regulating his affairs at *Ecbatan*, again purſued after *Darius* with a body of horſe and light armed troops, and arrived on the 11th day, with only 60 horſemen, at *Rages*, where, being informed that *Darius* had paſſed the *Caſpian* ſtraits ſome time before, he halted for five days. Having then advanced with his troops through theſe ſtraits, upon his entering *Parthia* news was brought him, that *Beſſus* governor of *Bactria*, *Barzaentes* preſident of *Arachoſia*, and *Nabarzanes* a general of horſe, had conſpired againſt *Darius*, and made him priſoner. On this intelligence he advanced with a ſmall body of light armed horſe, and by marching day and night, almoſt without any intermiſſion, on the fifth day came up with *Beſſus*, whoſe troops immediately fled and diſperſed. While the *Macedonians* were putting the ſtragglers to death, *Darius* was found in a cart mortally wounded, and expired before *Alexander* came up to him. *Oxathres*, the brother of *Darius*, was received into the number of *Alexander*'s friends, and the body of *Darius* was ſent with all the pomp ſuitable to his quality to *Siſygambis*.

The death of *Darius*. Ecſ. Ch. 330.

Alexander having collected his forces, and ſettled the government of *Parthia*, entered *Hyrcania*, which quickly ſubmitted to him. Here *Nabarzanes* the traitor ſurrendered himſelf. The *Greek* mercenaries, who had followed *Darius* till he was taken priſoner, now ſubmitted, and were ſoon after taken into his ſervice. From *Hyrcania Alexander* entered the country of the *Mardi*, who were alſo eaſily ſubdued. A party of them having carried off his famous horſe *Bucephalus*, he ordered proclamation to be made, that if the horſe was not reſtored without injury, he would burn and deſtroy their whole country. The *Mardi* immediately ſent back *Bucephalus*, and ſubmitted to *Alexander*, who appointed *Autophrodates* governor of their country. He then returned to the main body of his army, where his ſoldiers impatiently expected him, in hopes of having ſome bounds ſet to their labours, and an end of the war at leaſt propoſed.

Alexander reduces *Hyrcania*, and the *Mardi*.

Alexander afterwards marched to *Zeudracarta*, the capital of *Hyrcania*, where, for fifteen days, he celebrated ſolemn games, and ſacrificed, with great magnificence, to the gods of *Greece*. He then entered *Aria*, and upon his arrival at the chief city of that province, *Satibarzanes*, the governor thereof, ſubmitted to him. *Alexander*, aſſigning him a guard of *Macedonian* archers,

continued

continued him in his government; and hearing that *Beſſus* had assumed the title of king of *Aſia*, he marched againſt that traitor. He had hardly left *Aria*, when *Satibarzanes* put the *Macedonian* guards to death, and aſſembled a great body of forces in the neighbourhood of the chief city, called *Aritoana*. On this news, *Alexander* inſtantly marched back with a body of horſe and light armed troops, and travelling 70 miles in two days, came up with *Satibarzanes*, who, inſtead of attacking the wearied *Macedonians*, fled with all the expedition he was able to *Beſſus*. *Alexander*, having puniſhed the chiefs in this rebellion either with death or ſlavery, appointed *Ariſames*, the ſon of *Artabanus*, governor of *Aria*, and then marched againſt the *Zarangæ*, who had taken arms under the traitor *Barzaentes*. When *Alexander* drew near them, *Barzaentes* began to ſuſpect their fidelity, and privately leaving the camp, ſought protection among the nations beyond the *Indus*; but they, deteſting his treachery, delivered him up to *Alexander*, who cauſed him to be put to death.

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The immenſe treaſures of the *Perſians*, which *Alexander*, in a moſt munificent manner, had laviſhed among his chief officers and favourites, now began to infect their manners, and they expreſſed a fondneſs for the eaſtern extravagance and luxury. Many of them, inſtead of anointing themſelves with plain oil, uſed precious ointments. *Agnon* the *Teian* wore ſilver nails in his ſhoes; *Leonatus* employed ſeveral camels only to bring him powder out of *Egypt* to be uſed when he wreſtled; *Hephæſtion* affected, in every thing, the *Perſian* manner of living; and *Philotas* is ſaid to have been nice in his dreſs, his table, and his equipage. *Alexander* reprimanded them with great mildneſs and diſcretion, telling them, he wondered that they ſhould not know by experience, that labour and induſtry made people ſleep more ſweetly and ſoundly than lazineſs, and that if they would compare the *Perſian* manner with their own, they would be convinced, that to be effeminate and voluptuous was the moſt ſlaviſh condition, and that nothing was more noble and princely than labour. By his own behaviour he alſo diſcouraged to the utmoſt this lazy and inactive pride; for he now expoſed himſelf more than ever to the fatigues of hunting and war, readily embracing all opportunities of hardſhip and danger.

The *Macedonian* chiefs indulge in luxury.

Reprimanded by *Alexander*.

The courtiers, however, were neither influenced by the diſcourſes or actions of *Alexander*; but even proceeded to cenſure his conduct, particularly for continuing the war, and leading them conſtantly from one labour to another. This at firſt he bore very patiently, ſaying, *It became a king to do well, and to be ill ſpoken of.* Finding, however, their mutinous ſpirit ſtill encreaſing, he at length harangued the army in a public manner, and his ſpeech had ſuch an effect upon them, that they unanimouſly cried out, they were ready to follow him whitherſoever he ſhould lead them.

They complain of the length of the war.

From this time he more and more endeavoured to accuſtom himſelf to the *Perſian* cuſtoms, which he blended with thoſe of

Alexander adopts the customs of the *Perſians*.

the *Macedonians*, in hopes that this mixture and communication would produce a mutual friendſhip between the two nations. With this view he choſe out 30,000 boys, to whom he allowed maſters to teach them the *Greek* tongue, and to train them up to arms according to the *Macedonian* diſcipline. He conferred governments, offices at court, and all other marks both of confidence and favour indiſcriminately on *Perſians* and *Greeks*; and, by marrying *Roxana*, ſecured the affection and regard of the barbarians.

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

A conſpiracy, in the mean time, was formed againſt him in his own camp by ſome of the diſcontented *Macedonians*. One *Dymnus*, or *Limnus*, a *Macedonian* of no great rank in the army, having entered into a plot with ſome others againſt the king, preſſed *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loved, to join in the conſpiracy, which was to be put in execution in three days. *Nicomachus*, far from approving of the treaſon, communicated the plot to his brother *Cebalinus*, who immediately repaired to the royal quarters, and diſcloſing the matter to *Philotas*, the ſon of *Parmenio*, begged him to introduce him to the king, he being twice a day admitted to the royal preſence. *Philotas*, though he had a long conference with the king that very day, never mentioned the plot, and next morning excuſed himſelf to *Cebalinus*, by alledging, that he wanted an opportunity; but aſſured him he would do it ſpeedily, though he omitted throughout this day alſo. *Cebalinus*, fearing that in caſe the conſpiracy ſhould be diſcovered by another perſon, his ſilence ſhould be interpreted as criminal, therefore applied to one of the king's pages, who introduced him to *Alexander*, when he gave a full account of the conſpiracy, and alſo told how *Philotas* had trifled with him. The king, extremely offended, ordered *Dymnus* to be ſeized, and *Philotas* to be ſent for to him. *Dymnus*, as ſoon as he was apprehended, ſtabbed himſelf ſo deſperately, that he died before he could be examined. *Philotas*, when the king aſked him, whether *Cebalinus* had informed him of the conſpiracy, ingenuouſly confeſſed that he had, but made his apology by ſaying, that he thought the ſtory not worthy the leaſt credit, and that he was unwilling to alarm the king with needleſs fears. He then threw himſelf at *Alexander*'s feet, and embraced his knees, and it is ſaid, the king gave him his hand in token of forgiveneſs.

The conſpiracy diſcovered.

As *Philotas*, by his haughty behaviour, had created many enemies, they ſeized this opportunity of ruining him. *Craterus* particularly urged, that *Alexander* ought to examine more fully into the conſpiracy of *Dymnus*, who probably was not the chief agent in the plot. Having obtained an order from *Alexander* to ſeize *Philotas*, who that night had ſupped with the king, they immediately went to his tent, where they found him aſleep. As they were putting the manacles upon his hands he awaked, and cried, *Alas, my ſovereign, the malice of my enemies has got the better of your goodneſs!* When he was firſt put to the rack, he denied every thing; but at laſt, unable to bear the pain, he

impeached many, and among the reſt his father. In all likelihood he ſaid any thing that he thought might deliver him from his torments. Next morning *Philotas* was accuſed of being concerned in the treaſon of *Dymnus* before 6000 *Macedonians*; the army, according to antient cuſtom, having the right of trying capital offences. He made a warm and animated defence againſt the charge, urging, that if he had been concerned in the treaſon, he would not probably have ſuffered *Cebalinus* to have remained two days at court, at full liberty to apply himſelf to others; but the aſſembly, being influenced by his capital enemies, adjudged him to the torture, and, in conſequence of his confeſſion, condemned him to be put to death. *Philotas* being puniſhed as a traitor, orders were immediately diſpatched to *Media* to put *Parmenio* to death. *Polydamas*, one of his friends, undertook that office; and accordingly he, with *Cleander*, *Sytacles*, and *Menidas*, ſtabbed *Parmenio*, then in the 70th year of his age, as he was walking in his park, and his head being ſent to *Alexander*, the miſerable remains were mournfully interred by the ſoldiers.

Philotas and other conſpirators put to death.

In conſequence of theſe executions, other perſons were alſo accuſed of treaſon; *Amyntas*, *Attalus*, and *Symmias*, all brethren, were ſeized on account of their intimacy with *Philotas*, and becauſe their fourth brother, *Polemon*, had fled to the enemy. Upon their trial *Amyntas* defended himſelf ſo well, that that they were all acquitted. He having then obtained leave to go in ſearch of his brother, was ſo ſucceſsful as to bring him back, which, ſays *Arrian*, was thought a convincing proof that they were all innocent.

Theſe treaſons, or pretended treaſons, greatly diſturbed the army, eſpecially the *Macedonians*, who, not contented with freely cenſuring the king's vices, accuſed him alſo in the letters that they wrote to *Macedonia*, which were intercepted by *Alexander*. The king, by this means, diſcovered all the malecontents, whom he picked out from the other troops, and diſpoſed in one body, giving them the name of the *turbulent battalion*, and appointing *Leonidas* to command them. As a farther precaution againſt any future conſpiracy, he gave the command of the auxiliary horſe to two generals, namely, *Hephæſtion* and *Clytus*.

Alexander purſues his former deſigns.

To prevent the ill conſequences that might ariſe from the diſcontent of his troops, he ſet out on his march in purſuit of *Beſſus*, and having paſſed through *Drangiana*, he entered the country of the *Euergetæ*, as they were called by the *Greeks*, that is, *benefactors*, having obtained that name on account of their hoſpitality to *Cyrus* the great, whoſe army they relieved when he was marching againſt the *Scythians*. They now received the *Macedonians* in the ſame friendly manner, and *Alexander* having ſtaid ſome time among them, at his departure added ſome lands to their dominions. His kindneſs to the *Euergetæ* influenced all the other inhabitants of *Arachoſia*, the moſt eaſtern province of the *Perſian* empire, to ſubmit to him. While he paſſed part

of the winter in this province, he was informed that *Satibarzanes* had returned to *Aria* with 2000 horſe, and had aſſembled a conſiderable army. He inſtantly diſpatched three of his commanders thither with a body of horſe and foot, and *Satibarzanes*, hazarding an engagement with them, was killed in the action, and his troops diſperſed; the province was then quickly reduced by the *Macedonian* troops. *Alexander*, in the mean time, proceeded northwards to the mountain *Paropamiſus*, which the *Macedonians* looked upon as part of *Caucaſus*. He found the country near the mountain for the moſt part plain, without trees, and covered with ſnow, having large open villages ſcattered here and there. The *Macedonians*, in their marches through this melancholy plain, were expoſed to vaſt inconveniencies, their eyes being grievouſly affected with the reflexion of the light from the ſnow and ice; the exceſſive cold alſo ſeized on thoſe who, through wearineſs, either walked ſlow or ſat down; ſo that great numbers of the troops periſhed. *Alexander*, having in ſixteen days marched acroſs *Paropamiſus*, came at length to a pleaſant plain, where he cauſed a city to be built, which he named *Alexandria*, as alſo ſeveral other towns, about a day's journey from thence, and in theſe places he left 7000 perſons, who, weary of continual fatigue, were content to dwell there. Not far from hence inhabited the *Branchidæ*, who were the deſcendants of a family of *Miletus*, who followed *Xerxes* out of their own country, after having betrayed to him the treaſures of *Apollo Didymæus*. Though theſe people expreſſed a great joy at the arrival of the *Macedonians*, yet *Alexander*, to denote his abomination of the ſacrilege of their anceſtors, moſt unjuſtly put them to death, and razed their city.

Beſſus, in the mean time, to prevent *Alexander* from purſuing him, laid waſte all the country between *Paropamiſus* and the river *Oxus*, and paſſing that river with his forces, burnt all the boats which he himſelf had made uſe of. *Alexander*, notwithſtanding all the difficulties he had to encounter with, continued his march, and quickly reduced all *Bactria* under his obedience, particularly *Bactra*, the capital city, and *Aornus*, a ſtrong fortreſs, where he left a gariſon, appointing *Artabazus* governor of the province. On his arrival at the river *Oxus*, he found it three quarters of a mile over, its waters very deep, and ſo rapid, as to render it almoſt unnavigable, neither boat nor tree in its neighbourhood; ſo that the ableſt commanders in the *Macedonian* army were of opinion, that they ſhould be obliged to march back. *Alexander*, however, ſending away all infirm and worn-out ſoldiers under a proper eſcort, that they might be conducted ſafe to the ſea-ports, and from thence to *Greece*, ordered the ſkins that ſerved to cover the tents to be ſtuffed with ſtraw, and by that means floated over his army in five days, as the enemy did not dare to defend the banks. In the mean time *Spitamenes*, the chief confident of *Beſſus*, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, in concert with two more of his principal officers, and ſoon after brought him in chains with a rope

He reduces Bactria and Sogdiana.

rope about his neck to *Alexander*. The traitor was delivered by the king to *Oxathres*, the brother of *Darius*, who cauſed him to be put to death by tortures.

Alexander, having remounted his cavalry, which had ſuffered very much by their long and dangerous marches, advanced to *Maracanda*, the capital of *Sogdia*, and from thence to the river *Jaxartes*. Near this river the *Macedonians* were ſurpriſed by the barbarians, who ſlew ſeveral of them, and carried off ſome priſoners to their faſtneſſes, where they had aſſembled to the number of upwards of 20,000. *Alexander* marched to attack them with his horſe and light armed troops, who were more than once repulſed by the barbarians; but at laſt they took the place, and put more than one half of the enemy to the ſword. In this action *Alexander* was wounded in the leg by an arrow, the head of which ſtuck into the bone.

He advances to the capital of *Sogdia*.

Not many days after, the *Abii*, a famous *Scythian* people, ſent ambaſſadors to *Alexander* to deſire peace, and with them came alſo ambaſſadors from the *Scythians* in *Europe*. He received the *Abians* kindly, and ſent ſome of his people home with them, under colour of concluding the negotiations; but in truth to bring him advice of the ſituation of the country, the nature of its inhabitants, their force, and after what manner they made war. As he had marked out a ſpot of ground for building a city upon the *Jaxartes*, the barbarians began to be alarmed, and ſoon after openly revolted. *Alexander* ſent *Spitamenes* to the *Sogdians* and *Bactrians*, to perſuade them to lay down their arms; but he ſoon found that he was chiefly inſtrumental in promoting the inſurrection. He therefore reſolved to attack them without delay, and his troops having furniſhed themſelves with ſcaling ladders, he marched againſt *Gaza*, which was defended by a low wall built of mud. His troops preſently ſcaled the ramparts, and killed all the men whom they found. The women and children, and the riches of the place, *Alexander* gave to his ſoldiers, who the ſame day marched againſt another city, which they quickly made themſelves maſters of, the captives and booty being alſo delivered up to them. Next morning *Alexander* took a third city by aſſault, and ſent off his horſe to two other cities, to prevent the barbarians from receiving any intelligence of what had happened. They, however, hearing of the fate of their countrymen, endeavoured to eſcape out of their cities, but falling in among the *Macedonian* horſe, great numbers of them were cut to pieces. Theſe five cities being thus taken in two days, *Alexander* inveſted *Cyropolis*, the moſt populous of the whole country. Finding a channel of the branch of the *Jaxartes*, which run through the city almoſt dry, he with a ſmall body of men entered unobſerved that way, and burſting open the gates, gave admittance to the reſt. The *Macedonians*, after they had entered the city, were vigorouſly attacked by the barbarians, who were at laſt, however, driven from the market-place. In this action *Alexander* received a ſtunning blow on the head and neck

Reduces ſeveral cities.

with a ſtone, and *Craterus*, and many more of his captains, were wounded with miſſive weapons. The barbarians, the day after, ſurrendered the citadel and ſubmitted, having loſt in the attack upwards of 8000 men. *Alexander* moving from *Cyropolis* to a ſeventh city, took it at the firſt aſſault.

The *Scythians*, in the mean time, had come down in great numbers to the *Jaxartes*, to watch an opportunity of attacking the *Macedonians*; and news was brought, that *Spitamenes* had fortified himſelf in *Maracanda*, after driving out the *Macedonian* garriſon. *Alexander*, nevertheleſs, ſtill perſiſting in his deſign, marked out his new city, the extent of which was 60 furlongs; and his troops working with great eagerneſs, the ramparts were raiſed in 20 days. He gave the city to ſuch of the barbarians as had ſerved in his troops, to the mercenaries and ſuch of the *Macedonian* invaders as were willing to ſettle there.

Alexander builds a city near the *Jaxartes*.

Alexander, tho' very weak with the blow which he had lately received, was nevertheleſs impatient to paſs the *Jaxartes* and attack the *Scythians*, who had inſulted his troops from the oppoſite bank. The *Macedonians*, encouraged by the preſence of their king, whom they had not ſeen for ſeveral days, wrought with ſuch ardour, that in three days they made 12,000 rafts, or floats, and on theſe paſſed the river, tho' very rapid, in the face of the enemy, whom they repulſed, with the loſs of 1000 men, tho' they themſelves ſuffered conſiderably. One hundred *Macedonian* foot were ſlain, 60 horſe, and 1000 wounded. *Alexander* being very faint, and drinking freely of ſome ſtanding water, was ſeized with ſuch a flux as endangered his life. The king ordered the priſoners to be ſet at liberty; and a few days after, when ambaſſadors arrived from the *Scythian* king, to inform him, that the late proceedings were againſt his orders, he granted them a peace, being anxious to puniſh the revolters under *Spitamenes*.

Defeats the *Scythians* in thoſe parts.

Some time before he had ſent 60 auxiliary horſe, 800 mercenaries, and 1500 foot, led by *Pharnaces* to the relief of the garriſon of *Maracanda*. While theſe troops were on their march thither, *Spitamenes*, who had ſuffered conſiderably by a ſally of the beſieged, retired towards *Sogdia*. The *Macedonian* commanders imprudently purſued him, and on their march attacking a body of the *Scythian Nomades*, forced thoſe people to join him. *Spitamenes*, elated with ſo unexpected a reinforcement, attacked the *Macedonians*, who fought with great obſtinacy; but their leaders not acting in concert, they were ſoon thrown into diſorder, and all cut off, excepting 40 horſe and 300 foot.

Spitamenes gains an advantage over the *Macedonians*.

Alexander, to revenge this defeat, took half his auxiliary horſe, all his light armed foot, and a battalion of the phalanx, and marched to *Maracanda*, which was again beſieged by *Spitamenes*. On the news of *Alexander*'s approach, he retired with ſuch precipitation, that tho' he was purſued by the *Macedonians* a good way within the deſart, they could not overtake him.

Alexander

Alexander returning from the purſuit, buried all the ſoldiers who had fallen in the late engagement, and burned and waſted all the country thereabouts. He afterwards put his army into winter-quarters at *Zariaſpa*, whither *Arſanes*, who had begun to raiſe diſturbances in *Aria*, and *Barzaentes*, whom *Beſſus* had made governor of *Parthia*, were brought to him priſoners. A ſhort time after a body of recruits arrived, and that detachment alſo returned which had conducted ſuch as were diſcharged to their embarkation.

Alexander affects the *Perſian* manners.

Thus the army was again reſtored to a formidable greatneſs, *Alexander*'s court at the ſame time being very ſplendid from the reſort of the nobility of the adjacent provinces, and the arrival of many illuſtrious perſons from *Greece*. *Alexander* now began to throw off, in a great meaſure, the manners of a *Macedonian* prince, and to affect thoſe of a *Perſian* king. According to *Plutarch*, he aſſumed only ſome parts of the *Perſian* habit, and at firſt wore that dreſs only in private. Afterwards he appeared in it when he had any buſineſs to tranſact with his *Perſian* ſubjects. *Arrian*, however, ſays expreſsly, that he laid aſide the *Macedonian* for the *Median* habit; which account may be reconciled with that of *Plutarch*, if we ſuppoſe that he, by degrees, adopted the different parts of the *Perſian* dreſs, and at length ſcrupled not to uſe it at all times. The *Macedonians* were greatly diſguſted with this innovation; but *Alexander* now paid no regard to their cenſures, and being ſurrounded by ſycophants, was daily hurried into new extravagancies.

Murders *Clytus* at a banquet.

The *Greeks*, and eſpecially the *Macedonians*, obſerved an anniverſary feſtival to *Bacchus*. This year the king transferred the honour to the *Dioſcuri*, or *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and after the ſacrifices, invited the principal commanders in the army to a magnificent banquet. At ſupper, the diſcourſe turned upon the heroes to whom they had offered ſacrifices; it was aſked, with what propriety they were ſtiled the ſons of *Jupiter*, when it was notorious that *Tindarus* was their father. Some, who ſat near the king, laid hold of this fair opportunity to magnify his actions above thoſe of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and of *Hercules*; inſiſting on the natural envy of men towards their cotemporaries, and how unwilling they were to worſhip thoſe virtues which they adored in the dead. *Clytus*, an old officer, greatly reſpected by the whole army, took fire at theſe expreſſions, ſaid, he could not bear to hear ſuch indignities offered to the gods, to tickle the ears of a living prince. He allowed *Alexander*'s actions to be great and glorious; but affirmed, that they had nothing in them ſupernatural. Beſides, they were not performed, he ſaid, by him alone, but by the army, and therefore all the *Macedonians* had a right to ſhare in the praiſe due to thoſe exploits. *Alexander* being very angry at theſe reflexions, ſome of his flatterers, to ſoothe him, began to leſſen the actions of his father *Philip*; which provoked *Clytus* ſo far, that he began to detract from the merit of *Alexander*,

and

and to ſuggeſt, that nothing he had done deſerved to be compared with what had been performed by his father. *Alexander*, upon this, loſt all patience; and *Clytus* ſtill proceeding to upbraid him with the preſervation of his life at the battle of *Granicus*, ſtretching out his arm, and ſaying, *This hand*, O Alexander, *ſaved thee*, the king leaped upon him, and endeavoured to kill him; but was ſeparated from him by his friends. *Clytus* being intoxicated with wine, ſtill continued his reproachful expreſſions; whereupon the king called for ſome of his guards; but none appearing, he began to bemoan himſelf exceedingly, ſaying, *That he was now in the ſame condition with* Darius *when in the hands of* Beſſus; *that he had the empty name of a king, and nothing more.* His friends, upon this, retiring from him, he ſnatched a ſpear, and therewith ſtruck *Clytus* through and killed him. This is the ſubſtance of *Arrian*'s account. Other authors relate the tranſaction with ſome circumſtances no ways materially different.

Repents and abandons himſelf to grief.

As *Clytus* expired, the king's indignation inſtantly cooled; and if he had not been prevented by his friends, he would have killed himſelf with the ſame ſpear. His paſſion was ſucceeded by a fit of exceſſive grief. He bewailed the loſs of his faithful friend, the conſtant companion of his toils, his foſter-brother, and him to whom he owed his life; and inveighed againſt himſelf as one forgetful of the bond of gratitude, the ties of friendſhip, and the laws of nature. After lamentations and groans had quite waſted his ſpirits, he continued ſpeechleſs ſtretched on the ground, and only venting deep ſighs. The army, to ſooth their afflicted prince, who had refuſed meat for three days, condemned *Clytus*, and prohibited his interment, ſeeking thereby to extenuate the fact. His friends alſo forced into his apartment, and endeavoured to comfort him. The prieſts threw the blame upon *Bacchus*, who had inſpired the king with fury, for having transferred his feſtival to the *Dioſcuri*.

He is baſely flattered by *Anaxarchus*.

Calliſthenes, the ſcholar and relation of *Ariſtotle*, ſought to compoſe the king's ſpirits by honeſt and moral diſcourſes: but *Anaxarchus* of *Abdera*, a ſophiſt, moſt baſely flattered his vanity, and corrupted his manners. When he entered, he cried out aloud, "Is this *Alexander*, whom the world looks upon with "ſuch admiration! Behold him extended on the ground, and "weeping like an abject ſlave, for fear of the laws and re"proach of men, to whom he himſelf ought to be a law, and "the meaſurer of equity, ſince he conquered for no other "end but to make himſelf lord of all, and not to be a ſlave "to a vain, idle opinion. Do not you know that *Jupiter* is "repreſented ſitting on his throne, with *Law* on one ſide, and "*Juſtice* on the other; intimating thereby, that let a ſovereign "prince do what he will, all his actions are juſt and lawful." With theſe, and the like arguments, *Anaxarchus* not only allayed the king's grief, but inſinuated himſelf into his favour; and

and by his baſe compliances, rendered him ſtill more diſſolute and violent.

The ſycophants that ſurrounded him, perceiving that their poiſonous ſpeeches were very grateful to him, ſtill continued them, and endeavoured to perſuade him, that, in their opinion, he was ſomething more than man, and that it was injuſtice and diſloyalty in other people not to think him ſo too.

Anaxarchus the ſophiſt, *Agis*, a miſerable poet, *Cherilus*, *Agnon*, and other paraſites, accordingly undertook to engage the *Greeks*, as well as the *Aſiatics*, to pay him adoration. *Alexander* being mightily pleaſed with this, a great banquet was appointed for the execution of the ſcheme, when *Anaxarchus*, in a ſet oration, propoſed the adoring *Alexander*. The *Macedonians*, who were not in the ſecret, were aſtoniſhed at the ſpeech, and knew not either what to think of its author, or of what ſhould be ſaid in anſwer to it. *Calliſthenes*, at length, by a long ſpeech, endeavoured to raiſe in the king's mind more ſober thoughts; but his diſcourſe, though applauded by the *Macedonians*, only ſerved to provoke *Alexander*, who proceeded to ſettle the ceremonial. It was regulated, *That when he drank to a perſon, the gueſt ſhould immediately riſe up, adore him, and having received a kiſs from the king, ſhould depart.* The eldeſt and moſt conſiderable of the *Perſians* complied firſt, they who were no idolaters looking upon this as an act of civil reverence, and no more. *Leonatus*, one of the king's friends, as *Arrian* relates, or according to *Curtius*, *Polyperchon*, obſerving a *Perſian* touch the floor with his chin, laughed at it, and bid him hit it a little harder; for which *Alexander* caught hold of him, threw him from his couch, and as he lay on the floor told him, he made as ridiculous a figure as he whom he had deſpiſed. When it came to *Calliſthenes*, he pledged the king, and then went for his kiſs. *Alexander* being deeply engaged in diſcourſe with *Hephæſtion*, did not perceive he had miſſed any part of the ceremony; but *Demetrius*, one of his friends, told him, that the philoſopher had not adored him. The king therefore put him back with his hand; and *Calliſthenes* going out ſaid only, *So then, I go away with a kiſs leſs than the reſt.* This began to give the king an averſion to him, which was encreaſed by many concurring circumſtances, the philoſopher particularly priding himſelf as if he ſtood in the gap againſt arbitrary power. *Alexander* aſpires to divine honours.

A new conſpiracy ſoon after being diſcovered, the king took that opportunity of puniſhing *Calliſthenes*, who was accuſed as guilty, tho' the conſpirators, in the midſt of their tortures, had confeſſed that none but themſelves were privy to the plot. The chief conſpirator in this plot was *Hermolaus*, one of the 50 young *Macedonian* noblemen who were appointed to attend on the king. One day when he accompanied *Alexander* in the chace, he killed a boar that croſſed the way as he rode before the king; for which *Alexander*, who was provoked at loſing an opportunity of ſhewing his dexterity, ordered him to be whipped, and his horſe taken from him. This injuſtice ſo in- A new conſpiracy againſt him.

cenſed

cenſed *Hermolaus*, that he reſolved to aſſaſſinate the king; and having drawn in five other youths of quality, who were alſo eſquires of the king's body, to be concerned with him, the day was fixed for the execution of their deſign. When the day came, none of the conſpirators ſeem to have relented; yet their purpoſe was defeated by an unforeſeen accident. There was a certain *Syrian* woman in the camp, who on many occaſions behaved like a mad perſon, and pretended, in a dark and myſterious way, to foretel future events. Things frequently falling out as ſhe had foretold, ſhe began to gain ſome reputation and credit; ſo that the king allowed her at all times to enter his preſence. *Alexander*, on the night the conſpirators determined to aſſaſſinate him, happened to drink pretty late with his friends. As he was retiring to his own apartment, this woman threw herſelf in his way, and in one of her frantic fits bid him go back and drink all night; in which it is ſaid he obeyed her. Next day *Epimenes*, one of the conſpirators, diſcovered the plot; upon which all his aſſociates were apprehended, and when examined apart, each of them named his accomplices. They were then condemned by the army, who ſtoned them to death. As they were all hearers and admirers of *Calliſthenes*, that philoſopher was apprehended upon ſuſpicion, and according to *Ariſtobulus*, carried about in chains till he died a natural death; but *Ptolemy* aſſerts, that he was firſt racked, and then crucified. After this, none of the *Macedonians* dared venture to give their opinion with freedom, and nothing was now liſtened to by *Alexander* but flattery, which gained ſuch an aſcendant over him, as entirely depraved him.

The plot diſcovered, and the conſpirators put to death.

Alexander now reſolved upon an expedition to *India*, which was far from being pleaſing either to his council or to his army: but he was determined not to be ſurpaſſed by *Bacchus* or *Hercules*, who were ſaid to have penetrated thither; and there were not wanting flatterers who applauded this wild chimerical deſign. He marched firſt to the river *Oxus*, determining to puniſh the *Sogdians* for their refuſing obedience to the governor he had appointed over them. Leaving *Polyperchon* in *Bactria* with ſome other generals, and a conſiderable body of forces, he entered *Sogdia*, which he quickly reduced. *Spitamenes*, however, at the head of ſome revolted *Sogdians*, retiring to *Scythia*, procured a reinforcement of 600 horſe, and entering *Bactria*, ſurprized a ſmall fortreſs, where he put the governor and garriſon to the ſword. As he retreated from *Zariaſpa*, he was purſued by ſome *Macedonian* horſemen, who had been left there ſick; which threw his troops into ſo great diſorder, that they abandoned their booty and fled. *Spitamenes*, however, attacked the *Macedonians* as they were returning in a careleſs manner, and cut them off to a man. *Craterus*, upon the news of this defeat, attacked the *Maſſagetæ*, and routed them on the borders of the deſart, with the loſs of about 150 men.

Alexander reſolves upon an expedition to *India*.

Artabazus, in the mean time, being diſcharged, at his own deſire, from the government of *Bactria*, *Amyntas*, the ſon of *Nicolaus*,

Nicolaus, was appointed his ſucceſſor. A large body of troops, with a conſiderable number of *Bactrian* and *Sogdian* auxiliaries, were left there under the command of *Cænus*, who ordered them to winter in *Sogdia*, to defend that province from *Spitamenes*. That chief, however, having prevailed with 4000 *Scythian* horſe to join him, ventured to make an irruption into *Sogdia*; but was attacked and routed by *Cænus*, with the loſs of 800 horſe. After this victory, many of the *Sogdians* and *Bactrians* left *Spitamenes*, and came and ſurrendered to *Cænus*; but the *Maſſagetæ*, and other *Scythians*, followed *Spitamenes* into the deſart, carrying off with them the baggage of the *Sogdians* and *Bactrians*, their allies. Underſtanding, however, that *Alexander* intended to march againſt them in perſon, they ſlew *Spitamenes*, and ſent his head to the king, hoping thereby to make him ceaſe his purſuit after them. This is the account of *Arrian*; but according to *Curtius*, the wife of *Spitamenes*, tired of the wretched vagabond life he had forced her to lead, and having often, in vain, intreated him to ſurrender himſelf to the conqueror, murdered him herſelf in the night, and ſtained with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. *Alexander* deteſting the barbarous action, ordered her to be driven ignominiouſly from the camp.

defeat *Spitamenes*.

At the opening of the ſpring, *Alexander* marched into *Sogdia*, in order to beſiege a fortreſs built on a rock, which was the chief retreat of the rebels. This place he found ſtrong beyond his apprehenſion; for the rock was not only rugged and ſteep, but ſo ſlippery alſo, that it was almoſt impoſſible to aſcend it. The beſieged having their granaries filled with corn, and being ſupplied with water by the melting of the ſnow upon the mountain, a blockade or a ſiege ſeemed equally impracticable. When they were ſummoned to ſurrender, they tauntingly replied, that it was in vain for the *Macedonians* to think of taking the place till they had got winged ſoldiers. *Alexander*, to animate his troops, offered the ſoldier who ſhould firſt gain the rock 12 talents, and prizes of an inferior value to thoſe who ſhould mount after him, the laſt being to have about 300 pounds. Upon this proclamation, no leſs than 300 *Macedonians* offered themſelves for the attempt; and taking with them their tent-pins and ſtrong ropes, went to that ſide of the rock which was leaſt acceſſible, ſuppoſing that there they ſhould find the leaſt oppoſition. In mounting the precipice they loſt 30 of their number, who periſhed by falling from the rock; but thoſe who got up having made the appointed ſignal, *Alexander* again ſummoned the beſieged, aſſuring them that he had now got ſome winged ſoldiers. The *Macedonians* on the top of the rock then diſcovering themſelves, the barbarians were ſo affrighted, that they ſurrendered at diſcretion. Among the captives were the wife and daughter of *Oxyartes*, a *Bactrian* prince. The daughter, named *Roxana*, was eſteemed the moſt beautiful woman in *Aſia*, and had the good fortune to ſubdue the heart of *Alexander*, who, tho' violently

The *Sogdian* rock beſieged, and taken.

Alexander marries *Roxana* his prisoner.

lently in love with her, acted with so much honour and temperance, that he would not make use of the privilege of war, but openly and generously espoused her. *Oxyartes*, who was absent during the siege, came and surrendered himself, and was received with all the testimonies of kindness and respect.

Another fortress reduced by *Alexander*.

After the reduction of *Sogdia*, *Alexander* marched into the country of *Parataccæ*, where there was another fortress on a rocky mountain, held to be absolutely impregnable. The *Macedonians* having begun the siege of this place with great ardour, soon obliged the barbarians to think of a surrender. *Chorienes*, the commander, begged a conference with *Oxyartes*; who urging the impossibility of resisting the *Macedonians*, and the generous and merciful disposition of *Alexander*, prevailed on him to come down to the king. *Alexander* received him so obligingly, that he presently sent back some who accompanied him, to direct the garrison to yield up the place; which was performed without delay. *Alexander* enrolling *Chorienes* in the number of his friends, committed the fortress again to his charge; and he, to testify his gratitude for the honourable treatment he had met with, distributed to all the *Macedonian* army, corn, wine, and salt meat for two months; at the same time declaring, that he had not exhausted the tenth part of his own stores. A body of rebels still continuing in arms, under the command of *Catenes* and *Austanes*, *Craterus* was sent against them, and soon entirely dispersed them, *Catenes* being slain, and *Austanes* made a prisoner.

He marches towards *India*. Bef. Ch. 328.

All things being now in a state of quiet, *Alexander* advanced over mount *Caucasus*, as his soldiers called it, and in ten days reached the city of *Alexandria*, which he had founded. Leaving here those *Macedonians* who were unfit for further service, he sacrificed to *Minerva*, and advanced to the river *Cophenes*. He thence dispatched a herald to *Taxiles*, and the other princes on this side the river *Indus*, directing them to meet him as he advanced towards their territories. They accordingly came to his camp, and brought with them the most valuable presents their dominions afforded; *Taxiles* also promising, in the name of the rest, that they would present him with 25 elephants.

Several *Indian* princes submit to him.

Hephæstion, with part of the army, was sent with the *Indian* princes to the river *Indus*, to make the necessary preparations for the king's passing over with all his forces. *Alexander*, in the mean time, marched to the river *Choe*, or *Choaspes*, on the banks of which he found a barbarous people, whom he reduced, being wounded, however, in a skirmish with the barbarians. Leaving *Craterus*, with the heavy armed forces, to settle the country, he continued his march to the river *Euaspla*, where the chief strength of the *Aspii*, the principal nation in those parts, was assembled. The enemy abandoning their city, fled to the mountains; but being pursued by the *Macedonians*, great numbers of them were cut to pieces.

Alexander then passing over those mountains, arrived at the city *Arigæus*, which he found burnt and deserted; but *Cra-*

ter-

rus rejoining the army, he left him there with orders to repair it, and to people it with ſuch invalids of the troops, and inhabitants of the neighbouring country, as were willing to dwell therein. The army advancing ſtill forward, came at length to the bottom of a mountain, on which great numbers of the barbarians were encamped. *Alexander* divided his army into three bodies, commanding one himſelf, and ordering *Leonatus* and *Ptolemy* to lead the other two. The barbarians ruſhing down the mountains, began the attack with great fury; but after an obſtinate engagement were defeated, 40,000 men being ſlain, and 230,000 head of cattle being taken. *Alexander* perceiving the cattle to excel thoſe of *Greece*, both in ſize and beauty, cauſed the largeſt and faireſt of them to be choſen out and ſent into *Macedon*, to mend the breed in his native country, and to perpetuate the memory of his conqueſts.

Craterus, ſoon after this victory, joining him with the heavy armed foot, he marched againſt the *Aſſaceni*, who were ſaid to have 20,000 horſe, 30,000 foot, and 30 elephants ready to take the field, the government of their country, according to *Plutarch*, *Curtius*, and *Juſtin*, being in the hands of a woman named *Cleophes*. The *Aſſaceni*, upon the approach of the *Macedonians*, abandoned all thoughts of the defence of the plain and open country, and retired into their capital city, which by *Arrian* is called *Maſſaga*. Seven thouſand *Indians* having entered into the pay of the *Aſſaceni*, perſuaded them to riſk an engagement with the *Macedonians*; but they imprudently venturing too far from the walls, were broken by the phalanx and routed; tho' they behaved with great bravery, and taught *Alexander* to conceive better of them than of any of the nations he had yet met with. The *Aſſaceni* defeated.

Alexander then inveſting the town, was wounded in the leg as he was viewing the works; but nevertheleſs ordered his his troops to aſſault the place. The *Macedonians*, for four days ſucceſſively, were repulſed in their attacks, the mercenary *Indians* having behaved with the utmoſt bravery; but their general being killed, and many of them wounded, they at length entered into a treaty with *Alexander*, who afterwards violated the articles he had granted them, and as they were marching away, fell upon them, and put them all to the ſword. This one breach of his word, *Plutarch* ſays, left an indelible ſtain upon his memory. He alſo behaved with cruelty to the *Indian* philoſophers; for they having inveighed againſt thoſe princes of his party, and ſolicited the free cities to oppoſe him, he therefore cauſed ſeveral of them to be hanged.

Maſſaga, after the departure of the *Indians*, ſurrendered to the *Macedonians*, who were next led againſt *Ora*, which was alſo garriſoned by a body of mercenary *Indians*. This city was quickly reduced by *Alexander*, who ſeized all the elephants therein for the uſe of his army. The inhabitants of *Bazira*, a city inveſted by *Cœnus*, hearing that *Ora* was taken, fled in a dark night to the mountains, and aſſociating themſelves with ſuch as

The mountain *Aornos* reduced.

as were willing to defend their liberty to the laſt, withdrew to a rocky mountain called *Aornos*, which was believed impregnable. This mountain was upwards of 20 miles in circuit; its height, even in the loweſt parts, was 11 furlongs, and the way leading to it artificial, and very narrow. On the top of it was a fine plain, part of which was covered with a thick wood, the reſt arable land, with a fountain, furniſhing abundance of excellent water. While *Alexander* was preparing all things for the ſiege of this fortreſs, an old man and his ſons, who had long lived in a cavern near the ſummit of the mountain, came and offered their ſervices to him. *Ptolemy* following their directions, was conducted to the wood on the top of the mountain, where, according to the orders of *Alexander*, he encamped with a conſiderable body of light armed troops, without attacking the *Indians*. The king then ordered part of his army to attempt the paſſage whereby the rock was ordinarily aſcended; but they were repulſed by the *Indians* with great ſlaughter. The enemy, after this aſſault, attacked *Ptolemy*; but were in their turn repulſed. Next day *Alexander* renewed the attack, and *Ptolemy* ſallied from his entrenchments againſt the *Indians*: but they defended themſelves on both ſides with great bravery; and tho' *Alexander* had aſcended as far as *Ptolemy*'s poſt, yet he was able to make no further progreſs againſt the enemy. As the ſteepneſs of the places which had been attacked had chiefly retarded the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* cauſed all the hollows to be filled up with vaſt quantities of trees; which alarming the enemy, they ſent deputies to treat of a ſurrender. *Alexander* ſuſpecting that they only intended to amuſe him till they ſhould eſcape, withdrew his guards from the avenues; and as the *Indians* were deſcending, he ſuddenly fell upon them with a great ſhout, ſo that numbers of them fell from the rocks and precipices, and of the remainder, the greater part were cut off in the roads. Thus that rock was taken, which, as the *Macedonians* boaſted, had baffled the attempts of *Hercules*.

Alexander leaving a garriſon on this rock, marched back into the territories of the *Aſſaceni*, a body of whom had again taken up arms. Upon his arrival, finding no enemy, and the cities being deſerted, he made it his buſineſs to ſearch out and ſeize ſuch elephants as the *Indians* had been forced to leave in the plain country; and after a march of 16 days, arrived at the river *Indus*, where *Hephæſtion* and *Perdiccas* had already provided a bridge of boats for the paſſage of the army.

Alexander paſſes the *Indus*.

Bef. Chr. 327.

Alexander, after paſſing that river, refreſhed his army for 30 days in the territories of his friend and ally *Taxiles*, who now performed all his promiſes, giving the king 30 elephants, and joining his army with 700 horſe and 5000 foot, reſolving to act in conjunction with him againſt two kings, *Abiſares* and *Porus*, with whom he was then at war. *Abiſares* ſent ambaſſadors and ſubmitted to *Alexander*, who received him into his friendſhip; but *Porus*, when ſummoned to ſurrender, returned a haughty anſwer. To defend his dominions, which lay on the eaſt ſide of

of the *Hydaſpes*, he aſſembled a large army, with which he guarded the banks of that river. *Alexander* having left a garriſon, together with the ſick and wounded ſoldiers, in *Taxila*, cauſed the veſſels, of which his bridge over the *Indus* had been compoſed, to be brought to the *Hydaſpes*, where he found the enemy ready to oppoſe him. As it was then the ſummer ſolſtice, the river, by the melting of the ſnows, had overflowed its banks, and was very rapid; *Porus* alſo, who was a prince of great prudence and bravery, had made his diſpoſitions with great judgment, and lined the banks with his elephants, which were exaſperated by the *Indians*, that their horrid cry might fill the *Macedonians* with the greater terror.

He croſſes the *Hydaſpes*.

Alexander, after waiting ſome time in view of the enemy, reſolved to attempt a paſſage about 16 miles above his camp, where there was a pretty large uninhabited iſland almoſt overgrown with trees. By the favour of a ſtormy night, he tranſported a great part of his army into the iſland, without being obſerved; and the ſtorm ceaſing about day-break, he then boldly ſet forward to gain the oppoſite ſhore in ſight of the *Indian* outguards, who inſtantly poſted away to give *Porus* an account of this attempt. As the river was greatly overflowed, the *Macedonians* were obliged to paſs another channel, where the water roſe up to their breaſts; but before the enemy appeared, they had again reached the dry land, and ſoon after they routed and ſlew the ſon of *Porus* who had advanced againſt them with 2000 horſe and 130 armed chariots. *Porus*, notwithſtanding this loſs, ſtill reſolved to face the *Macedonians*; and leaving part of his army to oppoſe *Craterus*, who remained in the camp waiting for an opportunity to paſs, he marched againſt *Alexander* at the head of 4000 horſe, 30,000 foot, 300 chariots, and 200 elephants. Knowing well that he need not go far in queſt of his enemy, he halted in a firm and ſandy plain, where his chariots and elephants might act to advantage. After the *Macedonians* had come up, *Alexander* allowed them to reſt a little, and then attacked the enemy, who for a ſhort time fought with great bravery; but their elephants being wounded and throwing them into diſorder, they were then obliged to fly, when they were purſued by *Craterus*, who with his troops had paſſed the river when *Porus* had retired. *Porus* behaved with great intrepidity, and continued fighting till every party of the *Indians* was put to the rout. The *Indians* loſt in the action 20,000 foot and 3000 horſe, two ſons of *Porus* being alſo among the ſlain.

Defeats the *Indians* under *Porus*,

After the victory, *Alexander* ſent *Taxiles* to perſuade *Porus* to ſurrender himſelf, and to aſſure him, that he ſhould be treated with all kindneſs and reſpect imaginable; but *Porus*, enraged at the ſight of his old enemy, threw a javelin at him, and would have killed him, but for the quick turn of his horſe. *Alexander*, however, diſpatched other officers to him, among whom was *Meroe*, one of his intimate friends, who entreated him to ſubmit himſelf to a fortunate and generous victor.

who submits to *Alexander*, and is kindly treated by him.

Porus being weary, and almoſt choaked with thirſt, after much entreaty ſtopped his elephant, alighted, and having refreſhed himſelf with a little water, deſired his friend to conduct him to *Alexander*, who when he came up to him, was not a little ſurprized. The *Indian* king was ſeven foot and a half high, exactly proportioned, of a noble aſpect, and in his air and manner preſerved ſuch an unconquered ſpirit, that *Alexander* was charmed with him, and aſked him by *Meroe*, how he would pleaſe to be treated? *As a king*, anſwered *Porus*. *That*, ſaid *Alexander*, *for my own ſake I ſhall do. And therein*, replied *Porus*, *is comprehended all I can aſk.* *Alexander* immediately gave him his liberty, reſtored him ſhortly after to his kingdom, to which he annexed other provinces almoſt equal to it in value. *Alexander* was no loſer by his munificence; for *Porus* remained his true friend and conſtant ally.

Alexander builds two new cities.

To perpetuate the memory of this conqueſt, *Alexander* ordered two cities to be erected, one on the field of battle, which he named *Nicæa*, and the other where his camp had been on the *Hydaſpes*, which he called *Bucephala*, in honour of his horſe, who died there, as *Arrian* ſays, of meer old age. After having buried his ſoldiers who fell in the battle, he offered ſolemn ſacrifices to the gods, and exhibited pompous ſhews on the banks of the *Hydaſpes*. He then entered the territories of the *Glauſæ*, who ſubmitted without oppoſition. He delivered all their cities, to the number of thirty ſeven, to *Porus*; and having reconciled him to *Taxiles*, ſent the latter home to his own dominions.

He ſubdues other *Indian* nations.

Having diſpatched a body of men againſt the *Aſſaceni*, who had revolted, he then, with much difficulty, paſſed the river *Aceſines*, which was extremely rapid, and very broad. On the other ſide of the river lay the territories of another *Porus*, whoſe dominions being eaſily ſubdued, *Alexander* gave them to *Porus* his ally. *Alexander* next defeated the *Cathei*, the moſt warlike nation in *India*, and took their capital city, named *Sangala*, by ſtorm, in which 17,000 *Indians* were killed, and 70,000 taken priſoners, with 300 chariots and 500 horſe. The *Indians* in the adjacent country abandoning their cities, and flying to the woods, he cauſed many of them to be put to death; and razing the city of *Sangala*, prepared to paſs the *Hyphaſis*, a large river at a conſiderable diſtance from any of the branches of the *Indus*, having nothing in view, as *Arrian* tells us, but ſtill to ſeek out new enemies when he had ſubdued the old. He was told, that after paſſing that river, he muſt travel eleven days thro' deſarts, and that he would then arrive at the *Ganges*, the greateſt river in all *India*, beyond which were many warlike nations, who were preparing to oppoſe him with 200,000 foot, 20,000 horſe, 2000 chariots, and 3000 elephants.

He propoſes to advance to the *Ganges*.

The *Macedonians* hearing of the king's intention to march againſt the *Indians* on the *Ganges*, were univerſally filled with diſcontent and murmuring. Inſtead of wiſhing to triumph over new and remote countries, they were highly deſirous of

leaving thoſe they had lately conquered, and returning to their own. They therefore held frequent conſultations together on the ſituation of their affairs. Some lamented their misfortune that the king ſhould make uſe of them not as lions, who fall fiercely on thoſe by whom they are injured, but as maſtifs, to tear ſuch as their maſter ſhould ſhew them as enemies. Others freely exclaimed againſt the king's wild ambition, and proteſted that they would follow him no farther. *Alexander* perceiving the diſpoſition of his ſoldiers, harangued them from his tribunal; and by recapitulating their former victories, and promiſing them great rewards and gratifications, endeavoured to animate them to purſue their conqueſts. Tho' he was very eloquent, and greatly beloved by his troops, they, however, did not relent, but remained ſullen and ſilent, and at laſt turned their eyes on *Cænus*, an old experienced general, who had generoſity enough to undertake their cauſe, and repreſented to *Alexander*, that the greateſt part of his *Macedonians* were now invalids, who expected, in conſideration of their former ſervices, that he would lead them back to their native country; an act, which of all others, would contribute moſt to his own great deſigns, ſince it would encourage the youth of *Macedon*, and all *Greece*, to follow him in whatever new expedition he ſhould pleaſe to undertake.

His army refuſes to follow him.

Alexander, next day, called another aſſembly, wherein he told the ſoldiers plainly, that he would not be driven from his purpoſe; that he would proceed in his conqueſts with ſuch as would follow him voluntarily, and the reſt might, if they pleaſed, return to *Macedon*, and publiſh, that they had left their king in the midſt of his enemies. This expedient having no ſucceſs, and his troops ſtill remaining fixt in their reſolution, the king thereupon retired to his tent, where he refuſed to ſee his friends. Things having remained in this ſituation for three days, the king appeared, and, as if he had been fully determined to purſue his firſt deſign, gave orders for ſacrificing for the good ſucceſs of his new undertaking. After the ſacrifices were over, *Ariſtander* the ſoothſayer reported, that the omens were altogether inauſpicious; upon which the king ſaid, *That ſince his proceeding farther was neither pleaſing to the gods, nor grateful to his army, he would return.* The ſoldiers immediately aſſembled in great numbers about the royal tent, ſaluting the king with loud acclamations, wiſhing him ſucceſs in all his future deſigns, giving him at the ſame time hearty thanks, for that he who was invincible, had ſuffered himſelf to be overcome with their prayers.

Alexander is prevailed upon to return.

Alexander having now reſolved to make the *Hyphaſis* the limits of his conqueſts, cauſed arms of an extraordinary bigneſs to be ſcattered about in different places, with mangers and bits for horſes above the uſual ſize, with the deſign of amuſing poſterity, and of making them believe that he had led an army of men above the common ſtandard into *India*. He alſo cauſed twelve altars of an extraordinary ſize to be erected, on which he

An inſtance of his vanity.

he ſacrificed, and drew a trench round his camp 50 feet broad and 40 deep, forming of the earth dug from thence a very ſtrong rampart on the inſide.

Having then exhibited ſhews after the *Grecian* manner, he added all the conquered country to the dominions of *Porus*, and then ſet out in his return to the river *Hydractes*. He from thence marched to the *Aceſines*, where he peopled the city which he had directed *Hephæſtion* to build, by inviting thither the inhabitants of the adjacent country, and ſettling therein ſome of his infirm mercenaries. He then proceeded to the river *Hydaſpes*, where, after giving the neceſſary directions for ſecuring his conqueſts, he made the neceſſary preparations for ſailing down the river *Indus* to the ocean. His fleet conſiſted of 80 veſſels of three banks of oars, and of leſſer ſhips and tranſports about 2000; and the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, *Carians*, and *Egyptians*, who followed his army, were appointed to have the management of the ſhips.

He embarks his army on the *Hydaſpes*.

When all things were ready, he embarked about the end of *October* with part of his army, *Craterus* being ordered to march down on the right-hand bank with a body of horſe and foot, and *Hephæſtion*, with the greater part of the army, and 200 elephants, on the left-hand. On the fifth day after he ſailed, he arrived where the *Hydaſpes* and the *Aceſines* mix their ſtreams; and his whole fleet was in great danger from the violent eddies formed by the rapidity of both currents. Several of his veſſels having periſhed in the whirl-pools, he ſoon after left the fleet, and made ſome new diſpoſitions in his land forces. With a part of his army he marched thro' a deſart country againſt the *Malli*, and on the third day arrived at one of their cities, which he quickly reduced, putting all that he found there to the ſword. *Perdiccas* marched againſt another city, which he found abandoned by the miſerable inhabitants, who were ſlain by the *Macedonians* as they attempted to eſcape. The king took ſeveral other cities, and cut off not only ſuch as reſiſted him, but thoſe who fled into woods and deſarts to eſcape him. The *Indians*, to the number of 50,000 men, attempted to oppoſe his paſſing the river *Hydraotes*; but he no ſooner advanced againſt them with a ſmall body of men, but they fled, and retired to one of their cities.

Alexander in the utmoſt danger.

Alexander immediately inveſted the place, and gave orders for ſcalings its walls. He himſelf was the firſt that mounted, being followed by *Peuceſtas* and *Limnæus*. *Abreas*, who on account of his great courage had double pay allowed him, mounted by another ladder. As the targetteers were mounting in haſte to ſecond him, the ladders broke, ſo that he was left expoſed almoſt alone to the enemy, who from their towers galled him with their arrows and darts. In this diſtreſs, poiſing his body, he leaped down into the midſt of his enemies, and was followed by thoſe who had mounted with him. The *Indians* at firſt fled, but returned inſtantly and attacked him. Their general, however, and ſeveral others being ſlain by *Alexander* the

they again retired, and attacked him at a diſtance with ſtones, darts, and arrows. An arrow piercing his coat of mail, and entering a conſiderable way into his breaſt, ſo great a quantity of blood iſſued from the wound, that he at length ſunk down upon his ſhield as dead. Part of his troops, by this time, having got to the top of the wall, immediately leaped down, and ſurrounding the body of the king, repulſed the *Indians*, while ſome of them broke down a gate between two towers, and gave admittance to their companions. The town being taken, the inhabitants were put to the ſword. The king being borne to the camp upon his ſhield, continued for ſome time in ſo weak a ſtate, that his recovery was very doubtful. The ſoldiers were ſtruck with the greateſt conſternation, and continued round his tent till they were aſſured that he was not dead. When his health again allowed him to appear abroad, they gathered round him, and eagerly kiſſed not only his hands and his knees, but his feet and his robes. Some *Macedonians* of the firſt rank afterwards venturing to repreſent to him, that he had done very much amiſs in hazarding his perſon in ſuch a manner, *Alexander*, who was no longer a lover of truth, was very much diſpleaſed: but received into his favour, and ever after treated with the greateſt kindneſs, an old *Bœotian*, who, to ſooth his vanity, told him, that ſuch extraordinary attempts became a hero.

The *Malli* and *Oxydracæ*, ſoon after the recovery of *Alexander*, ſent deputies to him and ſubmitted. *Alexander* commanded that they ſhould ſend him no leſs than 1000 of the principal men among them to ſerve in his army, and to remain as hoſtages for the fidelity of the reſt. Theſe 1000 men ſoon after arrived, together with 500 chariots of war properly harneſſed and equipped; with which preſent he was ſo well pleaſed, that he allowed the 1000 men to return home; adding, that the faith of ſo generous a nation was a full ſecurity for their obedience. The *Malli* and *Oxydracæ* ſubmit.

Before he left his preſent camp, which was at the confluence of the *Hydraotes* and the *Acceſines*, he cauſed ſeveral new ſhips to be built, and alſo founded a city on the ſpot where the two rivers join. Receiving a viſit from his father-in-law *Oxyartes*, he gave him the government of *Paropamiſis*, joining to it all the country from the falling of the *Acceſines* into the *Indus* to the ſea. He then embarked with a greater part of his army than before, and continued his voyage. When he arrived at the territories of *Muſicanus*, that prince immediately went forth to meet him with all his elephants in his train, and having offered him preſents of the higheſt value, made his ſubmiſſion, aſking pardon for not having ſent deputies to him before. *Alexander* accepted of his ſubmiſſion, and admiring the wealth and beauty of his kingdom and capital city, delivered the government of both again into his hands: but leſt he ſhould afterwards revolt, he cauſed a caſtle to be built in the city, in which fort he left a ſtrong garriſon. He then invaded He founds a city, and augments his fleet. *Muſicanus*, an *Indian* prince, ſubmits to him,

the territories of a neighbouring prince named *Oxycanus*, because he neither came forth to meet him, nor ſent ambaſſadors with the ſurrender of himſelf and country. Having taken two of his cities, and ſurprized the prince himſelf in one of them, all the other cities belonging to *Oxycanus* immediately ſubmitted. He then led his forces into the territories of *Sambus*, who being an enemy to *Muſicanus*, now fled, tho' he had before ſubmitted. *Alexander* was received into his capital city, named *Sindomana*, his ſubjects declaring, that *Sambus* had fled for fear of his enemy *Muſicanus*.

but revolts, and is put to death.

Having accepted of the homage of the *Sindomanians*, he then reduced a city which had revolted from him, and put to death as many *Brachmans* as he could meet with, charging them with being the authors of this rebellion. Being informed that *Muſicanus* had revolted, he ſent *Python* with a body of troops into his dominions; who quickly reduced all his territories, and taking him priſoner, crucified him, with all the *Brachmans* who were about him. *Alexander*, however, after he became acquainted with the wiſdom and generous notions of the *Brachmans*, according to *Plutarch*, reverenced them, and uſed them kindly. After he had puniſhed *Muſicanus*, he ſent *Craterus* to conduct the invalids thro' the provinces of *Arachoſia* and *Drangia*, and not long after arrived at *Patala*, a noble iſland in the river *Indus*, the inhabitants of which, upon his approach, had deſerted their habitations, tho' their prince had before made his ſubmiſſion. Having, at this iſland, repaired his fleet, he ſailed down the right branch of the *Indus* to the ocean. In his paſſage he ſuſtained great difficulties for want of pilots, and at the mouth of the river very narrowly miſſed being caſt away, his ſailors and his whole army being unacquainted with the flux and reflux of the ſea, which exceedingly amazed them.

Alexander ſails out to the ocean.

Having ſailed out to a ſmall iſland in the ocean, he there ſacrificed to *Neptune*, and then returned to his army at *Patala*, where he had cauſed a fort and a dock to be built. *Nearchus*, the admiral of the fleet, undertaking to coaſt the *Indian* ocean, and to enter the *Euphrates* by the *Perſian* gulph, *Alexander* cauſed every thing to be prepared for the accommodation of the fleet till their departure, which was delayed of neceſſity for ſeveral months, on account of the regular blowing of the eaſterly winds. *Nearchus* ſet ſail about the end of *September*; but that being too early, he was obliged to put into land with his fleet for 24 days.

He reſolves to return to *Babylon* by land.

Alexander, ſome time before *Nearchus* ſet ſail, marched off from *Patala* with his army, in order to return to *Babylon* by land. Many of his friends had diſſuaded him from that raſh and dangerous march, acquainting him, that the country thro' which he was to travel, was a wild, uncultivated deſart, expoſed to ſcorching winds. Theſe remonſtrances, however only ſerved to fix *Alexander*'s reſolution, it being his peculiar vanity to deſire not only to overcome all nations, but even Nature herſelf. He advanced for ſome time without much difficulty

difficulty, and having croſſed the river *Arabis*, reduced the country of the *Oritæ*, who with the *Gedroſii* ſent deputies to him and ſubmitted. He ordered *Hephæſtion* to build a city in their country, and then began his march thro' *Gedroſia*, a ſandy and barren province. As there were no towns and villages in their route, the ſoldiers, for want of proviſions, were forced to kill their beaſts of carriage. Thoſe who brought corn from the ſea ſide were ſo grievouſly diſtreſſed, that tho' it was ſealed with the king's ſignet, they cut open the bags, chooſing rather to die a violent death for diſobedience, than to be famiſhed. Many of them periſhed by thirſt, and when they found water in plenty, that was alſo fatal to them; for they were then by exceſſive drinking thrown into dropſies, and rendered incapable of travel. They frequently travelled 60 miles without finding water, or without encamping; and many by exceſſive fatigue continually lagged behind, and ſoon after periſhed, never having ſtrength ſufficient to join the army. *Plutarch* tells us, that of an army of 120,00 foot, and 15,000 horſe, he ſcarce brought back a fourth part out of *India*. When *Alexander* arrived at the capital of *Gedroſia*, he allowed his fatigued troops ſome reſt, being plentifully ſupplied with proviſions from the adjacent country. Being informed here that *Philip*, whom he had left preſident in *India*, had been murdered by the mercenary ſoldiers, but that moſt of them had been put to death by the *Macedonians*, he wrote to *Endemus* and *Taxiles* to take upon them the adminiſtration of affairs there, till he ſhould ſend another preſident.

He loſes almoſt all his army.

The king then entering *Caramania*, was ſupplied with proviſions in great abundance. Here he was joined by *Craterus* with a body of troops and ſeveral elephants, and by *Staſanor* preſident of the *Arians*, and *Pharimanes* governor of *Parthia*, who brought with them a great number of horſes and all kinds of beaſts of burden. The people from all the neighbouring cities, who had been grievouſly oppreſſed in his abſence, now came and laid complaints before him. *Clitander*, *Sitalces*, and *Heracon*, who ſince *Parmenio*'s death had commanded in chief in *Media*, were accuſed of many flagrant crimes; ſuch as ſuppreſſing the *Perſian* religion, extorting vaſt ſums of money from the people, raviſhing women, and, in ſhort, giving a looſe to their paſſions in all things. *Clitander* and *Sitalces* being fully convicted, were immediately put to death. *Heracon* was acquitted; but the inhabitants of *Suſa* preferring a ſecond charge againſt him, he was convicted and executed; which effectually fixed the affections of the people in all the provinces to *Alexander*.

The maladminiſtration of governors puniſhed by the king.

According to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch* and *Curtius*, *Alexander* marched with his army for ſeven days thro' this province in a kind of maſquerade, and with a *Bachanalian* feſtivity committing the moſt riotous and extravagant actions. During all this time the army was never ſober, the whole country reſounding with muſick and ſinging, and the troops abandoning

themſelves to every kind of licentiouſneſs. *Arrian*, however, aſſures us, that *Ptolemy* and *Ariſtobulus*, who accompanied the king in his march, made not the leaſt mention in their memoirs of any *Bachanalian* feſtival.

Nearchus conducts the fleet to the *Perſian* gulph.

Nearchus, in the mean time, arriving at the iſland *Hormouz*, at the mouth of the *Perſian* gulph, left the fleet there and came to *Alexander*, who was greatly delighted to hear of their welfare. Having treated him with ſingular marks of favour and reſpect, he ſent him back to the fleet. After his departure he proceeded to *Perſia*, and arrived at *Paſargadæ*, where was the tomb of *Cyrus*. This tomb was a neat pile of building, ſurrounded by a fine grove, the magi who were appointed to take care of it having a houſe adjoining to it. He found the place rifled of all the riches it was ſaid to contain; and according to *Plutarch*, put *Polymachus*, a *Macedonian*, who robbed the tomb, to death. Others, however, ſay, that the robber could never be diſcovered. The *Perſians* accuſing *Orſines*, a noble *Perſian*, who for ſome time had acted as governor of *Perſia* without any orders from the king, he was tried, and being convicted of ſacrilege, oppreſſion, and cruelty, was condemned to be crucified. This is the account of *Arrian*; but *Curtius* relates, adding, however, improbable circumſtances, that *Alexander* greatly approved of the adminiſtration of *Orſines*, who was extreamly liberal to the king and all his friends, excepting his favourite *Bagoas* the eunuch, who in reſentment ſuborned witneſſes to accuſe him falſely of ſupporting his magnificence by robbing the tomb of *Cyrus*. *Peuſeſtas*, who had ſaved the king's life when he fought againſt a whole garriſon, being appointed governor of *Perſia*, he immediately put on the *Median* dreſs, being the only one of *Alexander*'s captains who by complying with the manners of the people he governed, gained their affection. *Baryaxes*, a *Mede*, who had put on the royal tiara, and aſſumed the title of king, being now brought to *Alexander*, with thoſe who had counſeled him to revolt, he ordered them to be put to death.

About the ſame time *Calanus* the *Brachman*, who at the entreaty of *Alexander* had accompanied him from his own country, finding himſelf declining in health by reaſon of a flux which hung upon him, beſought the king that a funeral pile might be prepared for him; which with ſome difficulty was granted. *Calanus*, who was 83 years of age when he arrived at the pile, performed the ſeveral ceremonies practiſed at funerals; and deſiring his friends to feaſt and make merry that day with *Alexander*, whom he ſhould ſoon ſee at *Babylon*, he then laid himſelf upon the pile, and ſuffered himſelf to be conſumed by the flames, without making the leaſt motion. *Alexander*, that evening, invited ſeveral of his officers to ſupper, and to do honour to *Calanus*, propoſed a crown as a reward for him who ſhould drink moſt. One *Promachus* gained the prize, by drinking 18 or 20 pints, but ſurvived his victory only three days; and of the other gueſts, 41 were killed by their intemperance.

From

From *Paſſargadæ Alexander* went to *Perſepolis*, where he is ſaid to have blamed himſelf greatly, upon viewing the ruins of the fine palace, which he had burnt to the ground. He from thence proceeded to *Suſa*, where he cauſed the governor *Abulites*, and his ſon *Oxathres*, to be put to death for mal-adminiſtration. Finding in this city all the captives of quality he had left there, he reſolved to make himſelf, his officers, and his ſoldiers an amends for the difficulties they had undergone, purpoſing, at the ſame time, effectually to cement his new conquered with his hereditary ſubjects. With this view he married *Statira* the eldeſt daughter of *Darius*, and *Paryſatis* the daughter of *Ochus*. He gave another daughter of *Darius* to *Hephæſtion*, and to *Craterus Amaſtrine*, the niece of *Darius*; to the reſt of his friends, to the number of 8[illegible], he gave other *Perſian* women of the greateſt quality. All theſe marriages were celebrated at once, *Alexander* himſelf beſtowing fortunes on the women. He gave preſents alſo to all the other *Macedonians* who had married *Aſiatic* wives, though their number amounted to 10,000. He next diſcharged all the debts of the ſoldiers, cauſing each man's debts to be paid on his bare word, though the whole ſum came to 20,000 talents; on ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in an extraordinary manner, he beſtowed crowns of gold. The 30,000 *Perſian* youths, whom he had ordered to be inſtructed in the *Macedonian* language and diſcipline, arriving at *Suſa*, he reviewed them publicly, and was afterwards very bountiful to them. He promoted alſo, without diſtinction of nation, all thoſe who had ſerved him faithfully and valiantly in the *Indian* war. *Alexander*, having ſtill a curioſity to ſee the ocean, ſailed down the *Eulæus* from *Suſa*, and after coaſting the *Perſian* gulph to the mouth of the *Tigris*, went up that river towards the army, which had encamped near the city of *Opis*.

Alexander returns to *Perſepolis*.

He endeavours to unite the *Macedonians* and *Perſians*.

Upon his arrival there, he publiſhed a declaration in the camp, allowing all thoſe *Macedonians*, who, through infirmity or wounds, were incapable of ſerving longer, to return home, promiſing to be bountiful to them, and conduct them ſafe to their native country. This kind declaration ſerved only to irritate his troops, who now thought that he neglected them from a partiality to the *Perſians*. They began immediately to clamour in an unuſual manner, and, aſſembling round his tribunal, demanded, *That they might all be diſcharged*, ſome inſolently calling out, *That his father* Ammon *and he might go and ſubdue the world by themſelves*. *Alexander*, with great intrepidity, leaped from his tribunal, and calling to his guards, made them ſeize, one by one, thirteen of the ringleaders whom he pointed out, and ordered them to be put to death upon the ſpot. The *Macedonians*, quite amazed and confounded, were quieted in an inſtant, whereupon the king remounted his tribunal, and, in an eloquent ſpeech, ſhewed the juſtice of his own conduct and the folly of theirs. Then he retired to his palace, where he neither put on his robes, nor admitted any of his friends, for two days. On the third he called the *Perſian* nobility round him,

The army mutinies.

The intrepidity of *Alexander*.

him, and promoted them to the principal commands in the army; which when the *Macedonians* heard, they ran like diſtracted people to the palace, and, ſurrounding it, laid down their arms, and proteſted that they would remain there day and night till the king ſhould pardon them. When he came out to them, and ſaw their arms on the ground and their dejected looks, he wept a great while, and after ſome gentle reproaches, declared to them, that he reſtored them to his friendſhip. After this *Alexander* gave a ſolemn feaſt, at which were preſent 9000 perſons: the *Macedonians* ſat next the king, next them the *Perſians*, and after them perſons of all nations. The king afterwards diſcharged 10,000 *Macedonian* invalids, and ſent them back to their own country with rich preſents. He commanded, that at the exhibiting of the public games, they ſhould be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there ſit with crowns on their heads; and that the children of thoſe who had loſt their lives in his ſervice, ſhould have their fathers pay continued to them during their minority.

The army reconciled to him.

He ſends home the invalids.

Alexander not long after was plagued with diſputes among his friends. *Hephæſtion* particularly preſumed too far on his kindneſs towards him, and had once the inſolence to remove *Eumenes*, the king's ſecretary, and a man of great abilities, out of his lodgings, to make room for one of his own muſicians. *Eumenes*, in the height of his paſſion, complaining to the king, told him, *That fidlers ſeemed now to be the chief favourites.* *Alexander* ſharply reproved *Hephæſtion*, and obliged him againſt his will to be reconciled to *Eumenes*.

He then left *Opis*, and proceeded to *Ecbatan* in *Media*, where, after diſpatching his moſt urgent affairs, he diverted himſelf again with ſhews and public entertainments. Theſe, however, were ſoon interrupted by the death of *Hephæſtion*, who was cut off by a fever, which, 'tis ſaid, he brought upon himſelf by a debauch. The king abandoned himſelf to an exceſſive ſorrow for the loſs of his friend; he ordered 10,000 talents to be ſpent on his monument, and, according to *Arrian*, expended as much in his obſequies at *Babylon*. *Plutarch* tells us, that he ordered the tails and mains of all his horſes and mules to be cut, threw down the battlements of the neighbouring cities, crucified the poor phyſician who had attended *Hephæſtion*, and forbade the uſe of any muſical inſtrument in his camp; but theſe extravagancies ſeem to deſerve little credit.

Hephæſtion dies at *Ecbaton*.

From, *Ecbatan* *Alexander* marched againſt the *Coſſeans*, who inhabited the mountains of *Media*, and, according to ſome writers, were never ſubdued by the *Perſian* kings. In this expedition he was attended with his uſual ſucceſs; for, in forty days having driven the barbarians from their faſtneſſes, in which they had confided, he obliged them to ſubmit. About the ſame time he gave orders for building a fleet, with which he intended to examine the *Hyrcanian* or *Caſpian* ſea, and then ſet out for *Babylon*. When he drew near to that city, *Nearchus*, at the deſire of the chief *Chaldean* aſtrologers, preſſed him not to enter

Alexander reduces the *Coſſeans*.

He marches to *Babylon*.

Babylon;

Babylon, as they foreſaw that it would be fatal to him. Several omens and prodigies being alſo mentioned to the ſame purpoſe, he began to be very apprehenſive, and, giving way to ſuperſtition, grew reſtleſs and timorous. He therefore remained in his camp a great while without the town, and diverted himſelf with ſailing up and down the *Euphraies*. The *Greek* philoſophers, ſurpriſed at this proceeding, came to him, and demonſtrating to him in the ſtrongeſt terms the vanity of aſtrology, by their diſcourſes and entreaties prevailed upon him to enter the city, where there were ambaſſadors come from *Africa* and *Europe*, as far as the ſtraits of *Hercules*, to wait upon him.

Having made a moſt magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambaſſadors, whom he treated with great affability and politeneſs. He next ſolemnized the funeral of *Hephæſtion* with the utmoſt pomp and ſplendor, a particular account of which we have in *Athenæus* and *Diodorus*. Afterwards he began to bend his thoughts to the execution of certain vaſt deſigns he had formed; ſuch as the conqueſt of the *Arabians*, the draining the *Babylonian* fens, and making a baſon at *Babylon* capable of containing 1000 gallies. He went in perſon down the *Euphrates* about 80 miles, to examine a breach in the banks of the river, by which it had overflowed the country. He from thence paſſed to the *Arabian* confines, where, finding an agreeable ſituation, he built a new city, and left in it a colony of *Greek* mercenaries. He not only determined to reduce *Arabia*, but had formed a deſign of ſailing round *Africa*, and entering the *Mediterranean* ſea by the ſtraits of *Hercules*, reſolving then to ſubdue the *Carthaginians*, and to conquer *Italy*.

He forms new projects.

Upon his return to *Babylon* he found there *Peuceſtas*, who had brought from *Perſia* 20,000 regular troops, beſides a conſiderable body of *Coſſeans* and *Tapurians*, nations lately reduced. *Philoxenus* was alſo arrived with an army out of *Caria*, *Menander* with a body of troops from *Lydia*, and *Menidas* with ſeveral ſquadrons of horſe.

Alexander, having laid aſide his ſorrow for *Hephæſtion*, whom, by the advice of the oracle, he had ordered to be ſacrificed to as a demigod, fell again to ſacrificing and drinking. As he was retiring from an entertainment which he had given to *Nearchus*, with a deſign to go to bed, at the requeſt of *Medius* he went to ſupper with him, and there drank all that night, and the next day, to ſuch exceſs, that it threw him into a fever. The illneſs being but ſlight for ſeveral days, he gave orders for the troops to march, and went abroad every day, and performed his accuſtomed ſacrifices. Being at length confined to his bed, and deprived of his ſpeech, a report ſpread among his troops that he was dead; and when this rumour was contradicted by thoſe about his perſon, the ſoldiers ſo menaced his friends, that they were forced to admit them, and let them all paſs unarmed by his bedſide, when he extended his hand for them to kiſs, and ſoon after they were gone he expired. This is the ſubſtance of the account of *Plutarch* and *Arrian*, taken from the *royal diary*.

He dies at *Babylon*. Bef. Chr. 323.

Juſtin,

Juſtin, *Curtius*, and *Diodorus* relate, that he was poiſoned by the contrivance of *Antipater*, who was afraid of being called to an account for his mal-adminiſtration. *Plutarch*, however, declares, that he looks upon theſe accounts as falſe; for though the body, he ſays, was neglected ſeveral days in a hot ſultry place, during the diſſenſions among the commanders, yet it remained clear and freſh, without any ſigns of corruption. *Alexander* died, according to *Ariſtobulus*, in the firſt year of the 114th olympiad, when he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, twelve years and eight months of which he had reigned. By *Barſine*, the daughter of *Artabazus*, the widow of *Memnon*, *Alexander* had a ſon named *Hercules*, who was afterwards murdered. By *Roxana*, the daughter of *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian*, he had a poſthumous ſon named *Alexander*, who had for a time the title of king. By *Cleophes*, queen of a part of *India*, he had a ſon named *Alexander*, who ſucceeded his mother in his kingdom.

The ſtate of affairs at *Babylon* upon the death of *Alexander*.

As *Alexander*, upon his death-bed, had refuſed to name his ſucceſſor, and had only given his ring to *Perdiccas*, great jealouſies and conteſts quickly aroſe among his chief commanders, who each endeavoured to engroſs the ſupreme authority. The univerſal conſternation and grief at firſt hindered every one from attending to public affairs; but a day or two after the king's death, his friends aſſembled in the council room, and ſummoned thither all the principal commanders of the army. The ſoldiers and people, who were not ſummoned, coming in vaſt crowds, and blocking up the paſſages, that many of the great officers could not get in, proclamation was made by a herald, that none ſhould preſume to approach the aſſembly, or to remain there, but ſuch as were called by name. This proclamation, however, being unſupported by authority, was not much regarded; ſo that numbers of mean rank and little conſideration, prompted by their curioſity, remained in the council.

Violent diſſenſions quickly aroſe in this aſſembly. *Perdiccas*, placing the robes and regalia in the chair of *Alexander*, laid upon them the ring, declaring that he moſt willingly reſigned any authority that might be intended him by the king, when this ring was delivered to him. *Aridæus*, the baſtard brother of *Alexander*, a man whoſe body and mind had been weakened by a potion ſaid to have been given to him by *Olympias* in his infancy, was named as ſucceſſor to the empire. This nomination was agreeable to the *Macedonian* phalanx; but *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy*, and moſt of the horſe officers, oppoſed this meaſure, and rather than aſſent to it, choſe to quit the city. *Meleager*, however, at the head of the phalanx, ſupported their reſolution, and arraying *Aridæus* in royal robes, put on him the arms of *Alexander*, and ſaluted him by the name of *Philip*, to render him more popular. The other party ſtill perſiſted in their oppoſition, all their affairs being managed by *Perdiccas*, who having been in favour with *Alexander*, was ſtrongly confided in by the nobility. *Aridæus* being entirely under the management of

Aridæus declared ſucceſſor of *Alexander*.

Meleager,

Meleager, this laſt became very formidable, as he was ſupported by the phalanx, who began to entertain a perſonal love for the new king, on account of his mildneſs and moderation.

The animoſities ſoon became violent, and *Meleager* ſent out a party to ſeize *Perdiccas*, who, however, were ſo awed and terrified by that officer, that they durſt not put their deſign in execution. Though the infantry were in poſſeſſion of the city, yet the cavalry, by ſhutting up the paſſages to the town, ſoon diſtreſſed them by famine, and ſo great confuſion enſued, that both parties began to think of an accommodation, which was effected by blending both ſchemes together, *Philip*, or *Aridæus*, being allowed the regal title, and the authority veſted in the great officers, of whom *Meleager* was to be held the third. The reconciliation of the parties was owing to the negotiations of *Eumenes* the *Cardian*, who, through modeſty, declined public notice, and had affected a neutrality as being a ſtranger by birth. He had been bred up under *Philip*, who had made him his ſecretary; *Alexander* not only continued him in the ſame poſt, but had raiſed him to the higheſt military commands, he being one of ſo rare a genius, as to be alike ſuited to act in a camp or a court. When the marriages were celebrated at *Suſa*, *Eumenes* was in ſome meaſure allied to *Alexander*, the king giving him *Artonis*, the ſiſter of his own wife *Barcina*.

A diviſion in the army.

Eumenes reconciles the two parties.

In conſequence of the accommodation effected by *Eumenes*, all the great officers of the army now appeared at court, and *Perdiccas* ſoon gained ſuch an aſcendancy over *Philip*, that he had the ſole direction of affairs at his pleaſure. Under the ſpecious title of protector, he eagerly deſired to aſſume the ſovereignty, while others ſecretly aimed at the diviſion of the empire, that, under the name of governments, they might ſecure kingdoms to themſelves. As the late diviſion had been chiefly owing to the mutinous ſpirit of the phalanx, *Perdiccas* prevailed with *Meleager* to agree to a luſtration of the army, and having drawn all the troops into the field, he drew out of the phalanx, by force, 30 who had been moſt active for *Meleager*, and threw them to the elephants, who trampled them to death. *Meleager*, ſeeing his chief partizans taken off, found himſelf betrayed, and upon his return to *Babylon* took ſanctuary in a temple; but *Perdiccas*, without ceremony, ordered him to be ſlain at the altar.

Perdiccas orders *Meleager* to be ſlain.

Perdiccas, to free himſelf from competitors, provide for the ſafety of the empire, and ſatisfy the ambition of the principal commanders, called a general council, in which was made, according to *Arrian*, the following diſtribution of honours and governments. *Aridæus*, and the ſon of *Roxana*, who was now born, and named *Alexander*, were to enjoy the regal authority. *Antipater* had the government of the *European* provinces, as general of the army there. *Craterus* had the title of protector. *Perdiccas* had the office of general of the houſhold troops in the room of *Hephæſtion*. *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Lagus*, had *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* that borders on *Egypt*. *Cleomenes*,

The empire divided.

a man of an infamous character, whom *Alexander* had made receiver-general in *Egypt*, was made *Ptolemy*'s deputy. *Laomedon* had *Syria*; *Philotas*, *Cilicia*; *Pithon*, *Media*; *Eumenes*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and all the country bordering on the *Euxine* ſea as far as *Trapezus*; but theſe were not yet conquered, ſo that he was a governor without a province. *Antigonus* had *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, and *Phrygia major*; *Caſſander*, *Caria*; *Menander*, *Lydia*; *Leonatus*, *Phrygia* on the *Helleſpont*. *Thrace*, and the adjacent regions, were conſigned to *Lyſimachus*; the reſt of the countries in *Europe*, ſubject to the *Macedonians*, as far as the *Ceraunian* mountains, with all *Greece*, were left to *Craterus* and *Antipater*. The other provinces, not mentioned in this diviſion, remained under the governors appointed to them by *Alexander*.

During the firſt diſputes, the dead body of *Alexander* had lain neglected ſeven days; but it was at length embalmed, and the care of the royal funeral was committed to a commander named *Aridæus*. As the commanders had taken little notice of his body, they made no ſcruple of vacating his will; by his will we mean a ſhort memorandum of things he would have done. The firſt article concerned the building of a fleet of 1000 ſtout gallies, to be made uſe of againſt the *Carthaginians* and other nations, who ſhould oppoſe the reduction of the coaſts of the *Mediterranean* ſea. The ſecond directed a large and regular highway along the ſea coaſt of *Afric*, as far as *Ceuta* and *Tangiers*. The third ordered the erecting ſix temples of extraordinary magnificence, at the expence of 1500 talents each. The fourth appointed forts, arſenals, havens, and docks to be made in proper places throughout his empire. By the fifth, he propoſed the building ſeveral new cities in *Europe* and *Aſia*, thoſe in *Aſia* to be inhabited by colonies from *Europe*, and thoſe in *Europe* to be filled with *Aſiatics*. Laſtly, to adorn his father's ſepulchre, he deſigned to erect a monument equal to the biggeſt pyramid in *Egypt*.

The government in the hands of *Perdiccas* and *Roxana*.

Roxana, who was now mother of one of the kings, had ſome ſhare of the adminiſtration of affairs; and having, from the beginning, acted in concert with *Perdiccas*, immediately, upon *Alexander*'s death, ſhe wrote to *Statira* and *Drypetis*, the daughters of *Darius*, ordering them in his name to come to *Babylon*, where they were no ſooner arrived, than ſhe cauſed them to be murdered. The news of *Alexander*'s death made ſuch an impreſſion on *Siſigambis*, the mother of *Darius*, that, to free herſelf from the calamities which ſeemed now to threaten her, ſhe ſtarved herſelf to death.

The mercenary *Greeks* mutiny and reſolve to return home.

On the news of his death alſo, the mercenary *Greeks*, who had been ſtationed, though againſt their inclination, in the provinces of upper *Aſia*, openly declared their intention of returning to their native country; and aſſembling to the number of 20,000 foot and 3000 horſe, they choſe *Philo* for their leader, and began their march for the ſea. *Perdiccas*, to puniſh theſe rebels, as he called them, ſent *Pitho* with a body of troops againſt them. *Pitho* had formed a ſcheme of ſetting up for himſelf,

ſelf, by prevailing on the rebels to join his forces; but *Perdiccas*, who was aware of his deſign, publicly ordered the rebels to be put to the ſword, and their effects to be diſtributed amongſt his troops. *Lipodorus*, who commanded 3000 of the rebels, being bribed by *Pitho*, he obtained an eaſy victory over them, and granting thoſe who ſurvived good terms, great numbers of them entered into his ſervice, which gave him hopes of executing his ambitious deſign; but the *Macedonians*, remembring the commands of *Perdiccas*, put them all to the ſword. *Pitho*, being thus defeated in his views, returned with his *Macedonians* to *Perdiccas*. They are defeated and cut to pieces.

In the mean time, the *Rhodians* thruſt out the garriſon of the *Macedonians*, and freed their city. The *Athenians* alſo, with many other *Greeks*, entered into an alliance to maintain the liberty of their country againſt *Antipater*, and were ſo ſucceſsful as to defeat him near *Lamia*, whence the war was called the *Lamian* war. *Lyſimachus*, about the ſame time, was engaged in a war with *Seuthes* king of *Thrace*, and with difficulty maintained himſelf in his province againſt the ſuperior numbers of the *Thracians*.

Eumenes had not the leaſt footing in his province, which was an unconquered kingdom, governed by *Ariarathes*, who for ſeveral years had been making preparations for the defence of his dominions. It had been agreed, that *Leonatus*, governor of *Phrygia*, and *Antigonus*, governor of *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, and *Phrygia major*, ſhould aſſiſt *Eumenes* with a great body of troops to diſpoſſeſs *Ariarathes*. *Antigonus*, however, was now become too haughty to think of acting in ſubſerviency to another. *Leonatus* propoſed to aſſiſt *Eumenes* with an army; but inſtead of marching into *Cappadocia*, he went into *Greece*, at the ſolicitation of *Antipater*, to aſſiſt him, as he pretended, againſt the *Grecians*; but in reality to ſeize *Macedonia* for himſelf, and marry *Cleopatra* the ſiſter of *Alexander*. *Eumenes*, to whom he communicated his deſign, ſtole away from him by night with his attendants and treaſure, which amounted to 5000 talents, and went to *Perdiccas*, who, in return for his fidelity, marched in perſon into *Cappadocia*, and defeating *Ariarathes*, cauſed him in a cruel manner to be crucified, and put *Eumenes* in poſſeſſion of his dominions. *Eumenes* ſettled his province in a prudent manner, and leaving his friends governors of the principal cities, accompanied *Perdiccas* into *Piſidia*. *Lauranda*, and *Iſaurus*, two cities of that province, were taken and deſtroyed by *Perdiccas*, becauſe they had ſlain *Balacrus*, whom *Alexander* had appointed their governor. *Eumenes* put in poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia*.

Perdiccas then marched with the royal army into *Cilicia*, and the following ſpring ſent *Eumenes* back to *Cappadocia*. At the firſt diviſion of the provinces, to ſtrengthen his intereſt, he entered into an alliance with *Antipater*, and married his daughter *Nicæa*. Now, when the regency of the empire had greatly raiſed his credit and authority, he began to affect the kingdom of *Macedon*, being privately ſollicited by *Olympias* to marry her daughter The ambitious deſigns of *Perdiccas*.

daughter *Cleopatra*, the widow of the king of *Epire*, who was then at *Sardis*. As he judged that *Antigonus* would be a great obſtacle to the execution of his deſigns, he reſolved to take him off, and, with this view, cauſed numberleſs accuſations to be ſet on foot againſt him. *Antigonus*, who had an underſtanding too penetrating to be impoſed on, pretended to buſy himſelf in collecting proofs of his innocence againſt the day of trial; but took an opportunity of ſailing into *Greece*, and diſcloſed to *Antipater* and *Craterus* the whole plan that *Perdiccas* had formed. Upon the repreſentations of *Antigonus*, *Antipater* and *Craterus* immediately concluded a peace with the *Ætolians*, and advanced towards the *Helleſpont*, engaging *Ptolemy*, governor of *Egypt*, in their intereſt.

The ſucceſs of *Ptolemy* in *Egypt*.

Ptolemy had hitherto remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, which he governed with ſo much wiſdom, clemency and juſtice, that great numbers of men flocked from all parts to *Alexandria*, and chearfully liſted themſelves into his ſervice. About this time,

Bef. Ch. 321.

Aridæus, having completed the magnificent preparations for the funeral of *Alexander*, ſet out with the corpſe for the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. As a ſuperſtitious opinion prevailed, that the colony in which the body was laid would flouriſh moſt, *Perdiccas*, out of a love to his native ſoil, would have ſent it to *Macedon*; but *Aridæus*, pleading the king's expreſs direction, proceeded to *Egypt*, *Ptolemy*, in honour of the king, meeting the corps with his army as far as *Syria*. When the corps arrived in *Egypt*, *Ptolemy* cauſed it to be placed in a magnificent temple, which he built for that purpoſe in *Alexandria*, where it was to be ſeen many ages after.

The corps of *Alexander* conducted to *Alexandria*.

The power of *Ptolemy* being now very formidable, as he was at the head of a numerous army, and commanded a large, populous, and fertile province, *Perdiccas*, who was informed of the alliance concluded betwixt him and *Antipater*, reſolved to march in perſon into *Egypt*, and ordered *Eumenes* to proceed to the *Helleſpont*, to oppoſe *Antipater* and *Craterus*. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus* the governor of *Armenia*, had directions to obey the orders of *Eumenes*, which not a little diſpleaſed them. When *Craterus* and *Antipater* advanced, *Alcetas* abſolutely refuſed to take the field, even though the war was made againſt his brother; and *Neoptolemus* appeared in arms in favour of the enemy. *Antipater* and *Craterus* made large offers to *Eumenes*, if he would come over to their party; but he refuſed to hearken to them, and having with the utmoſt diligence raiſed and diſciplined a body of 6300 horſe, he ſurpriſed and routed *Neoptolemus*, who fled with about 300 men to *Craterus*, the reſt of his troops entering into the ſervice of *Eumenes*.

Perdiccas makes war on *Ptolemy*.

Craterus and *Neoptolemus* defeated and ſlain by *Eumenes*.

Craterus, being aſſured by *Neoptolemus*, that the *Macedonians* in the ſervice of *Eumenes* would no ſooner ſee him but they would come over to him, ſent *Artipater* into *Cilicia*, and advanced againſt *Eumenes*. This general, ſenſible that his *Macedonians* would all refuſe to fight againſt *Craterus*, had the addreſs to conceal from them the enemy they were to engage with, and gave

gave out that *Neoptolemus* and *Pigris* were marching to ſurpriſe him. When the two armies came to engage, he placed a body of foreign horſe over againſt *Craterus*, who attacked him vigorouſly, and mortally wounded him. On the other wing *Eumenes* ſlew *Neoptolemus* with his own hand; ſo that the enemy, being routed both on right and left, were obliged to abandon the field of battle. After the victory, *Eumenes* ſent to the phalanx, and thoſe who had ſurvived the engagement, to let them know, that thoſe who did not chooſe to enter into his ſervice, might have leave to go where they pleaſed. The phalanx took the oath of fidelity to him, but at night baſely deſerted him, and went to *Antipater*.

Perdiccas, in the mean time, advanced with the royal army to *Egypt*; but when he arrived at that kingdom, his troops, who were diſguſted with his arbitrary command, deſerted in great numbers to *Ptolemy*, whoſe mildneſs and generoſity had procured him an univerſal reputation. Having paſſed the river *Nile*, he attacked the entrenchments of *Ptolemy*, which were defended with the greateſt reſolution; ſo that he was obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. He then attempted to repaſs a branch of the river, but loſing 2000 men in that undertaking, which he was not able to accompliſh, the phalanx mutinied, and 100 principal officers immediately went over to *Ptolemy*. Afterwards a troop of horſe, entering into a conſpiracy againſt him, went to his tent and murdered him. Two days after the death of *Perdiccas*, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by *Eumenes*; but *Ptolemy*, having juſtified his conduct to the troops the day before, now ſo artfully heightened their reſentment for the death of *Craterus*, that in a rage they paſſed a decree, declaring *Eumenes*, and 50 other perſons of the ſame party, enemies to *Macedon*, giving joint commiſſion to *Antigonus* and *Antipater* to proſecute the war againſt him. *Pithon*, who had routed the *Greek* mercenaries, and *Aridæus*, who had conducted the body of *Alexander* to *Egypt*, were then declared regents, and led the army back to *Syria*. As *Eurydice*, the wife of *Philip*, interfered in all affairs, and was ſupported in her pretenſions by the *Macedonians*, the two guardians, when they arrived at *Triparadiſus*, reſigned their office, and *Antipater*, who had joined them, was choſen ſole protector with ſovereign power. *Antipater*, having checked *Eurydice*, and quelled a ſedition of the army raiſed by her, made a new diviſion of the provinces. *Egypt*, *Libya*, and the parts adjacent were given to *Ptolemy*, who, if they had been given to any other, would not probably have parted with them. *Syria* was confirmed to *Leonatus*; *Seleucus* had *Babylon*; *Philoxenus*, *Cilicia*; and *Amphimachus* had *Meſopotamia* and *Arbelitis*. *Suſiana* fell to *Antigenes*, who commanded the *Macedonian* ſilver ſhields. *Peuceſtas* held *Perſia*; *Tlepolemus*, *Caramania*; *Pithon*, *Media*, as far as the *Caſpian* ſtraits; *Staſander* had *Aria* and *Drangia*; *Philip*, *Parthia*; *Staſanor*, *Bactria* and *Sogdia*; *Sybirtius*, *Araceſia*; *Cappadocia* was aſſigned to *Nicanor*, and *Lycaonia* was added to the

Perdiccas ſlain.

Antipater declared guardian of the kings.

government of *Antigonus*; *Clytus* had *Lydia*; *Aridæus*, *Phrygia* the leſs; and *Caſſander*, *Caria*, being alſo appointed general of the horſe. *Antipater*, having thus ſettled all things, returned to *Macedonia* with the kings.

Eumenes prepares to defend himſelf.

Eumenes, in the mean time, provided with the utmoſt prudence for his own defence; he was joined by *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas*, and by *Attalus* his brother-in-law, who, upon his death, had retired with the fleet to *Tyre*, where he received thoſe who fled from the camp at *Memphis*, and then failed to act in concert with *Eumenes*. The following ſpring, *Antigonus*, who was charged to carry on the war againſt *Eumenes*, marched with his army into *Cappadocia*, and having bribed *Apollonides*, his general of the horſe, he gained a compleat victory over him, and killed 8000 of his men. *Eumenes*, after this defeat, preſerved his remaining troops for ſome time, by often changing the place of his retreat, being greatly admired for the tranquillity and ſteadineſs of mind he ſtill maintained. At laſt, diſmiſſing all his men except 600, he with theſe retired into the caſtle of *Nora*, a place exceedingly ſtrong by its ſituation, on the top of an inacceſſible rock, well fortified, and ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions, where he reſolved to abide a ſiege. *Antigonus* cauſed the place to be inveſted, but judging that the ſiege would be very tedious, he deſired a conference with *Eumenes*, which, upon his ſending hoſtages to the fort, was granted. *Eumenes* behaved to *Antigonus* as if they had treated upon equal terms, and demanded to be confirmed in his ſeveral governments, and to be honourably rewarded for his ſervices. All the *Macedonians* who were preſent, were aſtoniſhed at his courage and ſpirit: thoſe who could only ſee him were charmed with the ſweetneſs of his aſpect and the beauty of his perſon; for he was one of the handſomeſt men of his age, the moſt perfect in his exerciſes, and his intrepidity was tempered with great mildneſs. *Antigonus*, finding that no accommodation could be made, and the *Macedonians* crowding round them in great numbers, he took *Eumenes* in his arms, and conducted him to the rock. He then ſurrounded the fortreſs, which was but a quarter of a mile in compaſs, with a ſtrong wall, and marched into *Piſidia* againſt *Alcetas* and *Attalus*, whom he ſurpriſed and totally defeated. *Attalus*, with ſome others, were taken priſoners; but *Alcetas*, with about 600 men, eſcaped to *Termeſſus*, where he was ſlain by the treachery of the magiſtrates.

He is totally routed.

Antigonus reſolves to ſeize *Si*.

Antigonus, about this time, being informed of the death of *Antipater*, and that *Polyſperchon* had ſucceeded him as tutor to the kings, began to aſpire to the dominion of *Aſia*, having at his command an army of 60,000 foot, 19,000 horſe, many elephants, and treaſure in abundance. He judged it neceſſary, however, to bring over *Eumenes*, and ſent by his countryman *Jeron* of *Cardia*, the form of an oath to be taken by him. The purport of this oath was, that he ſhould be faithful to *Antigonus*, and have the ſame friends and enemies with him. *Eumenes* altered the article, and inſtead of *Antigonus* he inſerted *Olympias*, the

the kings, and the royal family; and the *Macedonians*, who were employed in the ſiege, approving of this amendment, he took the oaths, and they inſtantly ſet him and his friends at liberty, to the great diſſatisfaction of *Antigonus*, who now openly publiſhed his deſign of ſeizing the ſovereignty of *Aſia*, diſpoſſeſſing the governors of the provinces, and giving them to his friends. He took by force *Epheſus*, and ſeveral other cities in the *Lydian* province, *Clitus* the governor having ſailed over to *Macedonia*, to give intelligence of his revolt. *Aridæus*, governor of leſſer *Phrygia*, raiſed an army in his own defence, and ſent part of his forces to the relief of *Eumenes*, who, however, obtained his liberty in the manner we have already related.

The revolt of *Antigonus* having occaſioned a great alarm, *Polyſperchon*, the regent, who was at war with *Caſſander* in *Greece*, diſpatched to *Eumenes* a commiſſion, conſtituting him captain-general under the kings in *Aſia Minor*, ordering the governors to ſupply him with money for the charges of the war, and to pay him 500 talents for the re-eſtabliſhment of his own affairs. The captains of the *Argyraſpides*, or ſilver ſhields, were alſo ordered to ſerve under him. *Eumenes*, who, immediately after his confinement, had collected a body of 2500 men, finding himſelf likely to be overpowered by a large detachment of the army of *Antigonus*, evacuated *Cappadocia*, and croſſing mount *Taurus*, entered *Cilicia*, where he was joined by *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* with 3000. *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* treated *Eumenes* outwardly with great reſpect; but he ſoon perceived that they, and the other *Macedonian* officers, in their hearts envied him. To leſſen their malice, he refuſed the 500 talents, and the title of general; and, to check their ambition and jealouſy, had recourſe to the ſpirit of ſuperſtition. He told them, that *Alexander* had appeared to him in a dream, and ſhewed him a royal pavilion with a throne in it, ſaying, That if they would ſit in council, there he himſelf would be preſent, and proſper all the conſultations and enterpriſes they ſhould begin in his name. They accordingly, by his advice, erected a royal tent and a throne, which they called *Alexander*'s, where they met to conſult upon all affairs of moment. To provide for his own ſafety, he borrowed large ſums of thoſe that hated him moſt, and gave the money to ſuch friends as he could truſt, ordering them to raiſe ſoldiers upon large pay. By theſe arts he quickly aſſembled an army of upwards of 17,000 men.

The kings create *Eumenes* general in *Aſia*.

His prudent conduct.

Both *Antigonus* and *Ptolemy* uſed their utmoſt endeavours to corrupt the *Macedonians* in the ſervice of *Eumenes*, but without ſucceſs. He marched with his army into *Phœnicia*, which had been unjuſtly ſeized by *Ptolemy*, and applied himſelf diligently to raiſe a naval force, in hopes of being maſter of the ſea, in conjunction with the fleet of *Polyſperchon*; but *Antigonus* having entirely deſtroyed that fleet, and marching againſt him in perſon, *Eumenes* thought it prudent to retreat; and accordingly, paſſing the river *Euphrates* in ſight of the enemy, he took up his winter quarters at *Carræ* in *Meſopotamia*, requeſting *Pithon* and

Seleucus, in the name of the kings, to join him with their forces; they, however, inſtead of joining him, endeavoured, though in vain, to debauch his ſoldiers. The following ſpring he advanced into *Suſiana*, where he was joined by *Peuceſtas*, *Polemon*, *Sybirtius*, *Staſander*, *Androbazus*, and *Eudames* with 21,000 foot, 4600 horſe, and 120 elephants. Though each of theſe officers was deſirous of having the chief command, and the ſoldiers, when they were feaſted by them, ſeemed inclined to gratify them, yet in time of danger the whole army declared for *Eumenes*, who encamped on the banks of the *Tigris* waiting for *Antigonus*. That general, having entered into an alliance with *Seleucus* and *Pithon*, returned from *Suſa*, which had refuſed to admit him to the *Paſitigris*, within a few miles of *Eumenes*, and ſent before 8000 of his troops. Theſe being ſuddenly attacked by *Eumenes*, endeavoured to repaſs the river, but 4000 of them were drowned and killed, and as many taken priſoners. *Antigonus*, checked by this conſiderable loſs, marched into *Media*, the province of *Pitho*; but, contrary to his advice, imprudently led his army through the country of the *Coſſeans*, who attacked them on all ſides; ſo that for nine days they ſuſtained the greateſt hardſhips. Upon his arrival in *Media*, his army was again recruited and ſupplied with proviſions, which made him reſolve to march into the provinces of thoſe governors who had ſided with *Eumenes*, with the deſign to diſplace them.

He is joined by the governors of the upper provinces.

He gains an advantage over *Antigonus*.

Eumenes, in the mean time, to gratify theſe governors, marched into *Perſis*, though he was rather inclined to return to the coaſts of the *Mediterranean*. In twenty-four days he reached *Perſepolis*, where *Peuceſtas* made a grand feaſt for the army, and loaded them with ſuch extravagant favours, that *Eumenes* began to ſuſpect he aimed at the ſovereign command. He therefore forged a letter in *Syrian* character in the name of *Orontes*, governor of *Armenia*, importing, that the party of *Olympias* had killed *Caſſander*, and that the power of the kings being thoroughly ſettled in *Macedon*, *Polyſperchon* had entered *Aſia* with a powerful army, and advanced as far as *Cappadocia*. This letter, which was directed to *Peuceſtas*, being credited by the army, all the officers immediately paid their court to *Eumenes*, and thoſe were the moſt forward who hated him moſt. He took all in good part, and, according to cuſtom, borrowed money of thoſe whom he feared: ſoon after, giving an entertainment to the troops, he drank more freely than he inclined, to gratify his officers, which threw him into a fever, ſo that he was obliged to be carried in the rear in a litter. *Antigonus*, hearing of his ſickneſs, advanced againſt his army, and appeared in ſight of them as they marched; upon which, the *Macedonians* immediately called out for *Eumenes*, and deſpiſing *Peuceſtas* and the other officers, who wanted to act as generals, declared they would not advance till they ſaw *Eumenes*. He accordingly haſtened from the rear, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, which not a little ſurpriſed *Antigonus*, who, at length, obſerving the litter carried through the lines, ſaid to his officers with a ſo-

a loud laugh, *It is not that army, but yon litter, that offers us battle.* However, he immediately ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and drew off about half a mile, making new offers to the *Macedonians*, if they would deſert *Eumenes*; but his meſſengers were ſent back with indignation and threats.

A few days after, *Eumenes* being informed by deſerters that he intended to decamp, conjectured, that he deſigned to march into the fertile province of *Gabiene*, and therefore ſent ſome mercenaries to his camp as deſerters, to tell him that he propoſed to attack him that night. *Antigonus* waited part of the night under arms, and *Eumenes*, in the mean time, marched off towards *Gabiene* with his army, being afterwards purſued by *Antigonus*, who came within view of him with his horſe at day-break. *Eumenes*, believing the whole army of *Antigonus* to be at hand, halted to give him battle, and by that means gave leiſure to the enemies foot to advance. An engagement immediately enſued, which continued with great obſtinacy and various ſucceſs throughout the whole day and part of the night. Both parties, after the battle, remained for ſome time upon the field; but towards midnight, *Eumenes* was forced by his own men to return to their carriages, which were at a conſiderable diſtance; ſo that *Antigonus*, being allowed to bury the dead, claimed the victory. *Antigonus* loſt 3700 foot and 64 horſe, and had above 4000 wounded; on the part of *Eumenes* were ſlain 540 foot, with a few horſe, and not 1000 were wounded. As the army of *Antigonus* were greatly diſpirited, and inferior to that of *Eumenes*, he privately marched off to *Media*, which was twenty-five days journey diſtant from *Gabiene*, where *Eumenes* took up his winter quarters.

Defeats the army of *Antigonus*,

Antigonus, being informed that the troops of *Eumenes* had diſperſed themſelves in ſuch a manner, that their front was near 120 miles from their rear, and that paying little regard to their officers they ſpent their time in feaſting, he hoped to ſurprize them by marching through the deſart, which he could accompliſh in nine days. As it was the middle of winter, his troops, to preſerve themſelves from periſhing, were forced to make fires in the nights, which being perceived by the inhabitants of the wilderneſs, they immediately ſent intelligence of his approach to the confederate generals by meſſengers on dromedaries. The news filled them with the greateſt conſternation; but *Eumenes* freed them from their terrors by undertaking to ſtop the enemies march for four or five days, if they in the mean time would collect the forces. Accordingly, marching off with the few troops in the neighbourhood, he went and encamped on the hills which commanded a diſtant proſpect of the deſart, where at night he ordered a great many fires to be lighted. *Antigonus*, upon ſeeing the fires, concluded that *Eumenes* was waiting for him with his whole army, and not chuſing to engage while his troops were fatigued, he turned aſide into the common road through the towns and villages; ſo that, before he had arrived

who is diſappointed in attempting to ſurpriſe *Eumenes*.

at the frontiers of *Gabiene*, the whole confederate army was aſſembled.

A battle betwixt *Eumenes* and *Antigonus*.

In the private councils, held by the generals and governors of the provinces, it was unanimouſly agreed, after the approaching battle, to rid themſelves of *Eumenes*, who, being informed of their deſign by two principal perſons of the army, to whom he owed large ſums, retired to his tent, and deſtroyed all his papers. He then conſidered, whether he might not eſcape into *Cappadocia*; but reflecting that his eſcape would be looked upon as an abdication of the command, he came out and encouraged his ſoldiers. The *Argyraſpides*, however, encouraged him, and aſſured him of victory. As none of them were leſs than ſixty years of age, when they charged, they called out to the phalanx of *Antigonus*, *Villains! ye fight againſt your fathers*, and attacking with great vigour, flew 5000 of the enemy without loſing a man. Though the foot of *Antigonus* were entirely defeated, yet his horſe, on account of the treachery of *Peuceſtas*, gained the advantage, and even pillaged the camp of *Eumenes*. After the battle, the *Argyraſpides* mutinied on account of the loſs of their baggage, and in order to have it reſtored to them, delivered up *Eumenes* to *Antigonus*, who, being aſked by thoſe who had him in cuſtody how he would have him kept, anſwered, *As you would keep an elephant or a lion.*

Eumenes delivered up by his own men to *Antigonus*, who cauſes him to be put to death.

The fate of *Aſia* was now decided; for *Eumenes* being given up, the governors ſubmitted, and made the beſt terms they could, ſuffering their troops to be incorporated with thoſe of *Antigonus*. *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Antigonus*, and ſeveral others, were carneſt to ſave the life of *Eumenes*; but *Antigonus*, at the inſtigation of the *Macedonians*, put him to death. However, he and all his troops aſſiſted at his funeral with great ſolemnity, and after the body was burnt, he cauſed the aſhes to be put into a ſilver urn, and ſent them to his wife and children in *Cappadocia*. The traitors, however, were ſeverely puniſhed by him: *Antigenes*, commander in chief of the ſilver ſhields, was put into a coffin and burnt alive; he likewiſe put to death ſeveral others of the treacherous officers, and ordered the governor of *Arachoſia* to uſe every method to deſtroy the *Argyraſpides*, that none of them might ever come within ſight of the *Grecian* ſea *.

Antigonus retires to change the governors in all the provinces.

Antigonus, looking upon himſelf now as maſter of *Aſia*, retired to his winter quarters in *Media*, committing the different provinces to perſons whom he confided in. He accuſed *Pithon* of treaſon, and having put him to death, appointed *Orontobates*, a *Mede*, governor of *Media*; but gave the command of the forces in that province to *Hippoſtratus*. He ſtript *Peuceſtas* of the government of *Perſia*, where he was greatly beloved, and appointed *Aſclepiodorus* in his ſtead. He ſeized all the treaſures and rich curioſities in *Suſa*, to the value of 15,000 talents, and by other ſpoils and treaſure raiſed 10,000 talents more. As ſoon

* Plut. & Corn. Nep. in Eumen. Diod. Sic. Juſtin.

as the season of the year permitted, he marched with all his forces to *Babylon*: *Seleucus*, the governor, had hitherto zealously supported his interests against *Eumenes*, and done him many signal services, and now, to testify his joy for his success, he feasted his whole army. *Antigonus* demanding of him an account of the revenues of his province, *Seleucus* told him, that the province of *Babylon* was conferred upon himself by the *Macedonians* as the reward of his services, and therefore he was not bound to give an account to him, neither had he a right to demand one. The difference growing wider and wider every day, *Seleucus*, who considered that he was not able to oppose him, fled with fifty attendants to *Ptolemy*, to whom he represented the formidable power and ambitious designs of *Antigonus* in such a light, that an alliance was immediately formed against him by *Ptolemy*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*.

Attempts to seize *Seleucus*.

Antigonus, rejoiced at the flight of *Seleucus*, thinking that he had obtained the possession of *Babylon* without any struggle; and leaving the province to *Pithon*, who had come out of *India*, he marched into *Cilicia*, where he put his troops into winter quarters, raising 11,000 talents in that province. Having rejected the articles which the confederates demanded of him, he made vigorous preparations for a war, and marched into *Syria* and *Phœnicia* with the design of reducing those provinces, by which means he hoped to be in possession of a powerful fleet. He quickly reduced *Joppa* and *Gaza*, and after a siege of fifteen months, obliged *Tyre* to surrender; but the ships which he expected to find were all carried off by *Ptolemy*. Judging it, however, absolutely necessary to be master of the sea, he caused vast quantities of timber to be cut down on mount *Libanus*, and in other parts; and while his army was engaged in the siege of *Tyre*, employed 8000 men in building a fleet, which put to sea in the end of summer.

He reduces *Syria* and *Phœnicia*. Bef. Christ 314.

Cassander, in the mean time, making considerable progress in *Asia Minor*, *Antigonus* left his son *Demetrius* with part of his army to preserve *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and marched with the rest into *Asia*. The following campaign he pressed *Cassander* so vigorously, that he agreed to peace on very indifferent terms, which, however, he soon after broke, joining again with his old allies.

He obliges *Cassander* to sue for peace.

While *Antigonus* was engaged in opposing *Cassander*, who had renewed the war, *Ptolemy* with his fleet made a descent in *Syria*, and afterwards in *Cilicia*, out of which province he carried great spoils into *Egypt*. At the persuasion of *Seleucus*, he then marched with an army into *Phœnicia*, and at *Gaza* entirely defeated *Demetrius*, killing 5000 of his men, and taking 8000 prisoners. *Demetrius*, retiring with the remains of his army to *Azotus*, desired leave to bury his dead, which favour *Ptolemy* not only granted him, but also sent him back his royal pavilion, his whole equipage, and all the prisoners who had any dependance on his family. *Ptolemy* soon after made himself master of *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*, *Andronicus*, the governor of *Tyre*, being

Ptolemy recovers *Syria* and defeats *Demetrius*.

being obliged to deliver up that place, which alone made any reſiſtance.

Seleucus recovers the province of *Babylon.*

After the victory in *Gaza*, *Ptolemy* granted *Seleucus* 1000 foot and 300 horſe, with which ſmall body he recovered the poſſeſſion of the province of *Babylon*, where the lenity of his government rendered him greatly beloved. He immediately raiſed a conſiderable force, and having defeated *Nicanor*, governor of *Media* for *Antigonus*, he made himſelf maſter of *Media* and *Suſiana*.

While *Seleucus* was extending his conqueſts in the eaſt, *Cilles*, one of *Ptolemy*'s generals, undertook to drive *Demetrius* out of upper *Syria*; but he allowed himſelf to be ſurprized by *Demetrius*, who forced his camp, and took him and 7000 men priſoners. *Demetrius* now rejoiced at having an opportunity of returning the civility formerly ſhewn him by *Ptolemy*, and ſent back *Cilles* and all his friends, with all the baggage he had taken, and magnificent preſents.

Antigonus recovers the provinces he had loſt.

Antigonus ſoon after this victory joining his ſon, *Ptolemy*, who was diſcouraged by his late loſs, demoliſhed moſt of the fortified cities in thoſe parts, and retired into *Egypt* with an immenſe load of ſpoil, and a vaſt number of people, who voluntarily followed his fortunes. *Antigonus*, having thus without a ſtroke recovered *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, ſent *Athenæus*, one of his generals, with 4000 foot and 600 horſe againſt the *Nabathæan Arabs*. *Athenæus*, after a moſt expeditious march, ſurpriſed the capital city of the *Arabs*, ſituated in the wilderneſs on a rock almoſt impregnable. As all the fighting men were then abſent at a mart or fair, he eaſily made himſelf maſter of the place, in which he ſtaid only three hours, marching off with an immenſe booty. His troops, who were exceſſively fatigued, halted when they were about twenty miles diſtant from the city, where they were in their turn ſurpriſed by the *Arabs*, and all cut to pieces except 60 horſemen, who fled in the beginning of the attack. They alſo complained to *Antigonus* of the injury done them: he declared that *Athenæus* deſerved his fate, as he had acted without his commiſſion; but ſoon after he ſent *Demetrius* againſt them with 4000 horſe, and as many light armed foot. The *Arabs*, who had expected a ſecond invaſion, drove off all their cattle, and put a ſtrong garriſon into *Petra*; ſo that *Demetrius*, finding it impracticable to ſtorm the place, offered to retire, if they would ſend deputies to appeaſe his father, and give preſents to himſelf, and refreſhments to his army, which terms they readily complied with. *Antigonus* was not quite ſatisfied with this accommodation; but he was pleaſed that *Demetrius*, on his return, had diſcovered the manner of gathering bitumen on the lake *Aſphaltites*, as he hoped to raiſe a great revenue by collecting it, and the rich balm in that neighbourhood, known by the name of the balm of *Gilead*. He employed a great many men for this purpoſe; but 6000 *Arabs* came ſuddenly upon them, cut moſt of them in pieces, and carried off the bitumen which they had for ſome time been collecting.

His unſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Arabs.*

Antigonus,

Antigonus, in the mean time, being informed of the ſucceſs of *Seleucus* in the eaſt, ſent his ſon *Demetrius* with an army of 15,000 foot and 4000 horſe againſt him. *Seleucus* being then abſent in *Media*, *Patroclus*, whom he had left preſident of *Babylon*, upon the approach of *Demetrius*, abandoned the city, which he was not able to defend, and alſo obliged the greateſt part of the citizens to retire to the marſhes and deſarts. *Demetrius* beſieged both the caſtles, and quickly reduced one of them, in which, according to *Plutarch*, he left a garriſon of 7000 men. Being obliged ſoon after to return to his father, he left 6000 men, according to *Diodorus*, to beſiege the other caſtle, and returned with the reſt, plundering the province of *Babylon*, through which he marched, whereby the hearts of the people were eſtranged from his father, and attached to *Seleucus*, who, upon his return, found no difficulty of driving out the troops left by *Demetrius*. In this account, the 7000 men, mentioned by *Plutarch*, and the 6000, ſpoken of by *Diodorus*, ſeem to have been the ſame body of troops, as each of them ſay, that *Demetrius* returned with the reſt of his troops. Demetrius ſent againſt Seleucus.

Demetrius, upon his return from *Babylon*, marched to the relief of *Halicarnaſſus*, which was beſieged by *Ptolemy*, and obliged him to retire. This event was ſucceeded by a peace between the confederate princes and *Antigonus*, by which it was ſtipulated, that *Caſſander* ſhould have the management of the *Macedonian* affairs, till *Alexander*, the ſon of *Roxana*, was of age to reign; *Lyſimachus* was to have *Thrace*; *Ptolemy*, *Egypt*, with all its dependancies; and *Antigonus* all *Aſia*, with a proviſo that the *Grecian* cities ſhould every where be free. This treaty was hardly concluded, before each party complained of infractions, and hoſtilities were renewed. The *Macedonians*, in the mean time, ſeeming inclined to truſt the young prince *Alexander*, who was now fourteen years of age, with the management of affairs, *Caſſander* cauſed him and his mother to be put to death in the caſtle of *Amphipolis*, where they were confined. *Ptolemy*, after hoſtilities were renewed, took ſeveral cities from *Antigonus* in *Cilicia*; which, however, were ſoon retaken by *Demetrius*. A treaty betwixt the confederate princes and *Antigonus*. *Roxana* and her ſon put to death by *Caſſander*.

To obtain ſome compenſation for what he had loſt in *Cilicia*, *Ptolemy* reduced the greateſt part of the iſland of *Cyprus*, conquered ſome places in *Pamphylia* and *Lycia*, and ſailing to the *Ægean* ſea, made himſelf maſter of the iſle of *Andros*, *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and ſome other cities. During his continuance in thoſe parts, he entered into a correſpondence with *Cleopatra*, the ſiſter of *Alexander*, who then reſided at *Sardis*. As ſhe was piqued at *Antigonus*, who for ſome time had treated her with very little reſpect, ſhe left *Sardis* with the intention of going to *Ptolemy*; but ſhe was brought back by the governor of that city, who, by order of *Antigonus*, put her to death by the help of ſome women. The war renewed.

Demetrius, a few months after, ſailed with a powerful fleet to *Athens*, with the deſign, as he pretended, of ſetting all the *Grecian* cities free, but in reality to leſſen the power of *Caſſander*.

The

Demetrius gains a signal victory over *Ptolemy* at sea. Bef. Chr. 306.

The *Athenians*, as we have formerly mentioned, received him with great joy. Having driven out the garrison of *Caſſander* from *Megara*, his ſoldiers plundered the place. *Demetrius*, as he was leaving *Megara*, ſaid to the philoſopher *Stilpo*, *Well*, Stilpo, *I leave your city perfectly free. True*, ſaid he, *for you have not left us one ſlave in it.* *Antigonus* recalled his ſon from *Greece* to reduce *Cyprus*, the conqueſt of which iſland he ſucceſsfully accompliſhed, having gained a great naval victory over *Ptolemy* *. On this remarkable ſucceſs, *Antigonus* at laſt threw off the maſk and aſſumed the title of king, ſending a crown alſo to his ſon *Demetrius*, with a letter of congratulation thus addreſſed, *To the excellent majeſty of king* Demetrius. As ſoon as this was known in *Egypt*, the people, to ſhew their love for *Ptolemy*, compelled him to accept of the ſame title; upon which *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus* alſo aſſumed it, and *Caſſander* ſuffered it likewiſe to be given him. With the aſſumption of the regal title, *Plutarch* tells us, their manners and diſpoſitions were altered. They became imperious and overbearing in their intercourſe with others, as if this appellation had exalted them into a ſpecies of beings different from the reſt of mankind.

Antigonus and *Demetrius* aſſume the title of king.

The expedition of *Antigonus* againſt *Egypt*.

Antigonus, to improve the victory his ſon had obtained in *Cyprus* (B), marched againſt *Ptolemy* at the head of a powerful army, which conſiſted of 80,000 foot, 8000 horſe, and 83 elephants; while *Demetrius* coaſted along the ſhore with a fleet of 150 gallies, ond 100 ſhips of burden. *Demetrius*, contrary to the advice of the pilots, refuſing to wait ſeven days till the ſetting of the pleiades, loſt part of his fleet in a ſtorm on the coaſt of *Egypt*, which greatly ſhattered almoſt all his ſhips. The land army having provided ten days proviſions, marched from *Gaza* thro' the deſart; but before they arrived at *Egypt*, ſuffered very conſiderably. *Ptolemy* having, with great care, guarded the mouths and banks of the *Nile*, *Demetrius* found it impoſſible to enter the river, and the land forces durſt not attempt to paſs. Many of the troops, in the mean time, deſerting to *Ptolemy*, *Antigonus* was quickly convinced that it would be for his intereſt to be gone, and accordingly retreated with his army to *Syria*, his fleet accompanying him along the ſhore.

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* See the hiſtory of Cyprus.

(B) He was the ſon of a *Macedonian* nobleman named *Philip*. He married *Stratonice* the daughter of *Correus*, by whom he had two ſons *Demetrius* and *Philip*, the laſt of whom died ſoon after his father aſſumed the royal title. Tho' in private matters he was ſtrictly juſt, yet to gratify his ambition, he committed a multitude of unjuſt and bad actions. His greateſt happineſs was the manner in which he lived in his family, where, as he loved his wife and children, his wife and children really loved him.

Antigonus

Antigonus being now almoſt 80 years old, committed the care of military affairs to his ſon, who, to reſtore the credit of his arms, undertook an expedition againſt the *Rhodians*, becauſe they had favoured *Ptolemy*. The *Rhodians*, as we have elſewhere related, defended themſelves ſo vigorouſly, that after he had carried on the ſiege twelve months, he was fain to conclude a peace with them, on pretence of being called to defend the liberties of the *Greeks*. The *Rhodians* agreeing to ſerve *Antigonus* againſt all his enemies, excepting *Ptolemy*, *Demetrius* ſailed from thence with a fleet to *Attica*, and obliging *Caſſander* to raiſe the ſiege of that city, defeated him at *Thermopylæ*. Having taken into his army 6000 *Macedonians*, who came over to him, he freed all the *Grecians* within *Thermopylæ*, and reſtored *Phyle* and *Panactus*, which were the bulwarks of *Attica*, to the *Athenians*, who now laviſhed upon him the moſt ſervile flattery. *Demetrius*, upon his return to *Athens*, indulged himſelf in the moſt licentious exceſſes. He polluted the temple of *Minerva*, whom he ſtiled his elder ſiſter, with the moſt abominable impurities, and wholly abandoned himſelf for ſome time to intemperance and debauchery. Marching afterwards into the *Peloponneſe*, he ſet *Argos*, *Licyon*, and *Corinth* at liberty, and was proclaimed generaliſſimo of *Greece*, by the *Grecian* ſtates aſſembled at the *Iſthmus*. He now thought himſelf ſuperior to *Philip* or *Alexander*, and aſſumed the title of *King of Kings*, his flatterers drinking the healths of *Seleucus*, *Caſſander*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Ptolemy*, as the great officers of his houſhold.

Demetrius ſeeming to carry every thing before him in *Greece*, *Caſſander* made offers of peace to *Antigonus*, who proudly inſiſted that he ſhould ſubmit himſelf and his dominions to his pleaſure. *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lyſimachus* immediately renewed the alliance with *Caſſander*, and *Lyſimachus* having obtained a reinforcement of troops from *Caſſander*, paſſed over into *Aſia*, where he quickly reduced *Sardis*, *Epheſus*, and a great many other places. *Antigonus*, who was then celebrating ſhews and gymnic ſports at his new city of *Antigonia*, hearing of the ſucceſs of *Lyſimachus*, began immediately to draw together his forces, boaſting in an arrogant manner, *That he would ſcatter the confederates as eaſily as boys diſperſe a flock of birds by throwing a ſtone among them.* When he approached *Lyſimachus*, that general, who was obliged to abandon ſeveral places to gain time, propoſed an accommodation; which was rejected by *Antigonus*. Both parties, during the winter, continued their preparations; and *Antigonus* being informed that *Seleucus* was on his march to join *Lyſimachus*, ſent to *Demetrius*, deſiring him to come and join him. *Demetrius* reſolved immediately to obey his father; and prevailing with *Caſſander* to agree to a peace, on condition that the articles ſhould be ratified by *Antigonus*, he ſet ſail for *Aſia*, and having recovered *Epheſus*, marched ſtrait to join his father. *Ptolemy*, in the mean time, made an irruption into *Phœnicia* and *Cœlo-Syria*, and reduced thoſe countries, excepting only the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*. But upon a falſe report that *Antigonus* had defeated *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus*, he raiſed

Demetrius obliges *Caſſander* to abandon *Attica*.

His profligacy.

A new confederacy againſt *Antigonus*.

raiſed the ſiege of *Sidon* and retired to *Egypt*, leaving garriſons in the cities he had conquered.

Antigonus defeated and ſlain at *Ipſus*. Bef. Ch. 301.

About this time the two grand armies in *Phrygia* were ready to engage. That of *Antigonus* conſiſted of 70,000 foot, 10,000 horſe, and 75 elephants. *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus* had 64,000 foot, 10,500 horſe, 400 elephants, and 120 armed chariots. The army of *Antigonus* was entirely defeated, and he himſelf ſlain. *Demetrius*, with the poor remains of the army, which were only 5000 foot and 400 horſe, eſcaped from *Ipſus*, in the neighbourhood of which city the battle was fought, to *Epheſus*, from whence he ſailed to *Athens*; but the *Athenians*, in a moſt ungrateful manner, would not admit him into their city, tho' they ſent out to him his ſhips. After viſiting the *Peloponneſe*, he ſailed to the *Cherſoneſe*, where he committed great devaſtations in the territories of *Lyſimachus*, by which means he enriched his ſoldiers, and encreaſed the number of them.

His dominions divided among the confederates.

The confederates, in the mean time, had made a partition of the dominions of *Antigonus* among themſelves. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Cœloſyria*, and *Paleſtine*; *Caſſander* had *Macedonia* and *Greece*; *Lyſimachus*, *Thrace*, *Bithynia*, and ſome other provinces beyond the *Helleſpont*, with the *Boſphorus*; and *Seleucus*, all the reſt of *Aſia* as far as the *Indus*. *Seleucus* continuing ſome time on the coaſt of *Syria*, and hearing wonderful things of the beauty of *Stratonice* the daughter of *Demetrius*, demanded her in marriage from her father; who joyfully agreed to the propoſal, and conducted her in perſon to *Syria*. As he put on ſhore in *Cilicia* for refreſhment, *Pliſtarchus*, the governor of that province, went to his brother *Caſſander* to complain of *Seleucus* for having made an accommodation with him. *Demetrius* being informed of this, marched up to *Quinda*, where he ſeized 1200 talents left there by his father; and returning to his fleet, joined *Seleucus* at *Roſſus*, where the marriage was celebrated. Upon his return, *Demetrius* ſeized *Cilicia*, and by the interpoſition of *Seleucus*, married *Ptolemaida*, the daughter of *Ptolemy*, who being reconciled to him, gave him the iſland of *Cyprus* and the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*. *Seleucus*, unſatisfied with his large dominions, offered him a large ſum of money for *Cilicia*; and upon his refuſing to exchange, threatned to take *Tyre* and *Sidon* from him by force. *Demetrius* having ſtrengthened the garriſons of thoſe cities, ſailed with a powerful fleet againſt *Athens*. The greateſt part of his ſhips being deſtroyed by a ſtorm, he was able at firſt to effect nothing; but when he had received a reinforcement of ſhips, he took ſeveral towns in the *Peloponneſe*, and after an obſtinate ſiege reduced *Athens*, when he generouſly pardoned the *Athenians*. He afterwards gained two victories over *Archidamus* king of *Sparta*; one at *Mantinea*, and the other before *Sparta*: but when it was thought that the city muſt fall into his hands, news arrived that *Lyſimachus* had made himſelf maſter of all his poſſeſſions in *Aſia*, and that *Ptolemy* had conquered all *Cyprus*, except *Salamis*, which was then cloſely beſieged. Theſe dread-

Seleucus marries the daughter of *Demetrius*,

who ſeizes on *Cilicia*,

and reduces *Athens*.

ful tidings obliged him to quit *Lacedæmon*; but his hopes were again quickly revived by new and great adventures.

Philip, the eldeſt ſon of *Caſſander*, dying a few months after his father, his two brothers, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, contended for the government. *Alexander* called in the aſſiſtance of *Demetrius*, and *Pyrrhus* king of *Epire*; which laſt quickly appeared, and obliged *Antipater* to make a partition with his brother; but kept ſeveral cities in *Macedonia*, which he had reduced, as a compenſation for his ſervices. The younger brother thinking that *Demetrius* would act in the ſame manner, met him on the confines of *Macedonia*, and aſſured him, with great civility, that he had now no need of his aſſiſtance. *Demetrius*, however, being informed that *Alexander* intended to murder him at an entertainment, anticipated his deſign, and cauſed him and his friends to be aſſaſſinated; one of them, as he was dying, calling out, *You have been too quick for us by a day*.

Having juſtified his proceeding in a harangue to the *Macedonian* army, they, who expected to have been attacked by him, proclaimed him king, from their deteſtation of *Antipater*, who in the late diſpute had killed his own mother, becauſe ſhe favoured his brother *Alexander*. *Demetrius* now ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of a kingdom by the free conſent of the people, who were not a little influenced in their choice, in conſideration of *Antigonus* his ſon, by the daughter of *Antipater* the elder. After *Demetrius* had reigned ſix years in *Macedon*, he formed a deſign of recovering all his father's dominions in *Aſia*. With this intention he raiſed an army of 98,000 foot and 12,000 horſe, and put upon the ſtocks 500 gallies, ſome at *Pella*, others at *Chalcis*, *Corinth*, and *Athens*. Several of theſe gallies had 14, 15, and 16 benches of oars, being built by the particular direction of *Demetrius* himſelf, and were no leſs wonderful for their ſize than for the ſpeed and agility of their motion. *Demetrius* becomes king of *Macedonia*. Bef. Ch. 294.

Seleucus, *Ptolemy*, and *Lyſimachus*, alarmed by theſe preparations, renewed their antient alliance; and prevailing with *Pyrrhus* king of *Epire* to enter into their confederacy, *Demetrius* found himſelf aſſaulted on all ſides, before he had compleated his preparations. While *Lyſimachus* entered *Macedonia* from *Thrace*, *Pyrrhus* invaded the weſtern ports of the kingdom, and *Ptolemy* arriving with a powerful fleet, all *Greece* revolted from him. *Demetrius* leaving his ſon to take care of *Greece*, marched againſt *Lyſimachus*; but finding his troops inclined to deſert to him, upon the news that *Pyrrhus* had taken *Beræa*, he thought it more prudent to lead them againſt *Pyrrhus*, to whom, however, they deſerted in great numbers; ſo that *Demetrius*, to ſave himſelf, was obliged to retire in diſguiſe, the *Macedonians*, after his departure, dividing the kingdom betwixt *Pyrrhus* and *Lyſimachus*. The vanity, luxury, and pride of *Demetrius*, abandoned and rendered him quite odious to the *Macedonians*, who, on the contrary, were charmed with the warlike genius and the affability of *Pyrrhus*. He makes preparations for recovering his *Aſiatic* dominions. He is obliged to abandon *Macedon*.

Demetrius

Demetrius fled firſt to *Caſſandria*, on the borders of *Thrace*, where his wife *Phila* in deſpair poiſoned herſelf. From thence he went into *Greece*, where ſeveral cities ſtill continued devoted to him; and there raiſing an army of 11,000 men, beſides a few horſe, he tranſported them to *Aſia*, to attempt the recovery of *Caria* and *Lydia*. Having taken *Sardis* by force, he there married *Ptolemaida*, who had joined him upon his arrival at *Miletus*. Part of the forces of *Lyſimachus* revolting to him, and bringing with them a great ſum of money, enabled him to recruit his army effectually. *Agathocles*, the ſon of *Lyſimachus*, however, coming againſt him with a great army, and cutting off all his ſupplies, obliged him to retire into *Phrygia*, whither he followed him, and reduced his army to a ſtarving condition. He intended to proceed to *Armenia* and *Media*, which he hoped to conquer; but loſing a great many men in paſſing the *Lycus*, and the plague breaking out in his army, he retired to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, after loſing in all 8000 men. From thence he wrote a long and moving letter to *Seleucus*, earneſtly entreating him to have compaſſion on a man who was his relation, and whoſe ſufferings might claim pity even from his enemies. *Seleucus* wrote to the commander of his forces in thoſe parts, to furniſh *Demetrius* with all the accommodations that were ſuitable to his rank, and to ſupply his ſoldiers plentifully with proviſions. Afterwards, however, at the perſuaſion of one of his friends, he marched towards *Cilicia* with an army to watch the deſigns of *Demetrius*, whoſe enterprizing genius was dreaded even when he was ſurrounded by misfortunes. *Demetrius*, upon his approach, retired to mount *Taurus*; and *Seleucus* requiring hoſtages from him before he would allow him to reſide there during two months of winter, *Demetrius*, rather than comply with that condition, choſe to defend himſelf by arms. He had the advantage in many ſkirmiſhes, which encouraged him to think of hazarding a deciſive engagement. In the mean time, being ſeized with a fever, which confined him for 40 days, great part of his ſoldiers looking upon his affairs as deſperate, forſook him before he recovered. With the remains of his troops he ſoon after attempted to ſurpriſe *Seleucus* in his camp; but not ſucceeding, he was next day forced to an engagement, when *Seleucus* perſuaded his troops to throw down their arms and ſubmit to him. *Demetrius* retired with a few followers into a thick wood; but the whole country being poſſeſſed by the enemy, he found it impoſſible to eſcape, and ſurrendered to *Seleucus*. The conqueror immediately ordered a royal tent to be erected, and all neceſſary preparations made for giving *Demetrius* a magnificent reception; ſaying, *It is not the good fortune of* Demetrius *that preſerves him, but mine, which affords me this occaſion of ſhewing my humanity and generoſity.* The courtiers, now expecting that *Demetrius* would be in high favour with *Seleucus*, ran to preſent themſelves to him, and ſtrove who ſhould be the firſt to do him honour; which gave an opportunity to thoſe who hated *Demetrius* to awaken the jea-

Paſſes over into *Aſia.*

louſy of *Seleucus*, who began to be perſuaded that ſome dangerous commotion might be raiſed in the army by his preſence. He therefore ſent an officer, with 1000 horſe, to the village where he arrived, and cauſed him to be conducted as a priſoner to a peninſula on the coaſt of *Syria*, where he was allowed a liberal allowance both of money and proviſions, being permitted alſo to exerciſe and divert himſelf in ſpacious parks abounding with game. *Demetrius* was no ſooner a priſoner, than he wrote to his ſon *Antigonus*, and to his officers and friends in *Greece*, deſiring them, from that time, to give no credit to his hand-writing or his ſeal, but to conſider him as already dead; exhorting *Antigonus* never to part with thoſe cities that ſtill remained in his hands. *Antigonus* in vain offered to deliver up all his father's remaining dominions, and to give up himſelf as a hoſtage to obtain his liberty. *Demetrius* ſoon reconciled himſelf to his lot, by diverting himſelf with riding and hunting, and might have been more happy, had he made a true eſtimate of his condition, than whilſt hurried over lands and ſeas by the phrenzy of ambition; but after ſome time he grew indolent, and gave himſelf up to drinking and gaming, in which amuſements he ſpent the greateſt part of his time. When he had continued in his captivity for the ſpace of three years, he was ſeized with a ſevere diſtemper, occaſioned by his inactivity and intemperance in eating and drinking, and died at the age of 54 years. His ſon *Antigonus*, who had often, in the moſt earneſt manner, ſolicited his liberty, and wore mourning during the whole time of his captivity, celebrated his funeral with the greateſt magnificence. He went with his whole fleet to meet the ſhip that brought the golden urn, and taking it on board the royal galley, ſailed in grand proceſſion to *Corinth*. The urn was depoſited in *Demetrias*, a city built by the late king, and peopled by the inhabitants of ſeveral ſmall towns about *Iolcus*. *Demetrius*, beſides his many concubines, had four wives at the ſame time. His firſt wife was *Phila* the daughter of *Antipater*, by whom he had *Antigonus*, who ſucceeded him in *Macedon*, and *Stratonice*, married to *Seleucus*, and afterwards to his ſon. His ſecond wife was *Eurydice*, an *Athenian*, ſaid to be deſcended from *Miltiades*. He next married *Deidamia*, the ſiſter of *Pyrrhus* king of *Epire*, by whom he had a ſon named *Alexander*, who paſſed his life in *Egypt*. By *Ptolemaida*, his fourth wife, he had a ſon named *Demetrius*, who afterwards reigned in *Cyrene*. He had alſo a ſon of the ſame name by an *Illyrian* concubine *.

Is obliged to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner to *Seleucus*.

His death. Bef. Chr. 284.

* Plut. in Demetr. & Pyrrh. Diod. Sic. Juſtin, l. xvi. Corn. Nep. de regib.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The history of the kingdom of MACEDON, *from the death of* ALEXANDER *the Great, to the conquest thereof by the* Romans.

The state of *Macedon* at the death of *Alexander.*

ALEXANDER, a short time before his death, had sent *Craterus* to take the government of *Macedonia*, ordering *Antipater* to join him with a fresh army at *Babylon*, where it is supposed he would have been disgraced, if not put to death, on account of the many complaints made against him. The death of *Alexander* prevented this regulation from taking place, and *Antipater* continued in possession of the government of *Macedonia*.

The character of *Antipater.*

He was a person noble by birth, of great natural abilities; but chiefly distinguished for his moderation and virtue. He was the friend and scholar of *Aristotle*, was learned, and a lover of learning. *Philip* of *Macedon* made choice of him for his chief minister; and *Alexander* entrusted him not only with the care of his hereditary kingdom, but also with the custody of *Greece*. During the absence of *Alexander*, he had many quarrels with *Olympias*, who was a high-spirited woman, and very desirous of meddling in state affairs; and by stifly refusing to gratify her, he exposed himself to her resentment, and to the hatred of all her party, who doubtless endeavoured, to the utmost of their power, to calumniate him. From the best historians, *Arrian* says, it appears that *Alexander* did not discover the least dislike to him; tho' after that prince hearkned to his flatterers, the most faithful ministers were not sure of his favour. *Antipater* seems to have been sensible of this; for when he heard of the death of *Parmenio*, he is recorded to have said, *If* Parmenio *conspired against* Alexander, *whom can we trust? If he did not conspire, what shall we do*?*

The *Greeks* begin the *Lamian* war. Bef. Ch. 302.

Tho' *Antipater* governed the *Greeks* under *Alexander* with great gentleness, yet he was exceedingly hated by them, because he obliged them to be quiet. *Alexander*, after his return to *Babylon*, having caused an edict to be published at the Olympic games, ordering the *Grecian* exiles to be restored, the *Greeks* looked upon this peremptory decree to be a total abolition of their liberty, and immediately prepared for war. The news of his death soon after arriving in *Greece*, the popular party in *Athens* spirited up the other states to enter into a confederacy for the recovery of their liberty; and accordingly an army was quickly raised, which, under the command of *Leosthenes*, marched to the confines of *Thessaly*.

Antipater marches against them.

Antipater having sent to *Philetas* in *Phrygia*, and *Craterus* in *Cilicia*, to solicit their assistance, marched against the *Greeks* with 13,000 foot and 600 horse,

* Arrian. l. vii. Plut. in Apophthegm. reg.

there being great ſcracity of troops then in *Macedon*, on account of the vaſt numbers drawn from thence by *Alexander*. Having ventured an engagement with *Leoſthenes*, he was entirely defeated, and retired to *Lamia*, fortifying that city, in hopes of being relieved by the ſuccours from *Aſia*. *Leonatus* quickly arrived from thence, and marching thro' *Macedonia*, there reinforced his troops, which amounted in the whole to about 20,000 foot, and 2500 horſe. The confederates hearing of his approach, raiſed the ſiege of *Lamia*, and marched againſt *Leonatus*, whom they defeated, he himſelf being among the number of the ſlain. *Antipater*, the day after, joining the remains of the army of *Leonatus*, marched off towards *Macedon* by ſuch hilly roads, as prevented the *Theſſalian* cavalry from galling him in his retreat. In the mean time *Clytus*, who commanded the *Macedonian* fleet, gained two victories over the *Athenians*. *Antipater* was joined at the river *Peneus* by a new reinforcement of veteran troops from *Aſia*, led by *Craterus*, who reſigned the command to him. His army now amounting to 40,000 foot, 3000 archers, and 5000 horſe, he attacked and defeated the confederates, whoſe army conſiſted only of 25,000 foot and 3300 horſe. After this defeat, the confederates offered to treat of peace; but *Antipater* inſiſting that each city ſhould treat ſeparately, this was rejected by the *Greeks*, who, however, made no efforts to reinforce their army. On the contrary, when he took ſeveral cities in *Theſſaly*, the inhabitants of which he puniſhed with great ſeverity, they all, except the *Athenians* and the *Ætolians*, made peace on the beſt terms they could.

Antipater marched againſt *Athens*, which being in no condition to oppoſe him, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, peace being then granted them on very diſadvantageous terms. In conſequence of this treaty, the popular government in *Athens* was abrogated, and only ſuch permitted to be concerned in the adminiſtration as had competent eſtates; upon which 22,000 of the turbulent and factious citizens, who had no fortunes, went and ſettled in *Theſſaly*, eſtates being offered to them in that country. *Antipater* obliged the reſt of the *Athenians* to return to *Solon*'s model of government, and in ſhort compelled them, much againſt their will, to be rich and quiet. With the ſame equity and moderation he ſettled the reſt of the *Grecian* ſtates, who by degrees became ſatisfied with the new eſtabliſhments, and at laſt honoured him as the father and protector of *Greece*. The concluſion of the war.

On his return to *Macedon*, he and *Craterus*, who there married his daughter *Phila*, turned their arms againſt the *Ætolians*, and reduced them, in the winter, to great ſtraits. *Antigonus*, in the mean time, arriving from *Aſia*, and repreſenting to them the ambitious deſigns of *Perdiccas*, they granted a peace to the *Ætolians*, and concluded a league with *Ptolemy* againſt *Perdiccas*. *Antipater* and *Craterus* leaving the care of *Macedon* and *Greece* to *Polyſperchon*, tranſported an army into *Aſia* the *Antipater* and *Craterus* paſs over into *Aſia*.

following ſpring, *Craterus* marching againſt *Eumenes*, and *Antipater* proceeding into *Cilicia*, to be ready to aſſiſt *Ptolemy* againſt *Perdiccas*. *Craterus*, ſoon after, was defeated and ſlain by *Eumenes*; but this loſs did not greatly affect the intereſts of *Antipater*; for *Perdiccas* being ſlain in *Egypt*, and the two kings returning with the army to *Syria*, he was ſent for thither, and declared their protector in the room of *Pithon* and *Aridæus*. Having made a new partition of the empire, as we have already mentioned, and left his ſon *Caſſander* to be a check upon *Antigonus*, he returned to *Macedonia* with the kings, the army being perfectly well ſatisfied with his conduct.

Antipater made protector of the kings.

During his abſence in *Aſia*, the *Ætolians*, in violation of the peace, committed great depredations in *Theſſaly*, and defeated and ſlew *Polycles*, the governor of that country. Part of their forces, however, being obliged to march againſt the *Acarnanians*, who had entered their country, *Polyſperchon* ſurpriſed and cut to pieces thoſe who were left in *Theſſaly*; by which blow the power of the *Ætolians* was entirely broken, and the peace of *Macedon* reſtored. *Antipater* returning with the kings to *Macedon*, ſoon after was attacked by an indiſpoſition, which proved fatal to him. As he was 80 years of age, and found himſelf drawing towards his end, he beſtowed the regency of the kingdom, and the guardianſhip of the kings, upon *Polyſperchon*, generouſly ſetting aſide his own ſon *Caſſander*, who was very deſirous of thoſe offices, but was only appointed chiliarch, or commander of 1000 men; a command, however, much more conſiderable than its name imports. *Antipater*, before his death, at the requeſt of *Phocion*, granted the *Athenians* a farther day for the payment of their ſubſidies, but refuſed to withdraw the garriſon from *Athens*, which was ſolicited by the orator *Demades*. *Caſſander* having found a letter of that orator, in which he ſolicited *Perdiccas* to make haſte into *Greece*, ſlew both him and his ſon with his own hand, before his father's death, according to ſome authors, tho' others ſay, immediately after his father expired.

Antipater confers the regency on *Polyſperchon*, and dies.

Not being able to digeſt his father's preferring a ſtranger before him, he endeavoured to form a party againſt the new regent, who was a man of indifferent parts, far from being honeſt, ſteady, and wiſe; and yet a great pretender to probity, fortitude, and policy. *Polyſperchon* and his council being ſenſible that they had a powerful faction to ſtruggle with, recalled *Olympias* from *Epire*, offering to put the ſon of *Roxana* under her care, hoping that the majeſty of the mother of *Alexander* would add a luſtre to their adminiſtration. *Olympias*, however, who knew not what might befall her in *Macedon*, made no great haſte thither, but took time to conſult with her friends. She nevertheleſs communicated her thoughts upon all occaſions to *Polyſperchon*, and ſo held immediately a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration.

The unſteady conduct of *Polyſperchon*.

Caſſander, under pretence of hunting, retired to the country with ſeveral of his friends; and having prevailed with them to

favour his ſcheme of aſſuming the adminiſtration, he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of *Ptolemy*, who promiſed to ſend him ſuccours. He then privately left *Macedonia*, and went to *Antigonus* in *Aſia*, who alſo made large promiſes of aſſiſtance, both he and *Ptolemy* being deſirous to ſee the *Macedonians* engaged in a civil war, that *Polyſperchon* might not have leiſure to check their ambitious deſigns. The views of *Caſſander*.

Polyſperchon, ſeeing that he ſhould be inevitably engaged in a war with *Caſſander*, who would not only be ſupported by *Antigonus* and *Ptolemy*, but alſo by many of the *Greek* cities, ſome of which were garriſoned with his father's forces, and others governed by an oligarchy, influenced chiefly by his friends and favourites, aſſembled a council, in which it was reſolved to reſtore the popular government in all the *Greek* cities, and decrees for that purpoſe were diſpatched to each of them. Theſe, however, not being ſupported by a ſufficient force, the *Greeks*, who were in poſſeſſion of the adminiſtration in their reſpective ſtates, paid little regard to them. *Alexander* the ſon of *Polyſperchon*, entered *Attica* at the head of an army, with the deſign, as it was believed, of compelling *Nicanor* to evacuate the citadels of *Athens*. He, however, entered into a treaty with him, and wanted him to deliver up the fortreſſes to his father, who had arrived at *Phocis* with another army. The *Athenians*, exaſperated againſt *Nicanor*, who refuſed to deliver up their forts, turned their rage againſt their own citizens, who they ſuſpected to be of his party. The accuſed perſons fled to the camp of *Alexander* for protection; but many of the *Athenians* repairing to *Polyſperchon*, and accuſing their citizens who had fled to his ſon of betraying the commonwealth, and holding a treaſonable correſpondence with *Nicanor*, *Polyſperchon* alleging that the *Athenians* were now a free people, delivered them up to be tried by the laws of the republic. They were accordingly conducted to *Athens*, and without being allowed to juſtify themſelves, were put to death.

Caſſander prevails in *Greece*. Bef. Chriſt 318.

Nicanor ſtill held the fortreſſes of *Munichia* and *Piræus*; and *Caſſander* ſoon after arriving from *Aſia* with 35 gallies and 4000 men, were admitted by him into the *Piræus*. *Polyſperchon*, upon this news, advanced to *Athens* with his army to beſiege *Caſſander* in the *Piræus*; but being quickly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, he left as many troops as could be ſupported in *Attica* under his ſon *Alexander*, to block up *Caſſander*, and marched with the reſt of his army into the *Peloponneſe*, to puniſh the *Megalopolitans*, who had deſpiſed his edict, and retained their old form of government. *Polyſperchon*, upon entering the *Peloponneſe*, cauſed thoſe who had acted as magiſtrates under the eſtabliſhment of *Antipater*, to be put to death, puniſhing all of that party with the greateſt ſeverity, and filling many cities with tumult and ſlaughter. He attempted the ſiege of *Megalopolis*, but after ſome time was obliged to retire with great loſs, leaving, however, part of his army to block up the city. *Clytus*, his admiral, in the mean time, gained a ſignal victory

over the united fleets of *Antigonus* and *Caſſander* near *Byzantium*, ſinking 17 and taking 40 of the enemy's ſhips. Being too confident after this victory, he allowed his troops to leave their veſſels, and to encamp on the ſhore, where they were ſoon after ſurpriſed by a body of *Antigonus*'s troops, which he had ſent over the channel in tranſport veſſels belonging to the *Byzantines*. *Clytus* fled with the greateſt precipitation to his ſhips; but about break of day was totally routed by *Nicanor*, and endeavouring to eſcape thro' *Thrace* to *Macedon*, was killed by the ſoldiers of *Lyſimachus*. *Polyſperchon*, finding that upon his misfortune before *Megalopolis* many of the *Greek* cities had declared for *Caſſander*, thought it ſafeſt to return to *Macedon*. The *Athenians*, in the mean time, finding that they could not get quit of the garriſon, were prevailed upon to come to an accommodation with *Caſſander*, who in conſequence of the treaty, agreed to allow the *Athenians* to enjoy their liberties, but appointed as their protector, or rather governor, *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, under whoſe mild and prudent adminiſtration, the citizens received greater advantages than even in the days of their greateſt freedom. Soon after the accommodation betwixt *Caſſander* and the *Athenians*, *Nicanor* returned in triumph to the *Piræus*, and was greatly honoured for the important ſervice he had performed. *Caſſander*, however, ſuſpecting that he intended to revolt, as he behaved with great haughtineſs, and ſtill held *Munichia* with his own ſoldiers, ſurprized him, and put him to death.

Olympias returns to *Macedon*.

Olympias, about this time, prepared to return to *Macedon*, contrary to the inclination of *Philip* and his wife *Eurydice*, who even raiſed an army to oppoſe her, and ſent an expreſs to *Caſſander* to ſolicit his aſſiſtance. *Eurydice* was grand-daughter of *Cleopatra*, *Philip*'s ſecond wife, who had been put to death by *Olympias*; and *Philip*, it was reported, had received a ſtupifying draught, when an infant, by her order; ſo that both of them had juſt cauſe to be apprehenſive of her. *Polyſperchon*, however, very abſurdly thought to join them in the adminiſtration; but by this attempt, as well as by his unſeaſonable decree concerning the *Greeks*, and unſteady conduct, he only embarraſſed the affairs of the kings, and contributed to ruin their cauſe. He conducted *Olympias* with an army into *Macedon*, when a bloody conteſt was expected to enſue betwixt the two parties; but the troops under *Eurydice* being ſtruck with awe upon the appearance of *Olympias*, went over to her, and prevented a battle. *Olympias* had it now in her power to have ſettled all things, if ſhe had acted with mildneſs according to the advice of *Eumenes*. She, however, thought proper rather to indulge her reſentment and revenge. She impriſoned king *Philip* and his wife in a room ſo ſmall, that they could ſcarce turn themſelves in it. She put to death *Nicanor* the ſon of *Antipater*, and with him no leſs than 100 perſons his relations and friends, and cauſed the tomb of his brother *Iollas* to be broken open, and his remains to be thrown into the public ſtreet. Perceiving tha

Her barbarous cruelty.

that the *Macedonians* began to pity *Philip* and *Eurydice*, ſhe cauſed ſome *Thracian* aſſaſſins to put him to death, and ſent a dagger, a rope, and a cup of poiſon to *Eurydice*; who praying that *Olympias* might have the like preſent made to her, ſtrangled herſelf with her own garters.

Caſſander returns to Macedon.

Caſſander no ſooner heard of the proceeding of *Olympias* in *Macedon*, than he left his confederates in *Greece*, to oppoſe *Alexander* the ſon of *Polyſperchon*, and began his march for *Macedon*. Finding that the *Ætolians*, to ingratiate themſelves with *Olympias* and *Polyſperchon*, had ſeized the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*, he tranſported his troops in ſhips and boats to *Theſſaly*, and ſending part of them againſt *Polyſperchon*, with the reſt inveſted *Pydna*, where *Olympias* had ſhut herſelf up with *Roxana*, her grandſon *Alexander*, her niece *Deidamia*, *Theſſalonica* the ſiſter of *Alexander*, and many other perſons of great quality. The beſieged were ſoon in want of proviſions, yet held out with great obſtinacy, *Olympias* aſſuring them that her brother *Æacides* was coming out of *Epire* with a great army to her aſſiſtance. This, indeed, was true; but *Caſſander*, who had notice thereof, ſent troops to block up the paſſages from *Epirus*; ſo that the *Epirots*, who had been forced to the expedition, finding themſelves involved in difficulties, mutinied in their camp, and part of them being diſmiſſed by their king, upon their return, they prevailed with their countrymen to depoſe *Æacides*, and to confederate with *Caſſander*. *Polyſperchon*, inſtead of being able to ſuccour *Olympias*, had much ado to defend himſelf, being deſerted by great part of his troops. The beſieged in *Pydna* were at length reduced to ſuch great ſtraits, that many of the ſoldiers were obliged to feed on their dead companions, and great numbers of them deſerting to *Caſſander*, who treated all with lenity that were not concerned in the late murders, *Olympias* deſpaired of relief, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. *Caſſander*, quickly after, having made himſelf maſter of *Pella* and *Amphipolis*, inſtigated the relations of thoſe whom *Olympias* had put to death, to accuſe her before the aſſembly of the *Macedonians*, where, in her abſence, ſhe was condemned to die. He adviſed her to make her eſcape to *Athens*; but ſhe refuſing to fly, he ſent two armed men to put her to death. Theſe, when they came into her preſence, drew back, and were afraid to execute their orders; but the kindred of thoſe ſhe had murdered, fell upon her and cut her throat. She died with great reſolution; and 'tis ſaid *Caſſander* ſuffered her body to remain ſome time above ground, probably to revenge the injury ſhe had offered to the aſhes of his brother. Immediately after her deceaſe, he ſent *Roxana* and her ſon *Alexander* to *Amphipolis*, where they were made priſoners.

Beſieges Olympias in Pydna, and obliges her to ſurrender.

He cauſes her to be put to death.

Caſſander next turned his thoughts to the ſettlement of the kingdom, and married *Theſſalonica* the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon*. He then cauſed the bodies of *Philip* and *Eurydice*, with that of her mother *Cyrane*, to be taken up and buried with great pomp in the royal ſepulchres at *Ægæ*. In *Pallene* he

Caſſander aſſumes the government in Macedon.

he built a new city, which he peopled from the *Cherſoneſe*, and called *Caſſandria*, and added to the place ſo large and fair a territory, that it quickly grew to be the greateſt city in *Macedonia*. He alſo re-edified many cities, and ſhewed evidently a diſpoſition to reſtore peace and plenty to his native country. He governed *Epire* by his lieutenant *Lyciſcus*, and having ſettled the peace of *Macedon*, marched with a fine army into *Theſſaly*, with the reſolution of driving *Polyſperchon* from *Greece*. Having forced the paſs of *Thermopylæ*, which was guarded by the *Ætolians*, he proceeded into *Bæotia*, where he cauſed the city of *Thebes* to be rebuilt. He then paſſed on to the *Peloponneſe*, and the iſthmus being guarded by *Alexander*, who had fortified it with a wall, he tranſported his army in flat-bottomed boats, and partly by force, partly by treachery, reduced moſt of the cities; after which he returned to *Macedon*.

He cauſes *Thebes* to be rebuilt.

When he was gone, *Alexander* and *Ariſtodemus*, one of the captains of *Antigonus*, who had come over from *Aſia*, and raiſed 8000 men in the *Peloponneſe* for his ſervice, began to attack the cities garriſoned by *Caſſander*, who was ſo ſucceſsful, however, as to prevail with *Alexander* to deſert the party of *Antigonus*, and to enter into a league with him, upon being made general of all his forces in the *Peloponneſe*. *Alexander* now turned his arms againſt thoſe cities that defended their liberty, while *Ariſtodemus* attacked thoſe that were ſubject to *Caſſander*. The ſucceſs of each general was various; but *Alexander* did not long enjoy his new office, being murdered by ſome *Sicyonians* who pretended to be his friends. After his death, his wife took the command of the army; and having defeated the *Sicyonians* in a pitched battle, reduced the city, crucifying 30 of the moſt turbulent citizens. She then aſſumed the ſovereignty, which ſhe managed with great prudence, clemency and juſtice, being courted and feared by all the contending parties.

Caſſander makes war on the *Ætolians*.

Caſſander, ſenſible that the *Ætolians* favoured *Antigonus*, and ſeized every opportunity of diſtreſſing him, reſolved now to turn his arms againſt them; and entering their territories with a conſiderable army, invited the *Acarnanians*, who were then at war with them, to a conference. The *Acarnanians*, by his advice, abandoned their villages, and fortified their chief cities *Stratopolis*, *Saurion*, and *Agrinium*. Leaving *Lyciſcus* with a conſiderable body of men to aſſiſt the *Acarnanians*, he marched againſt *Apollonia* and *Epidamnum*, on the *Adriatic* ſea; which cities *Glaucias* king of *Illyria* had drawn into an alliance with him. He reduced both cities, and defeated *Glaucias*, to whom he granted a peace, on condition that he ſhould not make war on any of his confederates. During his abſence, the *Ætolians* beſieged *Agrinium*; and the *Acarnanians* finding themſelves unable to defend the place, ſurrendered on condition that they ſhould be at liberty to retire wherever they thought fit; but upon their departure, they were moſt treacherouſly put to the ſword by the *Ætolians*.

Caſſander,

Caſſander, on his return to *Macedonia*, ſent a body of troops to *Caria* to aſſiſt the confederates, a fleet of 20 gallies, about the ſame time, ſailing from *Athens*, proceeded with that of *Seleucus* to *Lemnos*, to compel the *Lemnians* to abandon *Antigonus*. The greateſt part of the *Athenian* ſhips, however, were taken by the admiral of *Antigonus*; and *Eupolemus*, who commanded 8000 of the troops ſent over to *Caria*, was ſurprized by the enemy, and he and his men made priſoners. The following year *Caſſander* ſent a powerful army againſt the *Ætolians*, under the command of *Philip*, who after ſuccouring the *Acarnanians*, began to haraſs the frontiers of *Ætolia*. Being informed, however, that the *Epirots* had recalled *Æacides*, he marched againſt him, and having defeated his army, ſent 50 of the priſoners, who had been concerned in his reſtoration, to *Caſſander*. He then returned againſt the *Ætolians*, who were now reinforced by *Æacides*, and defeated them in a pitched battle, in which *Æacides* was ſlain. After this defeat, the *Ætolians* were ſo perſecuted by *Philip*, that they were forced to fly for refuge to the mountains, whither he purſued them, till he was ſtopped by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon.

Antigonus, however, being greatly ſuperior in *Aſia Minor*, *Caſſander* agreed to a peace with him, promiſing to reſtore the *Greek* cities in *Aſia* to their liberty, and to hold his province from him. He quickly, however, violated this treaty, and renewed the war; which exceedingly provoked *Antigonus*, who ordered his fleet and army on the *Aſiatic* coaſt to reſtore the *Greek* cities to their liberties. Conferences were again propoſed for a ſecond accommodation between him and *Antigonus*; but without effect. *Caſſander* reſolved to proſecute the war in *Greece*, and laid ſiege to *Oreum* in *Eubœa*, which he took by ſtorm, the fleet of *Antigonus* making a fruitleſs effort to recover the place. In the mean time, being informed that *Apollonia* and *Epidamnum* had revolted to the *Illyrians*, and that his general *Lyciſcus* had been defeated by the *Epirots*, who had choſen *Alcetas* the ſon of *Arybilus* for their king, he ſpeedily marched into *Epirus*. He concluded a peace with *Alcetas*, and left him in quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom, which, however, he did not long enjoy; for beginning to rule tyrannically, the *Epirots* murdered him and his children. After the peace with *Alcetas*, *Caſſander* marched againſt *Apollonia*; but his army being defeated before the city, and winter drawing on, he returned to *Macedonia*. A few months after, a peace was concluded betwixt *Antigonus* and the confederates, by which *Caſſander* was declared the ſovereign of all the territories belonging to *Macedon* in *Europe*: but that the *Greek* cities ſhould be left abſolutely free.

The *Macedonians*, about this time, diſcourſing openly of *Caſſander*'s uſurpation, and alleging that the young *Alexander* ought now to take upon himſelf the adminiſtration, *Caſſander*, who was reſolved to retain his authority, cauſed *Alexander* and his mother *Roxana* to be privately put to death. *Polyſperchon*, *Caſſander* cauſes *Roxana* and her ſon to be ſlain.

chon, when their death was known, endeavoured to excite the *Macedonians* to revenge their murder; but *Caſſander* being too powerful, they durſt not rebel. To prevent any bad effects from their murmurs, *Caſſander* led them to the aſſiſtance of the king of the *Peonians* againſt the *Autariats*, whom he ſubdued, and tranſplanted to the number of 20,000 men into the neighbourhood of mount *Orbelus*. While he was thus employed, *Ptolemy*, the nephew of *Antigonus*, who commanded in the *Peloponneſe*, went over with his whole army to *Caſſander*, and received from him the ſame commiſſion which he had from his uncle. His treaſon, however, did not remain long unpuniſhed; for endeavouring to corrupt the ſoldiers of *Ptolemy*, who ſoon after arrived on the coaſt, and entertained him with great civility, he was, by his order, put to death.

Hercules declared king, and baſely murdered.

Polyſperchon, in the mean time, finding that he could not prevail on the *Macedonians* to declare againſt *Caſſander* for murdering *Roxana* and her ſon, proclaimed *Hercules*, the ſon of *Alexander* by *Barſine*, king, and by the help of the *Ætolians*, raiſed an army of 20,000 men. *Caſſander* marched againſt him with an army; but fearing leſt his troops ſhould deſert to the new king, who was ſupported by many *Macedonians*, he ſent an agent to *Polyſperchon*, offering to ſhare the principality with him, and to give him the command of an army in the *Peloponneſe*, if he would kill the young prince. *Polyſperchon* baſely hearkened to his propoſal; and murdering *Hercules* at an entertainment, was declared co-adjutor by *Caſſander*, who ſent him 4000 *Macedonian* foot and 500 horſe: but when he attempted to proceed to the *Peloponneſe*, the *Bœotians* oppoſed him; ſo that he was forced to take up his winter quarters in *Locris*.

A treaty between *Demetrius* and *Caſſander*.

The *Greeks*, to ſecure themſelves from the formidable power of *Caſſander*, applied for aſſiſtance to *Antigonus*, whoſe ſon, *Demetrius*, arrived ſoon after at *Athens* with a powerful fleet, and drove out the *Macedonian* garriſon. *Caſſander*, finding *Demetrius* vigorouſly ſupported by the *Grecks*, contented himſelf with garriſoning the cities in his poſſeſſion, and withdrew his army into *Macedon*. *Demetrius* returned in a ſhort time to *Aſia*, to carry on the war againſt *Ptolemy*; and after ſeveral expeditions came again into *Greece* about four years after. He ſurpriſed and took *Sicyon* from *Ptolemy*, and then marched againſt *Corinth*, which was garriſoned by *Caſſander*, but was quickly reduced by him. He then returned to *Achaia*, and having taken ſeveral other cities, all the reſt ſubmitted to him. *Caſſander* being in no condition to oppoſe *Demetrius*, ſolicited a peace from *Antigonus*; but he proudly inſiſting that he muſt ſubmit to his pleaſure, the negotiation was broke off. Soon after *Caſſander* convinced *Ptolemy*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Seleucus*, of the abſolute neceſſity of oppoſing the power of *Antigonus*; and an alliance being formed by theſe four princes againſt him, *Caſſander* ſent part of his troops into *Aſia* under the command of *Lyſimachus*, and with the reſt marched in perſon towards *Theſſaly*,

ſaly, to put a ſtop to the progreſs of *Demetrius*. When the two armies approached each other, *Demetrius* received orders from his father to come and join him in *Aſia*; upon which he concluded a treaty with *Caſſander*, which was to ſubſiſt or to be made void, according as it was approved or diſapproved by *Antigonus*. *Demetrius* evacuating *Greece* with the greateſt part of his forces, *Caſſander* ſent a reinforcement of 12,000 men to his confederates in *Aſia*; and notwithſtanding the treaty, got poſſeſſion of many of the *Greek* cities, partly by force, and partly by perſuaſion and bribes.

The following ſummer, the army of *Antigonus* being totally defeated, and himſelf ſlain by *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus*, the confederates divided his dominions among themſelves, and *Caſſander* recovered all that he had lately loſt. As *Demetrius*, however, was ſtill at the head of a few thouſand men, and had ſome territories in *Greece*, *Caſſander* was very apprehenſive of his enterprizing diſpoſition, dreading no leſs the young *Pyrrhus*, who had been lately raiſed to the throne of *Epire*. He was careful to ſtrengthen the frontiers of his own dominions, by re-edifying ſuch cities as were fallen to decay, and building new ones where the ſituation of the place invited. Near *Therma* he raiſed the noble city of *Theſſalonica*, ſo called in honour of his wife, and which afterwards became the moſt conſiderable place in *Macedon*. He likewiſe endeavoured, by all other means, to fix the love of his ſubjects to his family; but while he was thus employed, he was cut off by a dropſy, after he had held the government of *Macedon* 19 years, and had ruled it three years with the title of king; which tho' he accepted from others, he did not take to himſelf. By *Theſſalonica*, the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon*, he had three ſons, *Philip*, *Antipater*, and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the eldeſt of theſe, ſucceeded him; but died ſhortly after of a conſumption.

The death of *Caſſander*. Bef. Chriſt 298.

Antipater, on the death of *Philip*, cauſed himſelf to be declared king; and becauſe his mother, as he ſuſpected, favoured the pretenſions of his younger brother *Alexander*, he, with unheard-of inhumanity, put her to death, tho' ſhe beſought him by the breaſts that gave him ſuck to ſpare her. He maintained himſelf for ſome time after this in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom by the aſſiſtance of *Lyſimachus*, whoſe daughter he had married; but *Alexander* perſiſting in the competition, invited to his aſſiſtance *Demetrius*, who was then in *Greece*, and *Pyrrhus* king of *Epire*. *Pyrrhus* quickly appeared with an army, and conquered all the weſtern coaſts of *Macedonia*, together with *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*, as a reward for the ſervice he intended to do him. *Antipater*, however, to prevent the progreſs of his arms, came to an agreement with his brother, and *Pyrrhus*, upon receiving a ſum of money, retired. *Alexander* immediately went to *Demetrius*, to prevent him from entering the kingdom; but having formed a deſign to murder him, he himſelf was murdered by his orders. *Demetrius* having juſtified himſelf to the *Macedonian* army, was by them declared king

Antipater and *Alexander* kings of *Macedon*.

Demetrius cauſes *Alexander* to be aſſaſſinated,

and is declared king of *Macedon.*

king of *Macedon*, *Antipater* being obliged to quit the kingdom, where he was univerſally deteſted for the murder of his mother. *Lyſimachus*, his father-in-law, did not think proper to engage in a war in his behalf againſt *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus*; and being offended at his importunities, ordered him to be impriſoned, and ſoon after to be put to death. Thus the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* periſhed by violent deaths.

Demetrius, from being in very low and deſperate circumſtances, was now become more potent than *Caſſander* had been; for with the kingdom of *Macedon* he held *Theſſaly*, the beſt part of the *Peloponneſe*, and the two great cities of *Megara* and *Athens*. Having formed a deſign of making himſelf maſter of all *Greece*, he marched againſt the *Bœotians*, who agreed to a treaty with him; which they quickly afterwards violated, upon the arrival of an army at *Thebes*, under *Cleonymus* the *Spartan*.

He reduces *Thebes.*

The *Thebans* no ſooner ſaw the dreadful machines of *Demetrius*, than they thought fit to ſurrender; but were very gently treated by the conqueror, who only placed garriſons in their towns, and levied a conſiderable ſum of money upon them. Having appointed *Hieronymus* of *Cardia*, the hiſtorian, governor of *Cardia*, he returned to *Macedon*; and hearing that *Lyſimachus* was taken priſoner by the king of the *Getæ*, he baſely formed the deſign of conquering *Thrace* in his abſence, and immediately marched thither. As he advanced to the frontiers, however, he was informed that *Lyſimachus* was ſet at liberty, and that the *Bœotians* had revolted; upon which he quickly returned; and finding that the *Bœotians* had been already routed by his ſon *Antigonus*, he once more laid ſiege to *Thebes*. He was called off from the ſiege to oppoſe *Pyrrhus* his brother-in-law, who had invaded *Theſſaly*; but *Pyrrhus* retiring upon the news of his approach, he left 10,000 foot and 1000 horſe for the ſecurity of *Theſſaly*, and returned to the ſiege, which was very obſtinate and bloody. *Antigonus*, concerned at the great ſlaughter of his troops, ſaid one day to his father, *Why ſhould we unneceſſarily ſacrifice ſo many men?* *Demetrius* angrily replied, *And why need you be uneaſy at that? are you obliged to diſtribute any proviſions to the dead?* His reſentment againſt the *Thebans* made him expoſe his own life in the attacks, as well as thoſe of his ſoldiers; ſo that one day he received a wound from a javelin, which pierced quite thro' his neck. He nevertheleſs perſiſted in the ſiege, and obliged the *Thebans* to ſurrender; but inſtead of puniſhing them ſeverely, as they expected, he received them into favour, after executing thirteen of thoſe principally concerned in the revolt.

His troops defeated by *Pyrrhus.*

As he was naturally averſe to repoſe, and perceived that the *Macedonians* were moſt quiet in time of war, he next turned his arms againſt the *Ætolians*, and after plundering their country, left *Pantauchus* there with part of the army, and marched with the reſt againſt *Pyrrhus*, who was at the ſame time advancing againſt him. *Demetrius* paſſing by *Pyrrhus*, without knowing of it, entered *Epire*, which he laid waſte; and *Pyr-*

rhus advancing againſt *Pantauchus*, routed him, and took 5000 priſoners. The conſequences of this defeat were very fatal to *Demetrius*; for the *Macedonians* were ſo affected with the perſonal bravery of *Pyrrhus*, that they compared him to *Alexander* the Great; at the ſame time cenſuring *Demetrius* for his vanity, arrogance, and luxury. In his dreſs he affected the *Perſian* pomp and effeminacy to an extravagant degree. He ſpent his time in reveling with women and paraſites, but chiefly diſguſted his ſubjects by being difficult of acceſs, and treating thoſe he admitted to an audience with rudeneſs and ſeverity. He made the *Athenian* ambaſſadors wait two years for an audience; and one day, when he had more graciouſly than uſual, received all the petitions that were offered to him, as ſoon as he came to the bridge on the river *Axius*, he opened his robe and threw them all into the water. *Demetrius*, not long after his irruption into *Epire*, falling dangerouſly ill at *Pella*, *Pyrrhus* made an incurſion into *Macedon*, and advanced as far as *Edeſſa*; but *Demetrius*, as ſoon as he was a little recovered, eaſily repulſed him; after which he made a treaty with him, that he might be at leiſure to purſue his ambitious deſigns.

He employed himſelf for ſome time in making immenſe preparations for recovering all his father's dominions in *Aſia*; but before he was ready to take the field, *Ptolemy* invaded *Greece*, and *Lyſimachus* entered *Macedon*. *Demetrius* marched firſt againſt *Lyſimachus*; but hearing that *Pyrrhus* had alſo invaded *Macedon*, and taken *Beræa*, he returned to oppoſe him, when he was deſerted by his troops, and obliged to fly to *Greece*. *Pyrrhus* was immediately proclaimed king of *Macedon* by the army; but *Lyſimachus* advancing at the head of his troops, and claiming half of the kingdom, becauſe *Demetrius*, he ſaid, had been compelled to fly by his approach; *Pyrrhus*, to prevent a war, yielded to his requeſt. This partition, however, did not make them friends, but each privately intended afterwards to ſeize the whole.

Demetrius obliged to abandon *Macedon*, and *Pyrrhus* declared king. B. C. 287.

Pyrrhus, as king of *Macedon*, thought he had a right to all the poſſeſſions of *Demetrius* in *Greece*. He accordingly marched thither with an army, and was received into *Athens*; but ſoon after concluded a peace with *Demetrius*, who paſſed over with a ſmall army into *Aſia*, where he was defeated and taken priſoner by *Seleucus*. Before his defeat, *Pyrrhus*, in violation of the peace, again attacked his poſſeſſions in *Greece*. *Lyſimachus*, ſoon after, hearing that *Demetrius* was a priſoner, entered *Macedon* with a powerful army, and diſperſing manifeſtoes thro' the kingdom, complaining of the diſhonour and injury which the *Macedonians* received by having a foreigner for their king, raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent, that *Pyrrhus* thought proper to withdraw his *Epirots* and auxiliary forces.

Lyſimachus invades *Macedon*, and ſeizes that kingdom.

Lyſimachus had now *Macedonia* to himſelf, as well as the provinces he had held ſince the diviſion of *Alexander*'s empire; but by his own imprudence, he ſoon raiſed up a formidable enemy, who deprived him not only of great part of his dominions, but of

Great diſſenſions in his family.

his

his life. He had married his eldeſt ſon *Agathocles*, a prince of great prudence and humanity, to *Lyſandra* the daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice*, who was accompanied to *Egypt* by a widow named *Berenice*. *Lyſimachus* himſelf married *Arſinoe* a daughter of *Ptolemy* by this *Berenice*, who had ſuch intereſt with *Ptolemy*, that ſhe procured a preference to be given to her children, to the prejudice of thoſe of *Eurydice*, her former miſtreſs; whereupon *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the king's eldeſt ſon, fled to the court of *Lyſimachus*. *Arſinoe*, in this court, practiſed the arts of her mother, and filled *Lyſimachus* with ſuch jealouſy of his eldeſt ſon, who was beloved by the people and the army, that he cauſed him to be impriſoned, and then poiſoned. *Lyſandra* immediately fled with her children and her brother *Ptolemy* to *Seleucus*; and many of the lords and principal officers of *Lyſimachus*, who deteſted his barbarity, following them thither, prevailed on *Seleucus*, tho' he was then 77 years of age, to declare war againſt *Lyſimachus*.

Lyſimachus ſlain.

Seleucus, who had ſtill all the vigour and activity of a young man, quickly reduced great part of *Lyſimachus*'s dominions in *Aſia*, and totally defeated him at *Corupedion* in *Phrygia*, where *Lyſimachus* was ſlain in the 74th year of his age.

Seleucus aſſumes the title of king of *Macedon*.

Seleucus reſolving to take poſſeſſion of *Macedon*, paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and advanced as far as *Lyſimachia*, in the neighbourhood of which city he was baſely aſſaſſinated by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, whom he had generouſly relieved, and whom he intended to reſtore by force to his father's throne. He enjoyed the title of king of *Macedon* only ſeven months.

Ptolemy Ceraunus becomes king of *Macedon*. Bef. Ch. 280.

Ptolemy Ceraunus, after this execrable deed, put on a diadem, and boldly declared himſelf king of *Macedon*; and making great promiſes to every one, the army and people accepted him as king. He was threatned at the ſame time with three enemies; namely, *Antiochus* the ſon of *Seleucus*, *Antigonus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, who claimed the kingdom of *Macedon* as his hereditary right, and *Pyrrhus* king of *Epire*, who inſiſted on ſome compenſation for the loſs of the kingdom. Having routed *Antigonus*, who attempted by force to drive him from the throne, he pacified *Antiochus* by fair words. To *Pyrrhus* he lent 5000 foot, 4000 horſe, and 50 elephants for two years; whereupon *Pyrrhus* married his daughter, and appointed him protector of his dominions in his abſence, as he intended an expedition into *Italy*. The new king of *Macedon* thought himſelf now ſo firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, that he wrote to his brother *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, telling him that he acquieſced in his father's diſpoſition of his paternal kingdom. *Arſinoe*, his half-ſiſter, who had been the cauſe of his flight to *Seleucus*, being ſtill in poſſeſſion of the rich city of *Caſſandria*, *Ptolemy*, by promiſing to marry her according to the *Egyptian* cuſtom, prevailed with her, after much entreaty, to hearken to his addreſſes. Accordingly the nuptials were celebrated with the greateſt magnificence; but *Ptolemy* had no ſooner entered *Caſſandria*, than he cauſed the two ſons

of

of *Arsinoe* to be slain, and herself to be dragged out of the city, and to be banished to *Samothrace*.

Ptolemy now looked upon himself as thoroughly fixed on the *Macedonian* throne; but he had not enjoyed it above a year, before his kingdom was invaded by the *Gauls*, who, with three different armies, broke into *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, and *Macedon*. *Belgius*, the commander of those who entered *Macedon*, offered peace to *Ptolemy*, if he would purchase it; but he treated the message with disdain, and even refused a reinforcement of 20,000 men, which were offered to him by the *Dardanians*, a neighbouring people, being confident of victory with the *Macedonians* alone. He soon after attacked the barbarians; but after an obstinate engagement, his army was entirely routed, and he himself, being much wounded, was taken prisoner, when the *Gauls* cut off his head, which in derision they carried about on the top of a lance. Such was the end of this wicked man, after he had reigned eighteen months. He is slain by the *Gauls*.

The *Macedonians*, who were in great consternation, created *Meleager*, the brother of *Ptolemy*, king; but finding him unqualified for reigning, they deposed him, and conferred the crown on *Antipater*, the grandson of *Antipater* the elder by his son *Philip*. After reigning forty days he was also deposed; but the *Gauls* in the mean time committing great devastations in the country, *Sosthenes*, a young nobleman of great merit, raised a body of troops, with whom he gained several advantages over the *Gauls*, and obliged them at length to quit the country. He refused the regal title, which was offered him, but governed with great prudence as general for two years, at the end of which time *Macedon* was again invaded by *Brennus* the *Gaul*, whose army consisted of 140,000 foot and 10,000 horse, besides an innumerable train of retainers. The *Gauls*, having overpowered *Sosthenes*, ravaged all the kingdom of *Macedonia*, and receiving great numbers of recruits from *Gaul* and *Illyria*, they poured down into *Greece*, where they were almost wholly cut off. *Meleager* and *Antipater* made kings. *Sosthenes* defeats the *Gauls*, but refuses the crown.

After the destruction of the *Gauls*, *Sosthenes* being dead, *Antiochus*, the son of *Seleucus*, and *Antigonus*, the son of *Demetrius*, renewed their pretensions to the throne of *Macedon*. *Antigonus*, who, from the place of his birth, was surnamed *Gonatus*, and had reigned ten years in the *Peloponnese*, came with a great fleet and army, and took possession of the kingdom, while *Antiochus* threatned to transport a powerful army into *Europe*, to make good his claim. *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, having espoused the party of *Antigonus* in this conjuncture, *Antiochus*, instead of passing the *Hellespont*, invaded *Bithynia* with a powerful army. After the two armies had for some time observed each other, all differences were adjusted by a treaty, *Antigonus* marrying *Phila* the daughter of *Seleucus* by *Stratonice*, and *Antiochus*, on account of the marriage, resigning his right to the kingdom of *Macedon*. *Antigonus* now applied himself to the restoring of the towns and villages, which had been ruined by the *Gauls*; but while he was thus employed, another body of *Antiochus*, the son of *Demetrius*, king of *Macedon*. Bef. Ch. 278.

Gauls

He gains a compleat victory over the *Gauls*.

Gauls threatned a third invaſion: *Antigonus* marched againſt them with his army, and was ſo ſucceſsful as to gain a compleat victory over them. Not long after, he had a more formidable enemy to encounter with, namely, *Pyrrhus*, king of *Epire*, who, returning with the ſhattered remains of his army from *Italy* in order to ſupport them, invaded the frontiers of *Macedonia* in hopes of plunder. After he had taken ſeveral towns, 2000 *Macedonians* went over to him, which encouraged him to march againſt *Antigonus*. Having ſurpriſed his army in a narrow paſs, and made himſelf maſter of his elephants, the phalanx went over to him; ſo that *Antigonus* was obliged to fly to the ſea coaſts, where, by means of his fleet, ſome of the maritime cities were held in his obedience.

The *Macedonians* again declare for their king.

Pyrrhus was once again owned king of *Macedon*; but he quickly loſt the hearts of his new ſubjects, by neglecting to puniſh a body of mercenary *Gauls*, who were ſtationed at *Ægæ*, and, in hopes of plunder, had broke up the ſepulchres of the kings, and ſcattered the aſhes of the deceaſed princes. While *Pyrrhus* was abſent from the kingdom, *Antigonus* made an attempt to recover the throne; but was defeated by *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Pyrrhus*, and obliged to fly with no more than ſeven attendants. *Pyrrhus*, after he had held the kingdom two years, at the ſolicitation of *Cleonymus*, a *Spartan*, marched with a powerful army againſt *Sparta*, which city he was prevented from making himſelf maſter of by an unſeaſonable delay. While he was endeavouring to retrieve his miſtake, he was informed that *Antigonus* had recovered a great part of *Macedon*, and had followed him into the *Peloponneſe*. One of the factions in *Argos* inviting *Pyrrhus* thither, he left the ſiege of *Sparta*, and proceeded to *Argos*; but the oppoſite faction, aſſiſted by ſome troops of *Antigonus*, oppoſing his entrance into the city, he was ſlain by them in the ſtreets. *Antigonus* cauſed the body of *Pyrrhus* to be burnt with all the funeral honours due to a king, and having entertained his ſon *Helenus* with great kindneſs, ſent him home to *Epirus*.

Antigonus recovers part of *Macedon*.

He aſſured the principal officers in the army of *Pyrrhus* of his favour, and incorporated the troops they commanded into his own. *Antigonus* was obliged to defend his dominions from new incurſions of the *Gauls*, whom he ſo greatly haraſſed in ſkirmiſhes, that in a rage they maſſacred their wives and children, and then put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were defeated, and almoſt totally cut off. *Antigonus* after this victory, led his army againſt *Athens*, and compelled that city to receive a garriſon.

The *Macedonians* again abandon him.

Alexander, the ſon of *Pyrrhus*, in the mean time invading *Macedon*, *Antigonus* led his army againſt him, and, when he leaſt expected it, was again deſerted by the *Macedonians*, who went over to *Alexander*. *Antigonus* retired to *Greece*; but his ſon *Demetrius*, who was but a youth, remained in *Macedon*, and having collected a ſmall body of troops, daily performed ſome exploit or other, which ſo charmed the *Macedonians*, that they voluntarily entered into his ſervice, and thereby enabled him

him not only to recover *Macedon*, but even to drive *Alexander* His son from *Epire*. *Alexander* collecting a freſh army among the *Ætolians*, *Demetrius* was obliged to retire from *Epire*, and return to *Macedon*, where his father was again acknowledged as king, and reigned many years afterwards in great tranquillity. He for a long time had formed a deſign of obtaining poſſeſſion of the citadel of *Corinth*, which was held independantly by one *Alexander*. Upon his death, he ſent his ſon *Demetrius* to court his widow, who eaſily yielded to the addreſſes of the young prince, he being one of the handſomeſt men of his time. During the ſhews and entertainments that attended the celebration of the nuptials, *Antigonus*, who had gone to *Corinth*, took an opportunity of ſeizing on the citadel.

Demetrius recovers *Macedon*, and the kingdom.

Antigonus ſeizes *Corinth*.

From this time forward he employed all his care and thoughts in the proſecution of his views in *Greece*, where he ſupported all the petty tyrants againſt the free ſtates, appointing new ones on the death of the old, or ſwallowing them up as occaſion offered. The *Achæans*, however, gave him not a little diſquiet; they openly profeſſed a deſire of reſtoring *Greece* to freedom, which was the ſame thing as if they had declared they would extirpate the *Macedonian* power in *Greece*. *Antigonus*, having experienced ſuch variety of fortune, did not chuſe to hazard a war with the *Achæans*, but ſought by ſmooth language to amuſe them, and by promiſes to bring over *Aratus*, one of their moſt active leaders. The *Achæans* imitated his conduct, and laid hold of every opportunity of enlarging their own power, without, however, violating the peace as they pretended. *Aratus* ſurpriſed *Corinth* in the night, about eight years after it had been taken by *Antigonus*, who, on this occaſion, did not think proper to engage in a war with the *Achæans*. After a reign of thirty-four years *Antigonus* died, being ſomewhat above fourſcore, with the character of a mild and generous prince.

His death.

Demetrius ſucceeded his father; and, on account of the great things he had performed while a youth, much was expected from him; yet after he obtained the crown, he ſeemed to alter his conduct, and to act with more caution than vigour. He married the ſiſter of *Antiochus Hierax*; but *Olympias*, the daughter of *Pyrrhus*, and ſiſter and widow of *Alexander*, prevailed upon him to marry her daughter *Phthia*, in hopes of having his aſſiſtance againſt the *Ætolians*. The firſt wife, being unable to ſupport this injurious proceeding, retired to her brother *Antiochus*, and earneſtly preſſed him to make war on her huſband; but he was prevented from gratifying her by the unſettled ſtate of his own affairs. All that we know farther of this king of *Macedon* is, that he added *Cyrene*, and all *Lybia* to his dominions; but at what time, or by what means, is uncertain. After reigning ten years, he left his dominions to his ſon *Philip*, who was little more than two years old.

Demetrius II. Bef. Chr. 243.

Antigonus, the brother of the deceaſed king, according to ſome hiſtorians, was appointed by him tutor to his infant ſon. However, by his gentle and obliging conduct, he gained the good

Antigonus Doſon Bef. Ch. 237.

good will of the *Macedonians*, and alſo of the widow of the deceaſed king; he took her to wife, and was by them ſaluted king. He was a prince of great abilities, and had very high ideas of the regal dignity, and of the honour of the *Macedonian* name. He had a great reputation for his juſtice, was renowned for his clemency towards his enemies, and for his kindneſs and affability towards his friends. He was ſurnamed *Doſon*, that is, *will-give*, becauſe he was ſaid to have been ſlower in performing than promiſing. In the beginning of his reign, *Diogenes*, the governor of the forts of *Athens*, moſt baſely ſold them, together with the iſland of *Salamis*, for 150 talents, 20 of which were furniſhed by *Aratus*, who paſſionately deſired the liberty of *Greece*. *Aratus*, however, ſome years after, looking upon *Cleomenes*, king of *Sparta*, as the moſt formidable enemy to the *Grecian* liberty, aſked the aſſiſtance of *Antigonus* againſt him.

invited into *Greece* by the *Achæans*.

Antigonus, who, above all things, deſired to retrieve his intereſt in *Greece*, and to aſſert that authority which the kings of *Macedon* from the time of *Philip* had maintained therein, readily hearkened to the propoſal; but inſiſted, that the citadel of *Corinth* ſhould be put into his hands, which the *Achæans* accordingly complied with. The *Achæans*, as we have formerly mentioned, ſoon retrieved their affairs by the ſuccours they obtained from the *Macedonians*; *Antigonus* therefore thought that it was but reaſonable, that they ſhould allow him to put garriſons in *Orchomenes* and ſome other cities. To gratify the *Achæans*, however, he ſent back his troops during the winter to *Macedon*, which gave *Cleomenes* an opportunity of deſtroying all the country about *Argos* under the eyes of the king, who, with a few mercenary troops, lay in the neighbourhood of the city. On this occaſion he performed the greateſt action of his life; for although he was inſulted by the enemy, and railed at by the confederates, he abſolutely refuſed to fight, becauſe he could

He defeats *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*.

not engage without manifeſt diſadvantage: he ſoon after, upon the return of his troops, glorioufly wiped off the ſtain from his reputation by the victory of *Sellaſia*, where he totally defeated *Cleomenes*. In conſequence of this victory he took the virgin city of *Sparta*, which, with great humanity, he prevented from being plundered: he generouſly reſtored the *Spartans* to their liberties, and ſet out immediately for *Macedon*, which the *Illyrians* had invaded during his abſence. Upon his arrival in *Macedon*, he recruited his army, and marched againſt the *Illyrians*, whom he intirely defeated; but having overſtrained his voice

His death.

during the time of the engagement, he died a few days after of a ſpitting of blood, adjuring the army to remain faithful to his nephew and pupil *Philip*. The *Macedonians* expreſſed great grief for the loſs of *Antigonus*, who left them in a better condition than they had ever been in ſince the days of *Antipater*; for they were well united, and began to reſume their antient loyalty.

Philip. Bef. Ch. 221.

Philip, though a very youth when he ſucceeded to the throne, yet for ſeveral years governed with great wiſdom and humanity, and was attended with remarkable proſperity. His natural abi-

lities

lities were very great, and he was diſtinguiſhed no leſs for his humanity and gentleneſs, than for his activity and bravery. In the beginning of his reign he was engaged in the ſocial war in *Greece*, which drew after it a train of other military expeditions againſt the *Illyrians*, *Ætolians*, and other nations, who either made war on the *Achæans*, or invaded *Macedon*, in order to divert *Philip* from ſuccouring his allies. As he advanced in years, his favourites corrupted his heart by flattery; ſo that, forſaking the modeſty that adorned his early years, he began to indulge wild ſchemes of ambition, and at length degenerated into a mercileſs and brutal tyrant. Though his change of conduct ſoon rendered him odious at home and abroad, yet by his ſkill in government, and experience as a general, he ſtill maintained his authority. Thirty years of his reign were ſpent in repeated wars, loſſes, and treaties, till the *Romans* had reduced him to ſuch a miſerable ſtate, that he was forced to ſubmit to the orders they ſent him, to give his younger ſon *Demetrius* as a hoſtage, and to undertake to live in peace with all his neighbours, in conſideration of their leaving him the kingdom of *Macedon*, circumſcribed within its antient bounds, with other hard conditions, ſuch as delivering up his ſhips of war, and paying, by way of fine, a thouſand talents at ſeveral times.

He ſtruggles with the *Romans*.

As the ſtrength of his kingdom was much exhauſted in his wars with the *Romans*, *Philip* remained quiet during their ſtruggle with *Antiochus* the great; but in the war betwixt them and the *Ætolians* he again took arms, and under pretence of aſſiſting the *Romans*, beſieged *Lamia* in *Theſſaly*. The conſul ordering him to raiſe the ſiege, he was permitted to turn his arms againſt the *Athamanians* and the *Thracians*; but no ſooner had he made ſome conqueſts of importance, than complaints were made againſt him at *Rome*, and he was again ordered to content himſelf with *Macedonia* in its antient ſtate.

Diviſions in his family.

Mean while diviſions ſprung up in his family, and a ſpirit of diſcord began to appear among his ſubjects. *Demetrius*, the younger ſon of *Philip*, was a prince of extraordinary merit; he had a ſincere affection for his father, a moſt tender love for his country, and had conceived a high reſpect for the *Romans*, having been ſome time a hoſtage at *Rome*. His elder brother, *Perſeus*, who was born of a concubine, obſerving what regard *Philip* paid *Demetrius*, how fond the *Macedonians* were of him, and what an intereſt he had at *Rome*, conceived a violent hatred againſt him. *Philip*, being highly diſcontented with the *Romans*, could not help diſcovering his reſentment againſt them by his words, and at the ſame time began to purſue ſuch meaſures, as plainly indicated that he had a deſign to hazard another war with that republic. His ſon *Demetrius* uſed many arguments to diſſuade him from his intention; but though he was convinced of the juſtneſs of his reaſoning, yet he could not prevail with himſelf to follow his advice.

Being peremptorily required by a decree of the *Romans* to withdraw his garriſons from *Ænus* and *Maronea*, maritime

towns of *Thrace*, he determined to revenge himſelf on the *Maronites*, whoſe clamours had obtained the decree. With this view he ſent orders to his garriſons to leave thoſe cities; but *Caſſander*, one of his officers in *Maronea*, in purſuance of private inſtructions from *Onomaſtus*, governor of the maritime coaſt of *Macedonia*, privately let in the *Thracians* into *Maronea*, which city they plundered with the greateſt barbarity. Tho' the king, doubtleſs, acted in this affair with the utmoſt caution, yet the *Romans* gained ſuch intelligence of it, that they charged *Philip* as the author of the *Thracian* incurſion, and ordered him to juſtify himſelf before the ſenate, and to ſend *Onomaſtus* and *Caſſander* to *Rome*.

He is ordered to juſtify his conduct before the *Roman* ſenate.

Philip looked upon this order as a high indignity offered to him, who was an independent prince; but to preſerve himſelf from being deſtroyed before he was ſtrong enough to make reſiſtance, he yielded, and ſent *Caſſander*, whom, however, he cauſed to be poiſoned by the way. To excuſe the whole tranſaction, he ſent his ſon *Demetrius* to *Rome*, who was ſo ſucceſsful as to appeaſe the ſenate, and they accordingly ratified the treaty formerly made, but with this expreſs clauſe, that all was done out of regard to his ſon. This circumſtance did not pleaſe *Philip*, and did very little good to *Demetrius*, who, becauſe he knew and dreaded the power of the *Romans*, was accuſed of being partial to them. *Philip* again renewed his preparations for war, and perceiving that his ſubjects on the ſea coaſt were inclined to peace, and attached to the *Romans*, he tranſplanted them into *Æmathia*, and brought multitudes of *Thracians* to inhabit the ſea-coaſts. To prevent any future trouble from the *Dardanians*, who were the implacable enemies of *Macedon*, he prompted the *Baſtarnæ*, on the banks of the *Iſter*, to come and ſeize *Dardania*, promiſing to aſſiſt them to conquer that country.

The ſenate appeaſed by his ſon *Demetrius*.

Mean while, the *Macedonians*, who had been tranſported from the ſea-coaſts, murmuring at the conduct of the king, *Philip*, by treating them with ſeverity, heightened their diſcontents. The quarrels in his family, at the ſame time, grew daily wider and wider: *Perſeus* encouraged all who either ridiculed the *Romans*, or declaimed ſeriouſly againſt them, and *Demetrius* openly vindicated the *Romans* againſt all ſuch. When the army, according to annual cuſtom, was ſolemnly luſtrated, a mock-fight followed the ceremony. The two young princes being the commanders, they were prompted by their companions to ſhew their ſkill and bravery, ſo that much miſchief enſued. The body commanded by *Demetrius* having the ſuperiority, *Perſeus* at the firſt was very much diſcontented, but his aſſociates repreſenting to him, that the intemperate heat of his brother would give him a good opportunity of complaining againſt him to his father, he grew better ſatisfied. In the evening both princes entertained their friends; but ſome ſpies of *Perſeus* being diſcovered at the tables of *Demetrius*, they were well beaten and expelled. When the company had drank more freely,

A quarrel betwixt his two ſons.

freely, *Demetrius*, who was naturally good-humoured, would needs go see his brother; and obliging those young men who had beaten the spies of *Perseus* to accompany him, they, for their own security, armed themselves in a private manner. *Perseus* having intelligence of this by a spy, who had hitherto remained with *Demetrius*, caused his doors immediately to be shut, and when *Demetrius* appeared, called out to him to be gone, as he was then too well guarded to be assassinated.

Next day he accused *Demetrius* to *Philip*, of an attempt to murder him. *Demetrius* defended himself with great boldness, and after recapitulating all the passages of the preceding day, bitterly inveighed against his brother, for turning the exercise of the army into a struggle for the crown. He disclaimed any sinister view in his intended visit to his brother, or any dependance upon the *Romans*, and concluded with a solemn asseveration, that he still loved *Perseus* as his brother, revered the king as his parent and sovereign, and had ever sought to promote the peace of *Macedon*. *Philip*, having calmly heard what was said on both sides, declared, that he would not pass judgment from mere words and a few transient speeches, but would believe of his sons according to their future actions.

The king, however, for the time to come, wholly leaned to his eldest son, with whom he consulted on all his affairs. To put himself out of doubt as to the intentions of his youngest son, he sent *Philocles* and *Apelles*, whom he thought attached to no party, as his ambassadors to *Rome*, privately instructing them to enquire into his son's conduct in that city. These ambassadors, being the adherents of *Perseus*, consulted with him what answer they should give to the king, and upon their return from *Rome*, presented *Philip* with a forged letter from *T. Quintius*, wherein the *Roman* beseeched the king to pass by the measures which *Demetrius* had taken to supplant his brother, assuring him that the *Romans* would have been far from countenancing him in such a base action. *Demetrius*, about the same time, being sent to *Pæonia*, accompanied by *Didas* with a considerable guard; *Didas* offered with great zeal to serve him, and so insinuated himself into his confidence, that he confessed to him that he could wish to escape to *Rome*. *Didas*, who was a creature of *Perseus*, communicating this to the king, received a command from him to take off his prisoner by poison. This cruel and unnatural command he accordingly put in execution; but the poison working slowly, he caused two ruffians to smother the prince, then in the 25th year of his age.

Demetrius calumniated and put to death.

Perseus having now obtained all he sought for, began to act more independantly than he was wont, which being quickly perceived by *Philip*, he began to doubt whether *Perseus* had not acted in a treacherous manner; and these thoughts having once entered his head, he daily saw more and more circumstances to heighten the suspicion. He at length communicated his suspicions to *Antigonus*, the nephew of *Antigonus Doson*, a man of honour and integrity, who used his utmost endeavours to trace

out the conſpiracy of *Perſeus*. By ſeducing *Xychus*, who had accompanied *Philocles* and *Apelles* to *Rome*, he diſcovered that the letter of *T. Quintius* was a forgery. *Philip* was now ſeized with a melancholy which differed very little from madneſs, and ſo preyed on his health, that he was ſoon brought into a very declining condition; he cauſed *Philocles* to be put to death, but *Apelles* eſcaped from *Macedonia*, and withdrew into *Italy*. *Perſeus* kept at a diſtance from court on the borders of *Macedon*; but *Philip*, having laid before the *Macedonians*, his whole contrivance againſt his brother *Demetrius*, earneſtly recommended it to them to ſet *Antigonus* on the throne, which he ſoon after left vacant, dying of grief, after a reign of forty-two years.

Philip falls into a deep melancholy.

His death.

Caligenes, one of *Philip*'s phyſicians, having entered into a correſpondence with his ſon, concealed the king's death, till *Perſeus* arrived at court with a body of troops, and unexpectedly took poſſeſſion of the throne. To ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, he cauſed *Antigonus* to be put to death, who had lately returned from the *Baſtarnæ*. Theſe barbarians were now on their march to invade *Dardania*; but hearing of *Philip*'s death, they began to doubt whether they ſhould proceed or return home. Diſputes happening betwixt them and the *Thracians*, who, they alledged, impoſed upon them in their markets, a war enſued, in which at firſt the *Thracians* were grievouſly handled, and driven to their mountains; but the invaders being afterwards worſted, the greateſt part of them returned with their wives and children to their antient dwellings. About 30,000 of them penetrated into *Dardania*, where they were privately aſſiſted by *Perſeus*, who well knew both the nature and importance of his father's ſcheme. At the ſame time, however, he ſent ambaſſadors to the *Romans*, whoſe power he greatly dreaded, requeſting them to renew the treaty made with his father. At home he affected all things that might reconcile him to the minds of the people, making a ſhew of generoſity and mildneſs, and above all affecting a rigid regard to juſtice. The *Romans*, after renewing the treaty with him, hearing that an embaſſy from him had arrived at *Carthage*, ſent ambaſſadors to *Macedon*, who were kindly entertained by *Perſeus*, till they began to act like tutors. They propoſed that he ſhould force the *Baſtarnæ* to evacuate *Dardania*; and when he marched againſt the *Dolopians*, who had revolted and ſlain his governor *Euphranor*, they complained againſt him, and alledged, that he was tied up by his treaty from making war without the conſent of their ſtate. *Perſeus* paid no regard to their remonſtrances; and after ſubduing the *Dolopians*, marched at the head of his army to viſit the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*. This journey alarmed all *Greece*; but *Perſeus*, inſtead of committing any hoſtilities, as was expected, thereby acquired the friendſhip and confidence of ſeveral *Greek* ſtates. He was very earneſt to reconcile himſelf with all the *Greeks*, but particularly with the *Achæans*, who, with the *Athenians*, had prohibited all commerce with the *Macedonians*. *Perſeus* cauſed great numbers of their

Perſeus. Bef. Chr. 179.

He ſends an embaſſy to the *Romans*.

A miſunderſtanding betwixt him and the *Romans*.

ſlaves, who had fled into his dominions, to be ſeized, and ſent back to their maſters; and by frequent embaſſies to the different ſtates, and magnificent promiſes, he ſoon raiſed a great party in *Greece* that favoured him. He alſo ſecured the friendſhip of the *Rhodians*, who, with a numerous ſquadron of gallies, conducted to him *Laodice*, the grand-daughter of *Antiochus* the Great.

About the ſame time he entered into an alliance with *Pruſias*, king of *Bithynia*, to whom he gave his ſiſter in marriage. He alſo concluded a peace with the *Thracians*, who conſented to furniſh him with what number of ſoldiers he pleaſed. In his own kingdom of *Macedon* he not only laid up vaſt ſums of money, but provided magazines of proviſions for a great army for ten years, keeping up at the ſame time 30,000 foot and 5000 horſe. *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamus*, ſeeing that the *Greeks* chiefly favoured *Perſeus*, whom he greatly hated, went to *Rome* on purpoſe to excite the ſenate to declare war againſt *Perſeus*, giving them a particular account of his formidable preparations. A few days after *Eumenes* had ſpoke in the ſenate, an audience was granted to the ambaſſadors of *Perſeus*, when *Harpalus*, one of them, ſaid, that *Perſeus* had not hitherto done any thing that had had the leaſt tendency to a rupture with the *Romans*; but if they were obſtinately bent on a rupture with him, he would not be afraid of betaking himſelf to arms. *Eumenes*, on his return from *Rome*, propoſed a viſit to *Delphi*; but as he approached the place, he was aſſaulted in a narrow paſs by four aſſaſſins, hired by *Perſeus*, who, by rolling ſtones upon him from an eminence, left him for dead. The king, however, came afterwards to himſelf, and was conveyed to the iſland of *Ægina*, where he lay concealed till he was perfectly recovered. The aſſaſſins for ſome time could not be diſcovered; but at length *Graxo*, a woman of diſtinction at *Delphi*, with whom *Perſeus* had lodged, being ſeized, and ſent to *Rome*, it appeared that ſhe had alſo entertained the aſſaſſins who were ſent thither by *Perſeus*. About the ſame time one *Rannius*, a citizen of *Brunduſium*, who had frequently entertained the *Macedonian* ambaſſadors in his houſe, declared, that *Perſeus* had deſired him to give a certain poiſonous drug to the principal ſenators, who were eſteemed enemies to the *Macedonian* intereſt.

Eumenes, king of *Pergamus*, complains of him at *Rome*.

The *Romans* made new complaints to *Perſeus*, who, for ſeveral days, refuſed to give their ambaſſadors an audience; but hearing that they were propoſing to return home, he ſent for them, and in anſwer to their complaints, accuſed the *Romans* of intolerable pride and inſolence, and of treating kings with inſupportable haughtineſs, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their ſlaves. He told them, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him, that though the unſettled ſtate of his affairs, at his firſt coming to the throne, had obliged him to ſubmit to it, yet for the future he would not look upon himſelf as bound by it, though he was content to make a new treaty upon equitable terms. The ambaſſadors

Perſeus commands the *Roman* ambaſſadors to depart his dominions.

having, according to their inſtructions, defied him, he commanded them to depart his dominions in three days. However, reflecting afterwards upon the formidable power he was raiſing up againſt himſelf, he again fell to negotiating, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to his affairs; for he thereby neglected the opportunity of ſecuring the *Greeks*, and gave the *Romans* leiſure to compleat their preparations. Many kings and ſtates, in *Europe* and *Aſia*, intereſted themſelves in this rupture between the two great powers of *Macedon* and *Rome*. *Gentius*, king of *Illyria* and the *Rhodians*, inclined, though not avowedly, to the *Macedonian* ſide, which was alſo favoured by *Cotys*, king of the *Odryſians*. *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamus*; *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*; *Ariarathes*, king of *Cappadocia*; and the regency in *Egypt*, declared for the *Romans*. *Pruſias*, king of *Bithynia*, deſired to ſtand neuter. In *Greece*, the governors of the ſtates were generally in the intereſt of *Rome*, and the people in that of *Perſeus*, who, finding that he could not obtain peace on the terms he wanted, and that a body of *Roman* troops had arrived in *Theſſaly*, now ſaw the neceſſity of acting with vigour. His army, which conſiſted of 39,000 foot, and 4000 horſe, having aſſembled at *Cilium*, he there offered an hecatomb to *Pallas*, and afterwards gave audience to the deputies from the *Macedonian* cities, who offered him men, money, and proviſions for carrying on the war. *Perſeus*, after thanking them for their loyalty, told them, that, except carriages for his baggage and engines, he would expect nothing at preſent from them. Theſe being quickly furniſhed, *Perſeus* began his march for *Theſſaly*, whither ſoon after came the *Roman* conſul with two legions, in hopes of finding a body of confederates ſtrong enough to enable him to face *Perſeus*; but finding their troops inconſiderable, he was obliged to act on the defenſive. *Perſeus* in the mean time made himſelf maſter of a great many cities, and began to waſte the country about *Pherea*, within a few miles of the *Roman* camp. Perceiving that the conſul declined an engagement, he advanced with his horſe and light armed troops, and for ſeveral days inſulted him in his camp. The conſul at laſt ſent out his horſe and light armed troops to oppoſe the *Macedonians*; but they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, more than one half of the detachment being cut off. The *Macedonian* phalanx ſoon after coming up, *Perſeus* was preſſed by ſome of his generals to attack the *Roman* intrenchments; but was perſuaded by *Evander* the *Cretan*, who had been one of the aſſaſſins againſt *Eumenes*, to delay the aſſault till next morning. The conſul, in the mean time, paſſed the river *Peneus* in the night, and fixed his camp in an advantageous poſt.

He prepares for a war with the *Romans*.

Makes himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities in *Theſſaly*.

He defeats the *Romans*.

Perſeus next morning took a view of the *Roman* intrenchments, and advancing towards their new camp, ſent deputies to the conſul, acquainting him, that notwithſtanding his late victory, he was contented to accept of the terms which had been granted to his father *Philip*, after he was vanquiſhed. The conſul anſwered, that he would grant him no terms, but thoſe

He in vain ſues for a peace.

of

of ſubmitting himſelf and his kingdom to the diſcretion of the *Roman* people. He ſent again, and offered tribute; but this propoſal being alſo rejected, he retired to his old camp. He continued for ſome time to harraſs the *Roman* army, by intercepting their convoys, and attacking their foragers; but being routed in a conſiderable ſkirmiſh, he retired into *Macedon*. On his retreat the conſul recovered ſeveral places in *Theſſaly*, where he put his troops into winter quarters. *Lucretius*, the *Roman* admiral, in the mean time had taken and razed *Haliartus* in *Bœotia*, and levied heavy contributions on the *Greek* coaſt. *Appius Claudius*, the year following, made an unſucceſsful attempt to penetrate into *Macedonia* on the ſide of *Illyria*, his troops being defeated hy one of the generals of *Perſeus*.

The following ſpring the *Roman* army was commanded by the conſul *Martius*, who attempted to penetrate into the heart of *Macedonia*. *Perſeus*, not knowing where the enemy would break through, had diſtributed his forces in ſuch a manner, as to guard all the paſſes, encamping himſelf with the main body of his army at *Dium*. The conſul attempted to paſs over very high mountains at a ſmall diſtance from his camp; but was oppoſed by *Hippias* with 12,000 men, who for two days diſtreſſed him greatly by frequent attacks. Though the cries of his ſoldiers could be heard in the camp of *Perſeus*, yet he moſt injudiciouſly neglected to ſupport him; ſo that the *Romans*, after they had for ſome time been in the greateſt diſtreſs, forced their way into the vale of *Tempe*. This ſucceſs of the *Romans* ſo intimidated *Perſeus*, that he precipitately abandoned *Dium*, and all the parts that led from *Tempe* into *Macedonia*, retired with his army to *Pydna*, and ſent orders to *Andronicus*, governor of *Theſſalonica*, to burn the arſenal there, with all the naval ſtores, and gave poſitive directions to *Micias*, governor of *Pella*, to throw all his treaſure into the ſea, exclaiming in a frantic manner, that he was vanquiſhed without a battle. The conſul, in the mean time, made himſelf maſter of *Dium*, and ſeveral other places, almoſt without any reſiſtance; but for want of proviſions, he was obliged to abandon the places he had taken, and retire to *Phila*.

The *Romans* penetrate into *Macedonia*. 170. Bef. Ch. 170.

The imprudent conduct of *Perſeus*.

Perſeus, perceiving that the conſul was able to effect no great matter, again recovered from his fright, and cauſed his treaſures to be ſearched for by divers, who were ſo ſucceſsful as to bring them up from the bottom of the ſea. *Andronicus* had prudently ſuſpended the execution of the order ſent to him; but *Perſeus*, now aſhamed of his ſcandalous meanneſs of ſpirit, cauſed him and *Nicias*, and the divers, all to be put to death, in hopes of concealing his own baſeneſs. He again took poſſeſſion of *Dium*, the fortifications of which he cauſed to be repaired, and then encamped with his army on the river *Enipeus*, where he entrenched himſelf ſo ſtrongly, that the conſul durſt not attack him. The *Roman* admiral, in conjunction with king *Eumenes*, ſpent the ſummer in ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts upon the coaſts. The prætor, *Appius Claudius*, lay all this while in *Illyria* with a body of troops, and by the end of the campaign was

in a very miſerable condition, inſomuch that he earneſtly demanded of the *Achæans* a reinforcement of 5000 men; but *Marcus* the conſul, under pretence of ſparing the *Roman* allies, prohibited the *Achæans* from ſending any troops.

His avarice and meanneſs.

The *Romans* were greatly diſſatisfied with the bad ſucceſs of their arms, and choſe *P. Æmilius*, conſul, to carry on the war in *Macedonia*. *Perſeus*, in the mean time, endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf with new alliances; and the fear of the danger that threatned him getting the better of his avarice, he agreed to give *Gentius*, king of *Illyria*, 300 talents in money, if he would declare war againſt the *Romans*. *Gentius* beginning hoſtilities by ſeizing the *Roman* ambaſſadors, *Perſeus*, knowing that he would be then engaged in the war on his own account, ordered the waggons that were carrying the money to be ſtopped, and by this low policy ruined *Gentius*, without benefiting himſelf. His avarice, at the ſame time, loſt him the friendſhip of another powerful prince; for *Eumenes*, taking a diſguſt at the *Romans*, offered to remain neuter, in conſideration of 1500 talents, which *Perſeus* refuſed to deliver till after the ſervice was performed, which broke off the treaty. By his avarice he likewiſe failed in another negotiation, which might have been no leſs in his favour: he had agreed to give a conſiderable ſum of money to a large body of the *Baſtarnæ*, if they would engage in his ſervice. *Clondicus*, their king, accordingly arrived on the confines of *Macedonia* with 10,000 horſe, and as many foot; but not being able to prevail with *Perſeus* to pay the money he had promiſed, he and his troops returned home, ſpoiling ſome part of *Thrace* in their way, which created *Perſeus* new enemies.

P. Æmilius ſent into *Macedon.*

Bef. Ch. 168.

The *Roman* conſul, in the mean time, made great preparations for carrying on the war with the utmoſt vigour, *Octavius* the admiral, and *Anicius*, who commanded in *Illyria*, being alſo reſolved to exert themſelves to put an end to the war. *Anicius* was ſo ſucceſsful, that in thirty days he reduced all *Illyria*, and made *Gentius* and his family priſoners. *Æmilius*, after reſtoring diſcipline among his troops, decamped, and drew nearer to the *Macedonians*, a motion hitherto thought impracticable, on account of the want of water. Though there were neither ſprings nor rivulets viſible, yet *Æmilius* rightly judged, that it could not be, that ſo great a mountain as *Olympus*, ſo covered with fine graſs and beautiful trees, ſhould want water. Wells being accordingly ſunk by his order, they were preſently full of water, which raiſed the courage of his ſoldiers, and rendered them perfectly tractable. *Perſeus* having ſtrongly entrenched himſelf on the banks of the *Enipeus*, *Æmilius* did not think it prudent to attack his camp, but ſent 5000 light-armed troops, under the command of *Scipio Æmilianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own ſons, but adopted into other families, to attempt to paſs mount *Olympus*. This detachment was employed three days in paſſing the mountain; and *Æmilius*, in the mean time, to amuſe *Perſeus*, pretended for two days to attack his camp, in which

which skirmishes he lost considerable numbers of men. *Scipio* and *Fabius* succeeded in their design, and notwithstanding some opposition that they met with, encamped in the plain on the other side of the *Macedonian* camp, *Perseus* then retiring with precipitation under the walls of *Pydna*. He was advised by his best friends to lengthen out the war, by garrisoning some of his strongest cities, experience having shewn, that the *Macedonians* were better able to keep cities than the *Romans* were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected, from the cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he chose for his residence might be first besieged. Others advised to hazard a general battle, and this opinion prevailing, the ground was accordingly chosen for an engagement. Before the *Romans* appeared, the *Macedonians* formed themselves into the order of battle; nevertheless, when *Æmilius* came up, *Scipio* pressed him earnestly not to defer the engagement, which the general, however, would not consent to.

Both armies next day appeared in the field, and about three in the afternoon began the attack. The light-armed *Macedonians* charged with great vigour, and the phalanx striking the points of their spears into the *Roman* shields, not only prevented the legionary soldiers from reaching them with their swords, but even drove them from their ground. *Æmilius*, on this occasion, it is said, tore his cloaths, and almost gave up all hopes. However, perceiving that as the phalanx gained ground it lost its order in several places, he caused his own light-armed troops to charge in those spaces, whereby the *Macedonians* were soon put in confusion, and routed with great slaughter, no less than 25,000 of them being slain, according to *Plutarch*, though the battle lasted only about an hour. The *Romans* lost about 100 men, and took about 11, or 12,000 prisoners. The *Macedonians* were no sooner put into disorder, than *Perseus* fled with a considerable body of horse, and at night they were joined by the remains of the foot, who upbraided them with their scandalous behaviour; and at last, grudging such cowards should have horses to carry them out of the reach of their enemies, began to pull them off, which so terrified *Perseus*, that he left them, and with some of his friends went into a by-road, taking off his purple mantle and his diadem, which last he carried in his hand.

Perseus entirely defeated by the *Romans*.

He arrived at *Pella* about midnight, where he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at *Pella*, and left it the same night to go to *Amphipolis*, being accompanied by *Evander* the *Cretan*, *Archidemus* the *Ætolian*, and *Neo* the *Bœotian*, with about 500 *Cretan* soldiers, who remained with him not out of fidelity, but because they could not depart from the treasure which he carried along with him. Being apprehensive that the *Amphipolitans* would deliver him up to the *Romans*, he left that city, and went into the

He takes refuge in *Samothrace.*

the iſland of *Samos*, and took refuge in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, carrying with him no leſs than 2000 talents.

P. Æmilius, after the battle, made himſelf maſter of *Berea*, *Theſſalonica*, *Pella*, and many other principal cities in *Macedon*; and having granted a capitulation to the ſoldiers who had fled to *Pydna*, he proceeded to *Amphipolis*, where three perſons of mean rank brought him a letter from *Perſeus*. He could not forbear ſhedding tears, when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs; but when he ſaw this ſuperſcription upon the letter, "*Perſeus* the king to the conſul *P. Æmilius*, health," he diſmiſſed the deputies without an anſwer. *Perſeus*, by this perceiving that he was now no more than a private perſon, or at leaſt ſo conſidered by the *Romans*, wrote a ſecond letter, which he addreſſed to the conſul, without aſſuming to himſelf any title. He begged that commiſſioners might be ſent to treat with him, which the conſul readily granted; but *Perſeus* inſiſting that he ſhould ſtill retain the title of king, and they on the other hand urging him to ſubmit his fate entirely to the determination of the *Romans*, the negotiation had no effect. *Octavius*, in the mean time, ſurrounding the iſland with his fleet, *Perſeus* entered into a private correſpondence with *Oroandes* a *Cretan*, who engaged to carry him, his wife, his ſon, his treaſure, and three attendants to *Crete*, in a veſſel which was then in *Samothrace*. The crafty maſter of the veſſel took the money on board firſt, and then aſſigned an hour in the night for the king to come on board; but as ſoon as it grew dark he ſet ſail without him. The hour appointed being come, *Perſeus*, with infinite pains and difficulty, crept through a ſtrait window, and let himſelf down the wall with his wife and children, who were little uſed to ſuch fatigue. After they had wandered on the ſhore till it was almoſt light, they were informed by a ſtranger, that *Oroandes* ſailed for *Crete* the evening before. *Perſeus* then fetching a doleful ſigh, fled back with all his might towards the wall, endeavouring to get thither before the *Romans*. *Ion* of *Theſſalonica*, who had been his favourite, and had his children entruſted to his care, now betraying them to *Octavius*, *Perſeus*, ſeeing there was no poſſible remedy, alſo ſurrendered himſelf to him. *Octavius* put his royal priſoner on board the admiral galley, with all the wealth that he had ſtill about him, and ſailed with the fleet to *Amphipolis*, from whence he ſent him to the camp of *Æmilius*, who ordered his ſon-in-law *Tubero*, with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, to go and meet him. *Perſeus* entered the *Roman* camp in a mourning habit, with his ſon *Philip*, and when he arrived at the conſul's tent, would have thrown himſelf at his feet; but *Æmilius*, riſing haſtily, ſtept forward a little, gave him his hand, and would not ſuffer him to kneel. According to *Plutarch*, *Perſeus* uttered ſuch unmanly cries and petitions, as *Æmilius* was not able to hear; but looking on him with a countenance of ſorrow and indignation, he ſaid to him, *By theſe actions thou ſhewſt that thou art worthy of thy calamity, and that it is not thy preſent condition, but former happineſs, tha*

He ſurrenders himſelf to the *Romans.*

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was more than thy deſerts. *Æmilius* committed *Perſeus* to the care of *Tubero*, directing that he ſhould ſup with him that night, and treated him with all the honours his preſent condition would admit. *Æmilius*, after having made a progreſs through *Greece*, returned to *Macedon*, and went to *Apollonia*, to meet the ten commiſſioners of conſular dignity, that were coming from *Rome*.

Æmilius eſtabliſhes a new form of government in *Macedon.*

Having returned with the commiſſioners to *Amphipolis*, he thence iſſued his precepts, directing that ten deputies, from each of the *Macedonian* cities, ſhould appear before him at a certain day, and bring with them ſuch papers of ſtate, and all ſuch ſums of money and plate, as they had any knowledge of, belonging to the king. The deputies accordingly appearing, he mounted his tribunal, and after having cauſed ſilence to be made by the crier, he repeated in *Latin* the regulations made by the ſenate and by himſelf, in conjunction with the commiſſioners relating to *Macedonia*. The principal articles were, that *Macedonia* was declared free; that it ſhould pay the *Romans* only half the tribute paid to the king, which was fixed at the ſum of 100 talents; that it ſhould be divided for the future into four cantons, that ſhould have each its council, in which particular affairs ſhould be examined, and that no perſon ſhould contract marriage, or purchaſe lands or houſes, out of their own canton. Some other articles of leſs importance were annexed to theſe. The prætor, *Octavius*, explained the ſeveral articles in *Greek*, as the conſul pronounced them in *Latin*.

The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave great joy to the *Macedonians*; but at the ſame time they were ſorry they could not comprehend what that liberty was they were reſtored to. Though the decree ſpoke of leaving them under their own laws, it nevertheleſs impoſed many new ones, and threatned more. What moſt diſturbed them was the diviſion of the kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were tore and mangled, ſeparated and disjointed, from each other.

Æmilius proceeded next to regulate the reſt of the *Grecian* affairs; and at the cloſe of the proceedings, *Andronicus* the *Ætolian*, and *Neo* the *Bæotian*, were put to death, becauſe they had continued to the laſt faithful to *Perſeus*. A proclamation was then publiſhed, veſting the ſupreme power in *Macedon* in certain ſenators; and all the nobility, and alſo all their children, exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded, under pain of death, immediately to tranſport themſelves over into *Italy*, as were likewiſe all ſuch as ever had any commiſſion, even of the ſmalleſt importance, from the king or his predeceſſors. Laſt of all, *Æmilius* publiſhed ſeveral laws, which, whether they were, or were not, to the liking of the *Macedonians*, they were ever after bound to obey. *Æmilius*, after celebrating games at *Amphipolis*, with a magnificence unknown to former times, cauſed all the ſpoils, that he did not think fit to carry to *Rome*, to be piled up in one great heap, which was chiefly compoſed of arms of all ſorts. After ſolemn prayers to *Mars*, *Minerva*, and

other

other deities, the conſul firſt ſet fire to this prodigious pile, and then the principal officers of the army threw in thoſe lighted torches with which they had aſſiſted at the ſolemnity. All the rich furniture, plate, ſtatues, and other valuable things, found in the royal palace, were firſt expoſed to public view, and then put on board the fleet.

Æmilius, having regulated all the affairs of *Macedonia*, ſet out for *Epirus*, with a deſign to plunder all that part of that kingdom, which had revolted to *Perſeus*. He concealed his purpoſe from the *Epirots*, and ſent officers to all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garriſons. The troops, however, on a day aſſigned, plundered all the cities, demoliſhed their walls, and carried off 150,000 of the *Epirots* as ſlaves. The principal perſons among the *Epirots* and *Acarnanians* were ordered to follow the conſul to *Italy*, to be tried by the *Roman* ſenate. The *Achæans* alſo being accuſed of favouring *Perſeus*, 1000 perſons of diſtinction among them were ſent as priſoners to *Italy*, where they continued ſeventeen years. Such were the fatal conſequences of the *Macedonian* war.

Æmilius embarking at *Oricum*, ſailed up the *Tiber* in the royal galley of king *Perſeus*, which was richly adorned with the arms of his priſoners, and with the king's purple robes. On account of ſome diſcontents his ſoldiers had taken, there aroſe ſome diſputes about his triumph, which, however, was at laſt granted him. *Perſeus*, who in the mean time was confined in a jail, ſent to beſeech *Æmilius*, that he might not be made a ſpectacle in his triumph; to which the general made anſwer, "This is "entirely in his own power, he needs not aſk that favour of "me," intimating that he might kill himſelf, and thereby avoid the ignominy. On the day of the triumph, immediately after the arms, treaſures, and gold plate, belonging to the table of king *Perſeus*, followed his ſons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and his little daughter, with their nurſes, preceptors, and attendants, who, ſhedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught the little captives to do the ſame; next to them came *Perſeus* alone, clad in deep mourning; behind, at ſome diſtance, followed his friends and the chief nobility of *Macedon*. After the triumph, *Perſeus* was ſent back to the jail, and even thruſt down into a deep and loathſome dungeon, where the worſt maleſactors were confined. Remaining in this miſerable ſtate four days, without victuals, he beſought ſome of the priſoners to give him a part of their proviſion, which they readily did, and at the ſame time procured for him a rope and a ſword, ſuppoſing that he would be glad to end his misfortunes by one of them, which, however, he did not. After he had continued ſeven days in this dungeon, he was taken out at the requeſt of *Æmilius*, and put into a milder cuſtody; but about two years after, having diſpleaſed his barbarous keepers, they would not ſuffer him to ſleep, and ſo he died *. *Macedon* was now no

Perſeus led in triumph at *Rome*,

and confined to the common jail.

* Diod. Sic. excerpt. apud Phot. Lion. lib. xliv. Plut. in vit. Æmil. Juſtin. lib. xxxii.

longer

longer a kingdom, after having ſubſiſted, from the time of *Caranus*, upwards of 600 years. *Perſeus*, when he was led in triumph, had two ſons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and a daughter; *Philip* was young, and the two laſt were infants. The eldeſt ſon died before his father, and *Alexander* was put out to a joiner, carpenter, or turner, and grew an ingenious man in his profeſſion. Addicting himſelf alſo to the *Latin* learning, he became afterwards a clerk or ſecretary to the ſenate.

The ſettlement, made by *Paulus Æmilius* in *Macedon*, was extremely well adapted to the purpoſes of the ſenate and people of *Rome*; but very diſguſtful to the *Macedonians*, who ſaw themſelves ſtripped of all their arms and all their wealth, their country deſtitute of nobility, themſelves prohibited from having any reſources from their mines, though they had an immenſe yearly tribute to pay to foreigners. They remained in this ſtate ſixteen years, when it began to be whiſpered about, that one of the ſons of *Perſeus* was living. One *Andriſcus*, it is ſaid, a native of the city of *Adramittium*, in the country of *Troas* in leſſer *Aſia*, by birth and manners of the very dregs of the people, took upon him to be the ſon of *Perſeus*.

Andriſcus calls himſelf the ſon of *Perſeus*.

He was born, he ſaid, while *Perſeus* was engaged in the war againſt the *Romans*, and the king being apprehenſive of its iſſue, ordered his mother, who was a concubine, to conceal his birth, and to educate him privately, that in caſe things ſhould fall out amiſs, one of the blood royal might be preſerved, to aſſert his right to the kingdom. When he was twelve years of age, his foſter-father falling ſick of a mortal diſeaſe, diſcloſed to him the ſecret of his birth, and that his true name was *Philip*. A narrative to the ſame purpoſe, ſigned by the hand of *Perſeus*, being in the cuſtody of his foſter-mother, the dying man charged her to deliver it to *Philip* when he ſhould arrive at the age of fourteen. In this memorial, which *Philip* accordingly received, mention was made of two cheſts of treaſure, privately depoſited by *Perſeus* for the uſe of his ſon, who, by the advice of his foſter-mother, fled from *Adramittium* for fear of *Eumenes*, and went into *Syria* to the court of *Demetrius Soter*, who had married the ſiſter of *Perſeus*. *Demetrius*, having heard the ſtory of *Andriſcus*, conſidered it attentively, till by degrees either himſelf, or his wife, traced out ſuch imperfections in it, as gave them grounds to ſuſpect the whole as a fallacy. To prevent his incurring the diſpleaſure of the *Romans*, who had now rendered themſelves formidable to all the eaſt, *Demetrius* ſeized on *Andriſcus*, and ſent him a priſoner to *Rome*.

Bef. Chr. 152.

He is ſent priſoner to *Rome*, but eſcapes from thence.

The ſenate cauſed this matter to be enquired into upon the firſt arrival of *Andriſcus*; but the ſtory ſeemed ſo improbable, and the priſoner looked, ſpoke, and acted ſo little like the ſon of a prince, that he was committed to a very gentle cuſtody, and no ſentence at all pronounced againſt him. *Andriſcus*, taking the advantage of the negligence of his guards, made his eſcape from *Rome*, and took ſhelter in *Thrace*.

Great

Great disturbances, in the mean time, had happened among the *Macedonians*, who seemed not at all to relish the popular government established among them by *Æmilius*. The *Macedonians* dwelling at *Rome* had interest enough to prevent any harsh measures from being taken with their countrymen. They were at great pains to cultivate this interest, attending the funeral of their conqueror *Æmilius* with all imaginable marks of sorrow and concern, applying themselves afterwards to his son *Scipio Africanus*, whom they owned the protector of their nation. Little care was taken at *Rome* to redress the grievances the *Macedonians* complained of, which were rather connived at by the *Romans*, who seemed to wish for an opportunity of reducing the whole kingdom to a province.

The *Macedonians* acknowledge him as king.

Andriscus, after continuing some time in *Thrace*, kindled in the minds of the *Thracians* such an ambition of throwing off all dependance upon the *Romans*, that great numbers of them assembled under his command, whom he boldly led down into *Macedon*, and there began publicly to declare his title to the crown. His appearance in *Macedon* occasioned great commotions in that kingdom. Those who were in possession of power, and consequently were strictly dependant on the *Romans*, endeavoured to make what resistance they could, which was even feebler than could have been expected by *Andriscus*. The *Macedonians* in general were eager to regain their antient constitution, which, from its loss, appeared so much the more desirable; and many of the dependants of those in power now declaring for *Andriscus*, he made himself master of the whole kingdom in almost as short a time as *Perseus* had lost it. Not content with *Macedon*, he attacked *Thessaly*, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The *Romans*, on the first news of this extraordinary event, were greatly at a loss. They had no army in these parts, and they had all the reason in the world to believe, that the *Greeks* would not raise an army in favour of those, who had of late but treated them very indifferently. However, they sent *Scipio Nasica*, with other legates, to put a stop, if possible, to the revolt, or at least to dispose the minds of the people in *Greece* to remain steady to the *Roman* interest. *Scipio* was a man of great parts, and also naturally just, temperate, and courteous in the highest degree, which good qualities supplied the place of an army, and rendered him more formidable than a person of another disposition would have been, attended by legions. Having informed the senate, that the *Macedonians* had universally submitted to *Andriscus*, on account of his declaring that he would free *Macedon* and *Greece* from the *Roman* yoke, he visited all the cities of *Greece*, from each of which, by his prudent conduct, he drew a certain quota of troops, and joining these to the forces of the *Achæans*, who, forgetting past subjects of discontent, appeared most zealous to serve him, he entered *Thessaly* and compelled the false *Philip* to return to *Macedon*.

The

The *Romans*, upon receiving the letters of *Scipio*, immediately sent *P. Juventius Thalna*, and *Q. Cælius*, with an army to reduce the rebels. *Juventius* being destitute of calmness and conduct, upon his arrival in *Macedon* was hurried by an imprudent impetuosity. Looking upon *Andriscus* as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he and *Cælius* lost their lives, with part of their army, the rest saving themselves only by favour of the night. *Philip* pursuing the blow he had struck, not only reduced the whole kingdom again to his obedience, but also united *Thessaly* to his dominions, seeming now to be effectually seated on the throne, as being surrounded with a numerous and victorious army, ready to undertake any thing at his command. An embassy sent to him by the *Carthaginians*, who were then on the point of engaging in the third *Punic* war, greatly augmented his courage. Not being able to bear his prosperity, he abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations, without any moderation or reserve. His pride was intolerable, and he thought he could never have enough submission paid him. His cruelty was so great, that he spared none whom he either disliked, or whom he conceived to dislike his proceedings. Besides, he was so rapaciously covetous, that he searched all corners of the kingdom for money; and wherever he found it, declared himself its owner, urging the care of the public safety as a pretext for public robbery. The *Macedonians*, however, bore all with invincible patience, being willing to suffer any thing for a short time, so they might once more become an independant people.

He defeats the *Roman* army under *Juventius*.

He governs in a most tyrannical manner.

The *Romans*, upon the news of the defeat and death of *Juventius*, named *Q. Cecilius Metellus* to supply his place, troops being transported with all imaginable care to *Macedon*. *Andriscus* finding himself on a sudden under a necessity of fighting once more for his life and crown, shewed, on this occasion, an unconquerable courage; and quickly assembling his forces, encamped under the walls of *Pydna*, to prevent the *Romans* from plundering the adjacent country. *Metellus* encamping over against him with the *Roman* army, which was superior in horse, *Andriscus* nevertheless hazarded an engagement with his cavalry, who gained the advantage, and obliged the *Romans* to retire into their camp in some confusion. The king, soon after hearing that the allies of the *Romans* were about to attack his conquests in *Thessaly*, sent a great detachment of his army to cover them; which *Metellus* being informed of, attacked him while his army was divided, and after an obstinate and bloody battle, totally routed him; so that his troops being wholly dispersed, he was obliged to fly to the *Thracians*, among whom he was so well received, that he was enabled in a short time to return to *Macedonia* with a numerous army. Instead of protracting the war, which would have greatly distressed the *Romans*, he marched directly against *Metellus*, by whom he

He defeats *Metellus*.

Is obliged to fly to the *Thracians*,

was

was again defeated. Finding it abſolutely impoſſible to raiſe a third army, he fled to *Byzas*, a petty prince of *Thrace*, who at firſt received him very kindly; but to avoid the reſentment of the *Romans*, delivered him afterwards to *Metellus*, who concluded that the war was now at an end.

who deliver him up to the *Romans*.

It preſently appeared, however, that the *Macedonians* were not ſo eaſily ſubdued; for another perſon, named *Alexander*, who called himſelf the ſon of *Perſeus*, made pretenſions to the crown, and quickly conquered all the territory between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus*. On the approach of the *Roman* fleet and army, however, he withdrew into *Dardania*, where he ſo effectually concealed himſelf, that the *Romans* could never get him into their power. *Metellus* immediately reduced *Macedonia* into a *Roman* province, and chaſtiſed the *Thracians* and other borderers, for having ſhewn greater affection to the *Macedonians* than duty to the republic.

One *Alexander* pretends to be the ſon of *Perſeus*.

Macedon reduced to a *Roman* province.

Having changed, in every reſpect, the government under which the *Macedonians* had lived before, *Metellus* deprived them of the ſmall remains of grandeur which *Æmilius* had left behind him; among the reſt, of the brazen ſtatues ſet up at *Dium*, for ſuch of *Alexander*'s guards as had fallen in the battle of *Granicus*.

A third pretender ſtarts up.

Tho' the *Romans* now concluded that the *Macedonians* were effectually quelled, yet a few years after another pretended ſon of *Perſeus*, named *Philip*, entered with a ſmall body of deſperate men into *Macedonia*; and his forces continually encreaſing, he quickly ſubdued the greateſt part of the country, and was acknowleged as king. A *Roman* army, however, marching againſt him under the command of *Lucius Tremellius*, he was defeated and ſlain.

Syllanus the governor of *Macedon* condemned by his own father.

He ſeems to have been the laſt who pretended to vindicate the liberty of the *Macedonians*, who were afterwards greatly oppreſſed by the *Roman* governors. *D. Junius Syllanus*, a man of high quality, exceeded all his predeceſſors as well in fleecing the *Macedonians* as in treating them with exceſſive rigour. The *Macedonians* having repreſented their grievances to the *Roman* ſenate, *Syllanus* was commanded to appear at a certain day. His father, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, in the mean time, having prevailed with the ſenate to refer the cauſe to him, the *Macedonian* deputies, on the day appointed, went to his houſe, and gave full evidence of the crimes laid to the charge of *Syllanus*. *T. Manlius* gave ſentence that his ſon was guilty, and ordered him to be taken out of his preſence. A little after *Junius Syllanus* hanged himſelf; which when his father heard, he ſhewed no concern, but on the day of his funeral kept his houſe open, and tranſacted all ſorts of buſineſs; as if his ſon's deviating from virtue had divorced him from his family, and made him a ſtranger to his blood. We meet with nothing after this relating to the *Macedonians* which deſerves to be recorded in their hiſtory.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The history of the SELEUCIDÆ *in* Syria, *to the reduction of their dominions by the* Romans.

AFTER the battle of *Ipsus*, in which *Antigonus* was slain, the empire of *Alexander*, as we have mentioned, was divided into four kingdoms. As the territories assigned to *Lysimachus*, which were *Thrace*, *Bithynia*, and some other provinces beyond the *Hellespont* and the *Bosphorus*, upon his death were seized by different princes, his kingdom may truly be said to have ended with his life. The kingdoms of *Macedon*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, however, remained entire for many generations. Having given an account of the history of *Macedon*, we shall now proceed to that of *Syria*, which kingdom was very extensive, and comprehended not only *Syria* properly so called, but also those vast and fertile provinces of the Upper *Asia* which formed the *Persian* empire; being in its full extent bounded by the *Mediterranean* on one side, and the river *Indus* on the other. These vast spreading dominions were called the kingdom of *Syria*, because the *Syro-Macedonian* kings chose the city of *Antioch* for their capital, which was built in this province by *Seleucus* the founder of their family. The *Seleucidæ*, according to *Eusebius*, reigned in this city for the space of 251 years; that is, from the 117th Olympiad, when *Seleucus* recovered *Babylon*, to the third year of the 180th, when *Antiochus Asiaticus* was driven out by *Pompey*, and *Syria* reduced to a *Roman* province.

Seleucus Nicator.

Seleucus, the founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, was the son of *Antiochus*, one of the chief captains of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. From his tender years he served under *Alexander*, who promoted him to the chief command of the elephants, a commission of great trust and reputation. Upon the death of *Alexander*, *Perdiccas* the regent put him at the head of the cavalry of the allies; in which command he acquitted himself with such reputation, that *Antipater*, who succeeded *Perdiccas* in the regency, raised him to the government of *Babylon* and its territory. In this post he was tempted, by the example of the other captains of *Alexander*, to betray his trust, and entertain thoughts of setting up for himself; whence, instead of joining *Eumenes*, who for some time supported the royal cause, he attempted to destroy him and his army, by cutting the sluices of the *Euphrates*, and laying the whole plain, where they were encamped, under water. *Eumenes*, by his great prudence, rendering this stratagem ineffectual, *Seleucus* sent emissaries under-hand into his camp, soliciting the *Argyraspides*, with mighty promises to come over to him; but not being able to prevail with them, he made a truce with *Eumenes*, granting him a free passage thro' his province. At the same time, however, he urged *Antigonus* to hasten his march against him, look-

Made governor of *Babylon.*

ing upon him as the greateſt obſtacle to his ambitious ſchemes. When *Antigonus* had conquered him, and returned to *Babylon*, he ſoon found *Seleucus* a more formidable enemy than *Eumenes*.

Antigonus obliges him to abandon *Babylon*.

Tho' he received the conqueror in a friendly manner, and contributed not a little to his ſucceſs, *Antigonus*, nevertheleſs, required from him, in an imperious manner, an account of the revenues of his provinces. *Seleucus* abſolutely refuſed to conſent to this; but finding himſelf unable to oppoſe *Antigonus*, fled with about 60 horſemen to *Ptolemy* in *Egypt*. He quickly engaged that prince to enter into a league with *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander* againſt *Antigonus*, who for ſeveral years defended himſelf with great ſucceſs againſt their united efforts, but at laſt was ſlain at the battle of *Ipſus*.

He recovers *Babylon*. Bef. Chriſt 312.

In the ſecond year of this long war, *Ptolemy* having recovered *Syria* from *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus*, *Seleucus* obtained from him 1000 foot and 200 horſe, to attempt the recovery of *Babylon*. On his arrival at *Carrhæ* in *Meſopotamia*, he prevailed on the *Macedonian* garriſon, left there by *Antigonus*, to join him, and with this reinforcement entered the territories of *Babylon*, where he was joined by great numbers of the inhabitants, whoſe affections he had gained by his former mild government. Among others, one *Polyarchus*, who bore an office in the city, came over to him at the head of 1000 men compleatly armed. As he approached the city, the inhabitants went out to meet him, welcoming him and his ſmall army with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. Being zealouſly ſupported by the *Babylonians*, he ſoon reduced the citadel, which was garriſoned by the troops of *Antigonus*, and there he found, to his inexpreſſible joy, his children, friends, and domeſtics, whom *Antigonus* had detained priſoners ever ſince his flight into *Egypt*.

Seleucus immediately applied himſelf to raiſe an army for the defence of his territories, which were ſoon invaded by *Nicanor*, governor of *Media* under *Antigonus*, with an army of 10,000 foot and 7000 horſe. Tho' *Seleucus* could raiſe only 3000 foot and 400 horſe, he marched with that ſmall body of men to oppoſe *Nicanor*, and falling upon him in the night, defeated him with great ſlaughter. The troops of *Nicanor*, who outlived the defeat, declaring for *Seleucus*, he was thereby enabled to purſue his conqueſts, and in a ſhort time reduced all *Media* and *Suſiana*, with many of the adjacent provinces. Having, by this victory, eſtabliſhed his intereſt and power, he daily improved them by the clemency of his government, and by his juſtice and humanity to all his ſubjects. From this retaking of *Babylon* commences the famous æra of the *Seleucidæ*, made uſe of all over the eaſt by *Jews*, Chriſtians, and Mohammedans. The *Jews* ſtiled it the æra of Contracts, becauſe they were obliged, when ſubject to the *Syro-Macedonian* princes, to uſe it in all their contracts and other civil writings. The *Arabians* call it the æra of *the two horned*, intimating *Seleucus* thereby, according to ſome authors, who ſay that the ſculptors repreſented

Recovers *Media*, *Suſiana*, &c.

repreſented him with the horns of an ox on his head, becauſe this prince was ſo ſtrong, that he could ſeize that animal by the horns, and ſtop him in his full career. In the two books of the *Maccabees* it is called the æra of the kingdom of the *Greeks*; but in the firſt book the years of this æra are reckoned from the ſpring, and in the ſecond, from the following autumn.

Antigonus receiving an account from *Nicanor* of the ſucceſs of *Seleucus* in the eaſt, ſent an army under the command of his ſon *Demetrius* to *Babylon*; which city he eaſily made himſelf maſter of, *Seleucus* being then abſent in *Media*. He likewiſe reduced one of the citadels; but being recalled by his father, he left about 6 or 7000 men in the citadel, and then allowing his troops to plunder *Babylon* and its territory, returned to *Syria*. This imprudent ſtep greatly attached the *Babylonians* to *Seleucus*, whom they now univerſally looked upon as their lawful prince. Upon his return to *Babylon*, he eaſily drove out the troops of *Antigonus* from the citadel, and ſettled his authority in ſuch a ſolid manner, that it could never after be ſhaken. This, therefore, is the epocha to which the *Babylonians* refer the foundation of his kingdom, tho' all the nations of *Aſia* place it ſix months ſooner. The authority of *Seleucus* eſtabliſhed in *Babylon*.

Seleucus now ſeeing himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of *Babylon* and its territory, again marched into *Media* againſt *Nicanor*, whom, in an engagement, he ſlew with his own hand. Having again reduced *Media*, he purſued his march into *Perſia*, *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, and ſubjected to his new empire theſe and all the other provinces on this ſide the *Indus* which had formerly been conquered by *Alexander*; and *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* having aſſumed the title of kings, he alſo ſtiled himſelf king of *Babylon* and *Media*, being beſides ſirnamed *Nicator*, on account of his extenſive conqueſts. Takes the title of king.

Antigonus being diverted from attacking his weſtern frontiers, *Seleucus* reſolved upon an expedition to *India*, which country, ſince the death of *Alexander*, had been ſeized by one *Sandrocottus*, or *Androcottus*, an *Indian* of mean extraction, who to defend his new poſſeſſions, had aſſembled an army of 600,000 men, with a prodigious number of elephants. *Seleucus*, after paſſing the *Indus*, being informed of the power of his enemy, did not think it adviſable to attack him, but concluded a peace with him, renouncing all his pretenſions to that country, provided *Sandrocottus* furniſhed him with 500 elephants. Invades *India*.

Having thus ſettled matters in *India*, *Seleucus* again renewed his alliance with his three confederates, to check the power of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who were on the point of making themſelves maſters of all *Greece*. *Seleucus* having joined *Lyſimachus* with a conſiderable army in *Phrygia*, attacked *Antigonus* at *Iſſus*, who was there routed and ſlain. He immediately after returned with his forces and reduced upper *Syria*, formerly a part of the dominions of *Antigonus*; and in this rich province, on the river *Orontes*, he built the city of *Antioch*, which ſoon Defeats *Antigonus* at *Iſſus*.

Antioch built by *Seleucus*. Bef. Ch. 300.

became the metropolis of the eaſt, and continued ſo for many ages, till it was deſtroyed in the 13th century by *Bibaris* ſultan of *Egypt*. It ſtood about 20 miles from the coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, and was about 700 miles diſtant from *Byzantium*, and as much from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. *Seleucus* built 16 other cities, bearing the name of *Antioch*, whereof one, ſituated in *Piſidia*, is mentioned in ſcripture (*Acts* xiii.). He alſo built three other remarkable cities in *Syria*. One of theſe he called *Seleucia*, from his own name; another *Apamea*, from his wife *Apama*, the daughter of *Artabazus* the *Perſian*, and the third *Laodicea*, from his mother *Laodice*. *Apamea* and *Seleucia* ſtood on the ſame river with *Antioch*, and *Laodicea* was ſituated in the ſouthern part of the ſame country.

Seleucus enters into an alliance with *Demetrius*.

After the death of *Antigonus*, *Lyſimachus* and *Ptolemy* quickly becoming jealous of the overgrown power of *Seleucus*, entered into a ſeparate alliance, *Lyſimachus* marrying *Arſinoe*, one of his daughters, and giving another of them to his ſon *Agathocles*. This alliance gave umbrage to *Seleucus*, who thereupon entered into a treaty with *Demetrius*, marrying *Stratonice* the daughter of that prince by *Phila* the ſiſter of *Caſſander*. *Demetrius*, after he had conducted his daughter to her huſband, ſeized upon *Cilicia*, which upon the diviſion of his father's dominions had been given to *Pliſtarchus*.

As *Demetrius*, at this time, was in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland of *Cyprus*, and of the rich cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, *Seleucus* ſoon began to blame himſelf for allowing him to ſeize *Cilicia*, and offered him a large ſum of money for that province. *Demetrius* rejecting the offer, *Seleucus*, while he was abſent in *Greece*, conquered *Cilicia*, while *Ptolemy* made himſelf maſter of *Cyprus*, and *Lyſimachus* of all his other dominions in *Aſia*.

Seleucia on the *Tigris* built.

Seleucus, after the conqueſt of *Cilicia*, built a city on the weſtern ſide of the *Tigris*, about 40 miles from *Babylon*, which he called *Seleucia*, and made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond the *Euphrates*. This new city ſoon became one of the moſt populous and flouriſhing in thoſe parts; for the country near *Babylon* being laid under water by the breaking down of the banks of the *Euphrates*, which river was there no longer navigable, moſt of its inhabitants ſettled at *Seleucia*, leaving *Babylon* almoſt quite deſolate. *Jerom*, who flouriſhed in the 4th century of the Chriſtian Æra, writes, that in his time *Babylon* was entirely ruined, the walls only being kept up by the *Parthian* kings, who made the ſpace within them a park for keeping of wild beaſts. *Seleucia*, which was alſo ſometimes called *Babylon*, became ſo populous, that in *Pliny*'s time it had 600,000 inhabitants, and far excelled all the other cities of the eaſt. *Seleucus* built eight other cities of the name of *Seleucia*, ſix called *Laodicea*, three of the name of *Apamea*, and one named *Stratonicea*, from his laſt wife. In theſe, as well as in the other cities he built, he planted the *Jews*, allowing them moſt ample privileges, being the firſt, according to *Joſephus*, who granted them ſettlements in the provinces

vinces of *Asia* on this side the *Euphrates*. While *Seleucus* was thus employed in building cities, *Demetrius*, who in the mean time had obtained possession of the kingdom of *Macedon*, made immense preparations for the recovery of his father's dominions in *Asia*. *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lysimachus*, alarmed at his proceedings, entered into an alliance against him, *Pyrrhus* king of *Epire* also joining in the confederacy. *Demetrius* being suddenly abandoned by the *Macedonians*, fled into *Asia*, where his troops were defeated by *Seleucus*, and himself obliged to surrender a prisoner. Upon his death, which happened three years after, *Seleucus* took possession of whatever he held in *Syria* and *Asia*.

Seleucus soon after engaging in a war against *Lysimachus*, to revenge the death of his eldest son *Agathocles*, whose widow, *Lysandra*, had fled to his court with her brother *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the son of *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, before he began his march he, by an unparalleled example, gave up his beautiful daughter *Stratonice* to his son *Antiochus*. The young prince had fallen violently in love with her, but not daring to own his passion, he silently languished under it, and at length fell dangerously ill. *Erasistratus*, an eminent *Greek* physician, soon discovered that love was his distemper; and by carefully watching the countenance and actions of the prince when visited by the ladies of the court, he discovered that *Stratonice* was the object of his passion, and with great dexterity afterwards drew the secret from his own mouth. The prince owned his passion for his mother-in-law, and declared, that he had done all that lay in his power to vanquish it; but finding that impossible, he had resolved to put an end both to his shameful passion and unhappy life, by abstaining from all kind of food. *Erasistratus*, when *Seleucus* next asked him after his son's health, told him that the prince's disease was love, and that it was incurable, as it was impossible for him to have the person he loved, and he could not live without her. *Seleucus*, surprised at this answer, asked, "Why his son could not have the person he "loved?" "Because she is my wife," replied the physician, "and I am not disposed to yield her up to the embraces of "another." "How!" said *Seleucus*, "will *Erasistratus*, my "dear *Erasistratus*, refuse to part with his wife to preserve the "life of a son I so tenderly love?" "Make it your own case," replied *Erasistratus*; "if *Antiochus* were thus desperately in love "with *Stratonice*, would you part with her for the sake of "*Antiochus*?" "Ah! my dear friend," answered *Seleucus*, "may the gods put the safety of the prince upon that issue! I "would part not only with *Stratonice*, but my empire, to pre-"serve the life of *Antiochus*, my dearest *Antiochus*." *Erasistratus* taking him by the hand, said, "You have then no need "of any physician but yourself; for the love of *Stratonice* is the "source of his distemper, and nothing can recover him but "your yielding her up to him." Hereupon *Seleucus* having easily prevailed on *Stratonice* to accept of the young prince for her husband, the nuptials were solemnised with the utmost pomp

Seleucus engages in a war against *Lysimachus*.

He yields his wife *Stratonice* to his son *Antiochus*.

pomp and magnificence; after which *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were crowned king and queen of upper *Asia* *. From this inceſtuous marriage ſprung all the kings of *Syria*, who ſo tyrannically oppreſſed the *Jewiſh* nation in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*.

Seleucus being now eaſed of this inquietude, marched at the head of a powerful army into *Aſia Minor*, where after an obſtinate ſiege he made himſelf maſter of *Sardis*, all the other places ſubmitting to him. *Lyſimachus*, in the mean time, paſſing the *Helleſpont*, marched to a place called *Curopedion* in *Phrygia*, where he was totally defeated by *Seleucus*, being ſlain fighting at the head of his troops. *Seleucus*, who was now the only ſurvivor of the [illegible] captains left by *Alexander*, made himſelf maſter of all the dominions of *Lyſimachus*; but about ſeven months after, as he was marching into *Macedon*, with the deſign of paſſing the remainder of his life in his native country, he was treacherouſly ſlain by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, on whom he had beſtowed innumerable favours, intending alſo to have reſtored him to his father's throne in *Egypt*. Such was the end of *Seleucus*, the greateſt general, in the opinion of *Arrian*, and the moſt powerful prince after *Alexander*, of the age he lived in. He died in the 43d year after the death of *Alexander*, in the 32d of the *Seleucian* æra, and 73d, or as *Juſtin* will have it, in the 78th year of his age. *Philæterus* prince of *Pergamus* having, with a great ſum of money, purchaſed his body of *Ceraunus*, ſent it to his ſon *Antiochus*, who burnt it with extraordinary pomp in *Seleucia* on the ſea-coaſt, erecting on the place a magnificent chapel, which, from his ſirname, he called *Nicatorium*. *Seleucus* was diſtinguiſhed above all the kings of his age for his remarkable love for juſtice, his great ſweetneſs of temper, and peculiar regard to religion. He is highly commended by *Pauſanias*, *Seneca*, *Pliny*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Appian*, *Lucian*, and *Plutarch*. This laſt writer tells us, that he uſed to ſay, If men knew what trouble attends only the reading and writing of letters, which in thoſe days was thought the indiſpenſible duty of a king, no one would accept of a crown, tho' thrown at his feet.

Lyſimachus defeated and ſlain.

Seleucus treacherouſly ſlain.

Seleucus was ſucceeded by his ſon *Antiochus*, who held the empire of *Aſia* 19 years. Having ſecured his dominions in the eaſt, he ſent a powerful army into *Aſia Minor* under *Patroclus*, who on his firſt arrival marched againſt *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, as the *Heracleans* had formerly entered into an alliance with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, and the cities of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon*, againſt *Seleucus*. *Patrocles* coming to an accommodation with the *Heracleans*, entered the territories of the *Bithynians*, where, on what provocation is uncertain, he committed great devaſtations. The *Bithynians* having drawn him into an ambuſh, cut him off with his whole army, not one man eſcaping

Antiochus Soter. B. C. 280.

* Plut. in Demet. Appian. in Syriac. Val. Max. l. v. Lucian. de dea Syr.

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the general slaughter. *Antiochus* having, in right of his father, formed pretenſions to the crown of *Macedon*, raiſed a great army to diſpoſſeſs *Antigonus Gonatus*, who had taken poſſeſſion of that kingdom. *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* having eſpouſed the cauſe of *Antigonus*, *Antiochus* commenced hoſtilities by invading *Bithynia*: but before the armies came to a general action, an accommodation was effected, *Antiochus* renouncing his pretenſions to the crown of *Macedon*, and *Antigonus* marrying *Phila* the daughter of *Stratonice* by *Seleucus*.

He reſigns to *Antigonus* his pretenſions to the crown of *Macedon*.

The *Gauls*, about this time, by the favour of *Nicomedes*, having got ſettlements in *Aſia*, where they greatly haraſſed the neighbouring provinces, *Antiochus* marched againſt them, and defeated them with great ſlaughter; on which account he acquired the title of *Sotor*, or Saviour. Not long after, hearing of the death of *Philæterus* prince of *Pergamus*, he invaded his territories; but *Eumenes*, the nephew and ſucceſſor of the deceaſed prince, defeated him in a battle near *Sardis*, and thereby not only ſecured himſelf in the poſſeſſion of what he had already enjoyed, but enlarged his dominions with ſeveral new acquiſitions. *Antiochus*, after this defeat, returning to *Antioch*, put to death one of his ſons for raiſing diſturbances in his abſence, and at the ſame time proclaimed the other, whoſe name was *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*.

Defeats the *Gauls*.

The young prince ſoon ſucceeded to the throne by the death of his father, and aſſumed the ſirname of *Theos*, that is god, which was firſt beſtowed upon him by the *Mileſians*, who were delivered by him from the tyranny of *Timarchus*. This *Timarchus* being governor of *Caria* for *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, rebelled againſt his ſovereign, and ſetting up for himſelf, choſe *Meletus* for the ſeat of his tyranny; but was ſlain by *Antiochus*.

Antiochus Theos. Bef. Ch. 261.

Apame, the ſiſter of *Antiochus*, who had been married to *Magas* king of *Cyrene* and *Lybia*, upon his death married *Demetrius* the half brother of *Antigonus* king of *Macedon*, to prevent the marriage of her daughter *Berenice* with *Ptolemy*, who ſought by that means to annex *Cyrene* and *Lybia* to his dominions. The *Cyreneans*, however, deteſting *Demetrius* on account of his inſolence, murdered him in his bed; upon which *Berenice* went into *Egypt*, and *Apame* came to her brother, and excited him to a war with *Ptolemy*. This war, which began in the third year of the reign of *Antiochus*, continued for many years with great fury. *Ptolemy* left the whole conduct of the war to his generals, his bad health rendering him unable to bear the fatigues of a campaign; but *Antiochus*, who was in the flower of his age, took the field at the head of a numerous army. Hiſtory has not tranſmitted to us the ſucceſſes and defeats of either party, probably becauſe they were not very conſiderable; for if any ſignal events had happened, they would, in all likelihood, have been recorded in an age when ſo many learned men and able hiſtorians lived.

War betwixt him and *Ptolemy Philadelphus*.

While *Antiochus* was engaged in this war, great commotions and revolts happened in the eaſtern provinces of his empire,

The Parthians and Bactrians revolt.

Bef. Ch. 250.

which were occaſioned by the lewdneſs of *Agathocles*, whom *Arrian* calls *Pherecles*, to whom *Antiochus* had committed the adminiſtration of all the provinces beyond the *Euphrates*. Having made an attempt on the modeſty of a beautiful youth named *Tiridates*, his brother *Arſaſes*, enraged at the affront offered to his family, ran to arms, and being ſupported by ſome friends who engaged in his quarrel, fell upon the governor and ſlew him. Soon after he found himſelf ſtrong enough to drive out the *Macedonians*, when he ſet up for himſelf, fixing his reſidence at *Hecatompolis*, and there gave riſe to the *Parthian* empire. Much about the ſame time *Theodotus* revolted in *Bactria*, and from governor, became king, of that province. His example, and that of *Arſaces*, were followed by all the nations in thoſe parts, each of them ſetting up princes of their own, by which means *Antiochus* loſt all the provinces of his empire beyond the *Euphrates*.

He concludes a peace with *Ptolemy*.

Theſe commotions in the eaſt making *Antiochus* weary of his war with *Ptolemy*, a treaty of peace was concluded between them on the following terms: That *Antiochus* ſhould divorce his wife *Laodice*, who was his own ſiſter by the father, marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and ſettle the crown upon the male iſſue of that marriage. *Antiochus*, purſuant to this treaty, put away *Laodice*, tho' ſhe had already brought him two ſons, and ſolemnized the nuptials with the daughter of *Ptolemy* in the moſt magnificent manner. *Ptolemy* granted a large dowry with his daughter, and ordered regular ſupplies of water from the *Nile* to be tranſmitted to her wherever ſhe was, believing the water of that river to be more beneficial to her health than any other.

He is poiſoned by his wife *Laodice*.

Ptolemy Philadelphus dying about two years after, *Antiochus* no ſooner heard of his death, than he removed *Berenice* from his bed, and recalled *Laodice*; who being well acquainted with his fickle temper, and fearing leſt he might again alter his mind and receive *Berenice*, reſolved to ſecure the ſucceſſion to her ſon. She accordingly poiſoned *Antiochus*, and when ſhe ſaw him expiring, ordered him to be privately conveyed away, and one *Artemon*, who greatly reſembled him in his features, and in the tone of his voice, to be placed in his bed. *Artemon* perſonating *Antiochus* with great dexterity, recommended his dear *Laodice* and her children to the lords that viſited him; and orders were iſſued, in the name of *Antiochus*, enjoining all his ſubjects to obey his beloved ſon *Seleucus Callinicus*, and acknowlege him for their lawful ſovereign.

Seleucus Callinicus.

Bef. Ch. 246.

The death of *Antiochus* being then publiſhed, *Callinicus*, without any oppoſition, aſcended the throne. *Berenice* and her young ſon being ſoon after informed that *Laodice* intended to cut them off, fled to *Daphne*, a city within five miles of *Antioch*, and ſhut themſelves up in the aſylum. The cities of *Aſia* hearing that ſhe was cloſely beſieged there by the forces of *Seleucus*, ſent a ſtrong body of forces to her relief. Her brother, *Ptolemy Euergetes*, haſtened thither likewiſe, at the head of

of a formidable army; but both *Berenice* and her ſon, with all the *Egyptians* who attended them, were barbarouſly cut off before either of the armies came to their reſcue. Theſe two armies determined to revenge their death in a remarkable manner. The *Aſian* forces joined the *Egyptian*, and *Ptolemy* at the head of both carried all before him. He not only ſlew *Laodice*, but made himſelf maſter of all *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and afterwards ſubdued all the country as far as *Babylon* and the river *Tigris*. If he had not been obliged by a ſedition to return to *Egypt*, he would have brought under ſubjection all the provinces of the *Syrian* empire. Having appointed *Antiochus*, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had reduced on this ſide mount *Taurus*, and *Xantippus* to command in thoſe he had poſſeſſed himſelf of beyond it, he returned to *Egypt* with an immenſe booty. He is ſaid to have brought with him 40,000 talents of ſilver, very many gold and ſilver veſſels, and 2500 ſtatues, among which were many *Egyptian* idols. Theſe he replaced in their antient temples; in acknowlegement for which great favour, his ſuperſtitious ſubjects honoured him with the title of *Euergetes*, or *Benefactor*.

Ptolemy Euergetes ſeizes *Syria* and *Cilicia*.

Seleucus Callinicus, after the departure of *Ptolemy*, put to ſea with a large fleet to reduce the revolted cities; but almoſt all his ſhips were deſtroyed by a violent ſtorm, himſelf, with a ſmall number of his attendants, being, with the utmoſt difficulty, ſaved. This dreadful ſtroke, however, by a ſtrange turn of fortune, contributed to the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs; for the revolted cities now turning their hatred into compaſſion, ſubmitted to him anew. Having recovered, by this unexpected revolution, the beſt part of his dominions, he raiſed an army to reduce the reſt; but was again defeated by *Ptolemy*, and obliged by *Ptolemy* to fly to *Antioch*. In this condition he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, promiſing him all the provinces in leſſer *Aſia*, where he was governor, if he would extricate him out of his preſent difficulties. *Antiochus*, who was very ambitious, readily accepted the propoſal; and tho' he was then only 14 years of age, formed a deſign to ſeize his brother's dominions, and with that intention reinforced his army with great numbers of mercenary *Gauls*. When *Ptolemy* heard that *Antiochus* was preparing to join *Seleucus* againſt him, and that the cities of *Smyrna* and *Magneſia* had alſo formed a confederacy in favour of *Seleucus*, he concluded a truce with him for ten years.

Seleucus defeated by *Ptolemy*.

He concludes a peace with *Ptolemy*.

Antiochus, however, ſtill continuing his military preparations, *Seleucus* marched, without delay, over mount *Taurus* to ſuppreſs them. The two brothers came to an engagement near *Ancyra* in *Aſia Minor*, in which battle *Seleucus* was entirely defeated, and moſt of his troops cut in pieces, he having very narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. *Antiochus*, even after his victory, was expoſed to great dangers, a body of *Gauls* in his ſervice, upon a falſe report of the death of *Seleucus*, having plotted his death, in hopes of making themſelves maſters

Defeated by his brother *Antiochus*.

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of *Asia*. He was therefore obliged to redeem his life with all the treasures he possessed.

Eumenes and Attalus seize great part of Asia Minor.

Eumenes prince of *Pergamus*, taking advantage of these divisions, advanced against *Antiochus*, who, to defend himself, entered into a new treaty with the *Gauls*; which, however, did not prevent *Eumenes* and his successor *Attalus* from seizing great part of *Asia Minor*. The *Syrian* empire, in the mean time, was curtailed by *Theodotus* and *Arsaces*; the latter of whom possessed himself of *Hyrcania*, which he annexed to *Parthia*. *Theodotus*, who had possessed himself of *Bactria*, dying soon after, *Arsaces* entered into an alliance with his son *Theodotus* for their mutual defence. Mean while the two brothers, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, carried on the war against each other with implacable hatred. The *Gauls*, or *Galatians*, at this time came into *Asia* in numerous bands, and served under such princes as thought fit to hire them. *Antiochus*, as we have mentioned, entered into an alliance with them, and sent 120,000 of them into *Babylonia*, where they were defeated by 8000 *Babylonish Jews*, and 4000 *Macedonians*; which victory *Judas Maccabæus* mentions in his speech to his army. *Antiochus*, after several overthrows and losses, was obliged to shift from place to place with the shattered remains of his army, till he was at length driven quite out of *Mesopotamia*. Having married the daughter of *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, he retired thither; but his father-in-law, soon wearying of entertaining so chargeable a guest, formed a design to cut him off; which *Antiochus* being informed of, fled to *Ptolemy* in *Egypt*, who immediately caused him to be imprisoned. After several years confinement, he made his escape by the assistance of a courtesan; but as he was retiring out of the kingdom, he was murdered by a band of robbers.

The miserable end of Antiochus.

Seleucus having repaired the disorders occasioned by the war with his brother, turned his thoughts to the reduction of the eastern provinces; but *Arsaces* having had too much time to strengthen himself, obliged him to return with shame and dishonour. Some time after *Seleucus* undertook a second expedition against the king of *Parthia*, which proved more unsuccessful than the former; for he was not only overthrown by *Arsaces* in a great battle, but taken prisoner, dying about four years afterwards in *Parthia* by a fall from his horse. He reigned, according to some, 20, or, according to others, 21 years, and left behind him two sons, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, and a daughter, whom he gave in marriage to *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, yielding *Phrygia* to him for her dowry.

Arsaces establishes himself in his new possessions.

Seleucus Ceraunus. Bef. Chr. 226.

Seleucus, upon succeeding to the throne, assumed the name of *Ceraunus*, tho' he was a very weak prince, both in body and mind. During his short reign of three years, *Achæus*, the son of *Andromachus*, his mother's brother, who was a man of great courage and abilities, managed his affairs with the greatest prudence. *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* having made himself master of all *Asia Minor*, *Seleucus* marched against him with an army; but

but wanting money to pay his forces, the ſoldiers began to deſpiſe him, and *Nicator* and *Apaturius*, two of his chief officers, put an end to his life by poiſon. *Achæus*, who was then in the army, revenged his death by cutting off the two ringleaders, and all thoſe who were any ways concerned in the plot. He is poiſoned.

Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to *Achæus*, who had managed with ſuch great prudence after the king's death, as prevented *Attalus* from reaping any advantage from that accident. Tho' ſeveral of the provinces made him the ſame offer, yet he, with great integrity, preſerved the crown for his couſin *Antiochus*, the brother of the deceaſed king, who was but in the 15th year of his age. *Achæus* ſending a detachment of the army to him at *Antioch*, under the command of *Epigenes*, remained with the reſt of the troops in *Aſia Minor*, where he ſoon recovered all the countries which *Attalus* had wreſted from the *Syrian* empire. *Antiochus* ſeeing himſelf ſeated on the throne, ſent *Molo* and *Alexander* into the eaſt, appointing the former governor of *Media*, and the latter of *Perſia*. Theſe two brothers were no ſooner fixt in their governments, but they refuſed to acknowlege the authority of the young king, but ſet up for themſelves in their reſpective diſtricts. What inſtigated them chiefly to the revolt, was the cruelty and malice of *Hermias* the *Carian*, who was prime miniſter, and bore a great ſway at court. This man was of an obſtinate, haughty, and envious diſpoſition, and ſuſpected all thoſe who had any ſhare in the king's eſteem, particularly hating *Epigenes*, who had the reputation of being one of the ableſt generals of his time. *Epigenes* giving it as his opinion, that it was abſolutely neceſſary that the king ſhould, without delay, march in perſon againſt the rebels; *Hermias* replied, in a violent paſſion, that this was not the firſt treacherous advice he had given, and that he intended to betray the king into the hands of the rebels. He himſelf was really afraid to venture upon that expedition; but as the preſent king of *Egypt* was a moſt vicious and effeminate prince, he thought him a much leſs formidable enemy, and therefore adviſed the king to march in perſon againſt him, and attempt the recovery of *Syria*.

Antiochus the Great. Bef. Chr. 225.

Alexander and *Molo*, two of his generals, revolt.

The opinion of *Hermias* prevailing, the king ſent *Zeno* and *Theodotus* to ſuppreſs the rebellion in the eaſt, and marched in perſon into *Cœle-Syria*; and at *Seleucia* near *Zeugma*, celebrated his nuptials with *Laodice* the daughter of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*. Before he left this city, being informed that the rebels had defeated his generals, he propoſed to drop his *Syrian* expedition and marched againſt them; but was again over-perſuaded by *Hermias*, and ſent *Xenetas* an *Achean*, a creature of the miniſter, with another body of troops into the eaſt. *Xenetas* ſoon incurred the hatred of his officers and ſoldiers by his haughtineſs and inſolence, and was cut off, with his whole army, at the *Tigris*. This victory opened to the rebels the province

His troops defeated by the rebels.

vince of *Babylonia* and all *Meſopotamia*, of which they made themſelves maſters without the leaſt oppoſition.

Antiochus diſappointed in his attempt upon *Cœlo-Syria.*

Antiochus, in the mean time, found it impracticable to penetrate beyond *Libanus*, and therefore returned with his army. The ſecond victory of the rebels not a little alarmed him, and propoſing to march againſt them in perſon, he deſired his counſellors to give him their opinion. *Epigenes* again urged him to haſten his march againſt the rebels; but *Hermias* began to exclaim againſt *Epigenes*, and renew the antient charge, as if he deſigned to deliver up the king to the rebels. The king, however, declaring for the opinion of *Epigenes*, *Hermias*, on a ſudden, became quite another man, and ſeemed the moſt ſanguine of them all in haſtening the execution of what he had hitherto oppoſed. After the troops had aſſembled at *Apamea*, a ſedition breaking out among them about their arrears, *Hermias* offered to the king to ſatisfy the army out of his private fortune, provided he would not take *Epigenes* with him in the expedition. The king, who was ſenſible of the great abilities of *Epigenes*, yielded with the utmoſt reluctance to this propoſal. *Epigenes* was ordered to remain at *Apamea*, and ſoon after the departure of the army, he was treacherouſly cut off by *Alexis* the governor of the place, who having bribed a ſervant to put a forged letter among his papers, accuſed him of correſponding with the rebels, and, without a trial, put him to death. The king, at the bare ſight of the letter, approved of his death; but the great men of the court underſtood the whole matter, tho' none of them dared to undeceive their maſter, being awed into ſilence by the great power of the miniſter.

Reſolves to march againſt the rebels.

Antiochus, upon his arrival at *Antioch* in *Mygdonia*, a province of *Meſopotamia*, put his troops into winter quarters in that neighbourhood. The following ſpring, having again aſſembled his army at *Liba* near the *Tigris*, *Hermias*, in a council of war, adviſed him to march along that river: but *Zeuxes*, tho' he had the fate of *Epigenes* before his eyes, could not help oppoſing that advice. He repreſented, that after a tedious march thro' a deſart, they might eaſily be oppoſed at a place called the *King*'s *Camp*, and be obliged to return thro' the ſame deſart. On the other hand, he made it appear, that if they paſſed the *Tigris*, they ſhould be well ſupplied with proviſions, and would greatly diſtreſs the enemy. The advice of *Zeuxes* being followed, the army paſſed the *Tigris*, and proceeded to *Apollonia*, where they came up with the rebels and entirely defeated them, *Molo*, and many of his accomplices, in deſpair killing themſelves. *Neolaus*, or *Nicolas*, the brother of *Molo*, eſcaping from the battle, fled to his brother *Alexander* in *Perſia*, where finding their affairs quite deſperate, they firſt killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and, laſtly, diſpatched themſelves. After *Antiochus* had pillaged the camp, he ordered *Molo*'s body to be fixed on a croſs, and placed on one of the higheſt mountains of *Media*. The remains of the conquered army ſubmitting to the king, he after, having ſevere-

Antiochus entirely defeats *Molo.*

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ly reproved them, granted them his pardon, ordering them into *Media*, under the command of thoſe he ſent to regulate the affairs of that province.

Antiochus having re-eſtabliſhed his authority in the revolted provinces, reſolved to attack the barbarians bordering on his dominions, in order to deter them for the future from taking part with his rebellious ſubjects. He firſt marched againſt *Artabazanes* king of *Atropatia*, which country extended from the *Euxine* to the *Caſpian* ſea, and had never been conquered by *Alexander*, but ſince the fall of the *Perſian* empire, had been governed by the anceſtors of *Artabazanes*. The king being at this time far advanced in years, yielded to the neceſſity that preſſed him, and ſubmitted, without reſerve, to ſuch conditions as were demanded by *Antiochus*. *Hermias*, at firſt, had greatly oppoſed this expedition; but upon hearing that the queen was brought to bed of a ſon, he warmly promoted a war with the barbarians, in hopes that the king might loſe his life in that dangerous expedition; in which caſe he would become guardian of the ſon, and maſter of the kingdom. *Artabazanes* king of *Media* ſubmits to him.

Since the victory of *Antiochus* over the rebels, *Hermias* had become intolerably arrogant. *Apollophanes*, the king's phyſician, entertaining ſome apprehenſions with reſpect to the perſon of the king, took an opportunity to repreſent to him the general diſcontent of his ſubjects, and the danger he himſelf was in from his ambitious and wicked miniſter. *Antiochus* thanking *Apollophanes* for his concern, acknowleged that he both feared and hated *Hermias*, and accordingly concerted meaſures for cutting him off. The deſign being communicated to ſuch perſons as were proper to be truſted, the king, accompanied by *Hermias*, walked early out of the camp, under pretence of refreſhing himſelf with the cool morning air; and when he came to a ſolitary place, he ſtepped aſide as on ſome neceſſary occaſion, when his attendants put *Hermias* to death, to the great ſatisfaction of all the provinces of the *Syrian* empire. Upon the news of the death of *Hermias*, his wife was killed at *Apamea* by the women of the city, and his children by the children. *Hermias* put to death by the orders of *Antiochus*.

As ſoon as *Antiochus* had returned to *Syria*, and diſmiſſed his troops to their winter quarters, he made great preparations for the war againſt *Ptolemy*, and ſent letters to *Achæus*, filled with expoſtulations and reproaches, on account of his having dared to put on his head the royal diadem, and uſurp the name of king. *Achæus* having drawn upon himſelf the envy of the prime miniſter in conſequence of that, forged letters were produced to prove that he entertained treacherous deſigns againſt his prince, and held a correſpondence with *Ptolemy*. He being informed that reſolutions were taken at court to ruin him, thought that he had no other way to ſecure himſelf againſt the evil deſigns of his enemies, than by doing what he was charged with, and accordingly had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of *Aſia*, and was crowned at *Laodicea* in *Phrygia*. *Achæus* revolts.

Antiochus takes *Seleucia* from the *Egyptians.*

Antiochus, the following ſpring, having aſſembled his forces at *Apamea*, began the campaign with the ſiege of *Seleucia*, which had been for 27 years in the hands of the *Egyptians*, who from thence greatly incommoded *Antioch*, the city being ſituated betwixt it and the ſea near the mouth of the river *Orontes*. Having inveſted the place by land and ſea, and corrupted ſomeof the officers of the garriſon, he made himſelf maſter of it by a general aſſault. The inhabitants were treated by him with the utmoſt humanity, and reſtored to their poſſeſſions and antient privileges.

Antiochus makes himſelf maſter of *Ptolemais* and *Tyre.*

Antiochus now marched with the utmoſt expedition into *Cæle-Syria*, being invited thither by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, whom *Ptolemy* had appointed governor of that province. *Theodotus* had formerly repulſed *Antiochus*, when he attempted to penetrate into *Cæle-Syria*; but inſtead of being honoured for his ſervices, he found it difficult to ſave himſelf, his conduct being blamed by *Ptolemy*, who ſpent his whole time in the moſt abominable debaucheries of every kind. *Antiochus*, upon his arrival before *Ptolemais*, was put in poſſeſſion of that place, and of *Tyre*, by *Theodotus*, who delivered into his hands alſo the magazines which *Ptolemy* had prepared in thoſe two cities for the ſupport of his army, and likewiſe a fleet of 40 ſail which lay in the two harbours. As *Egypt* was at this time overflowed, *Antiochus* laid aſide his deſign of marching thither, and employed himſelf in reducing the reſt of *Cæle-Syria*. He recovered almoſt the whole country; but *Dura*, or *Dor*, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount *Carmel*, baffled all his attempts; ſo that winter drawing on, he hearkened to the ambaſſadors of *Ptolemy*, and agreed to a truce for four months. During this truce, negotiations were ſet on foot for a peace; but as both parties inſiſted on their right to *Cæle-Syria*, in conſequence of the diviſion made by the four kings after the defeat of *Antigonus* at the battle of *Ipſus*, nothing was concluded upon, and the conferences were broke off.

Antiochus advances into *Syria*, and defeats the *Egyptian* army.

The following ſpring *Antiochus* again took the field, and on his arrival at *Marathos* was met by the *Aradians*, with whom he concluded an alliance; and having compoſed ſome differences betwixt the *Aradians* in the iſland and thoſe on the continent, he advanced into *Syria*. *Nicolaus* the *Ætolian*, who commanded the *Egyptian* forces, having received ſupplies of all kinds from *Egypt*, occupied a narrow paſs, betwixt mount *Libanus* and the ſea, and the *Egyptian* fleet, under the command of *Perigenes*, was ſtationed on the coaſt. *Antiochus*, after viewing the entrenchments of the enemy, ordered them to be attacked, while his fleet engaged that of the *Egyptians*. At ſea, it was a drawn battle; but at land, the forces of *Antiochus* diſlodged *Nicolaus*, and obliged him to retreat to *Sidon*, with the loſs of 2000 men killed, and the like number taken priſoners. *Antiochus*, after the victory, encamped with all his forces before *Sidon*; but the place being ſtrongly garriſoned, and furniſhed with all kinds of [illegible] no attempt againſt

gainſt it. Having ſent his fleet to *Tyre*, he marched with his army into *Galilee*, where he reduced the cities of *Philoteria*, *Scythopolis*, and *Attabyrium*, which ſtruck ſuch terror into the inhabitants, that the whole country ſubmitted to the conqueror. From *Galilee* he croſſed the *Jordan*, and entering *Gilead*, poſſeſſed himſelf of all that country, which had formerly been the inheritance of the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and one of the half tribes of *Manaſſeh*. After this ſucceſs, his army being plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, he reduced *Rabbah* of the children of *Ammon*, called by *Polybius Rabatamana*; and then giving 5000 men to *Hippolochus* and *Cereas* to defend the frontiers of *Samaria*, he marched with his army to *Ptolemais*, where he intended to paſs the winter.

The following ſpring, *Ptolemy* took the field in perſon, at the head of an army of 70,000 foot, 5000 horſe, and 73 elephants; and marching thro' the deſarts on the eaſt of *Egypt*, encamped at *Raphiæ*, a city lying between *Rhinocolura* and *Gaza*. *Antiochus*, whoſe army conſiſted of 72,000 foot, 6000 horſe, and 102 elephants, came and encamped within five furlongs of the enemy. Here *Theodotus* the *Ætolian* gave a ſignal inſtance of his intrepidity and reſolution; for during the night, he entered the enemy's camp with two companies, and advanced as far as *Ptolemy*'s tent with the deſign to kill him; but the king lying that night elſewhere, he killed his firſt phyſician, wounded two other perſons, and then, amidſt the alarm and confuſion which his attempt occaſioned, eſcaped to his own camp.

Antiochus entirely defeated at *Raphia*. Bef. Ch. 217.

The two kings, after remaining five days in ſight, at length engaged in a deciſive battle, in which *Antiochus* was defeated, with the loſs of 10,000 men ſlain, and 4000 taken priſoners. After this battle, *Antiochus* retiring with the remainder of his army to *Antioch*, the cities of *Cæle-Syria* and *Paleſtine* ſtrove, as it were, which of them ſhould firſt ſubmit to *Ptolemy*; who, after he had paſſed three months in that country, and reſtored peace and order among all the cities, returned to *Egypt*. *Antiochus* finding his authority much leſſened by his late defeat, and fearing leſt *Achæus* ſhould take advantage of the preſent ſtate of his affairs, ſent ambaſſadors to *Ptolemy* to ſue for a peace; which offer that indolent and luxurious prince embraced with immoderate haſte. *Cæle-Syria*, *Phenice*, and *Paleſtine* being accordingly reſigned to him by *Antiochus*, the peace was immediately concluded.

Ptolemy recovers *Cæle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, and concludes a peace with *Antiochus*.

Antiochus now bent all his thoughts on proſecuting the war againſt *Achæus*, and after making vaſt preparations for that expedition, croſſed mount *Taurus* with an army. *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* entering into an alliance with him, the two kings acted with all their force againſt *Achæus*, and ſo diſtreſſed him, that he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Sardis*; which city, after it been beſieged by both princes above a year, was at length taken by a ſtratagem. *Achæus*, when the city was taken, retired into the caſtle, where he defended himſelf with incre-

Antiochus takes *Sardis*.

dible

dible bravery. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, in the mean time, being eager to deliver *Achæus* at all events, *Sosibius*, his prime minister, conferred for that purpose with one *Bolis* a *Cretan*, who was well acquainted with the by-paths among the rocks on which the castle of *Sardis* stood. *Bolis*, who had a relation and intimate friend of his named *Cambylus*, a captain of the *Cretan* mercenaries in the army of *Antiochus*, undertook to prevail with him to favour the escape of *Achæus*, and receiving ten talents from *Sosibius*, immediately proceeded to *Sardis*, being accompanied by a messenger, who carried a letter in cyphers from *Sosibius* to *Achæus*. The two *Cretans* having, by frequent messages, prevailed on *Achæus* to trust himself to them, agreed to reveal the whole matter to *Antiochus*, and to betray *Achæus* into his hands. *Antiochus* was overjoyed when they first made their proposal, and promised them most ample rewards. *Achæus*, to proceed with all possible caution, told *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, that he would first send out three or four of his friends, and when he should receive an account from them of their being safely got out, he would then, and not till then, venture his own person. Accordingly he appointed three of his friends to go that night with *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, and when they were ready to depart, disguised himself and joined them. They were all four disguised, and one of them only took upon himself to understand the *Greek* tongue, and to serve as interpreter; which greatly perplexed *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, who could not be certain whether *Achæus* was there or no. *Bolis* at length observing, that where the paths among the rocks were dangerous, three of them were very officious to the other, lending him their hands to help him up and down, he concluded the person so honoured to be *Achæus*; and when they came to a certain place where some soldiers were posted, *Bolis* clasped him about the middle, and gave the signal agreed on. The soldiers immediately put *Achæus* in irons, and carried him to *Antiochus*; who, when he saw him loaded with chains, burst out into a flood of tears, and seemed to be touched with compassion at the misfortunes of a man to whom he owed his crown. Motives of state, however, prevailing over his natural tenderness, he caused him to be beheaded that very morning, thereby puting an end to the war of *Asia*. All the *Asiatic* provinces, upon the death of *Achæus*, submitting, *Antiochus* committed the government of them to persons in whom he could confide, and returned with his army to *Antioch*.

Achæus betrayed by two *Cretans*, and put to death.

Antiochus having now greatly enlarged his dominions, turned his arms the following year against the *Parthians*, *Arsaces*, the son of that *Arsaces* who had founded the *Parthian* empire, having lately conquered *Media*. *Antiochus*, after marching safely thro' the immense deserts, drove him from thence, and spent the remainder of the year in settling all things in their former order, and providing for the war. Early next spring he marched into *Parthia*, where he was as successful as he had been the year before in *Media*. He pursued *Arsaces* into *Hyrcania*, and made

Antiochus recovers *Media* and *Parthia*.

made himself master of *Syringis*, the capital of that province. *Arsaces*, in the mean time, gathering what forces he could, at length assembled an army of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, with which he opposed *Antiochus*; who finding it impossible to overpower so valiant an enemy, consented to a peace, which was accordingly concluded on the following terms: That *Arsaces* should hold *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, on condition of his assisting *Antiochus* to recover the other provinces which had revolted.

He concludes a peace with *Arsaces*.

Antiochus having thus concluded a peace with *Arsaces*, turned his arms against *Euthydemus* king of *Bactria*, who had expelled *Theodotus*, the son of that *Theodotus* who had usurped the province. *Antiochus* maintained a long war with *Euthydemus*, and on several occasions gave proofs of an extraordinary courage. At length, finding that the war was both tedious and unprofitable, he consented to a peace; and being taken with the majestic mien and agreeable conversation of the son of *Euthydemus*, he gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and bestowed on his father the title of king. *Antiochus* having then received all the elephants of *Euthydemus*, which was one of the articles of the peace, crossed mount *Caucasus* and entered *India*; where having renewed his alliance with *Sophagasenus* king of that country, and received likewise his elephants, he returned by the way of *Arochosia*, *Drangiana*, and *Carmania*, settling in all those countries due order and discipline. He passed the winter in *Carmania*, and thence returned by *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and *Mesopotamia* to *Antioch*, having, in these expeditions, spent seven years. Having, by the boldness of his attempts and the wisdom of his conduct, raised his reputation both in *Europe* and *Asia*, he acquired the surname of Great; which he might have carried with glory to his grave, had he not unfortunately engaged in a war with the *Romans*.

Makes war with the king of *Bactria*.

He renews his alliance with the king of *India*.

Not long after the return of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years of age, succeeded to the throne of *Egypt*; which kingdom, at the same time, was greatly distracted by several factions. *Antiochus*, encouraged by the confusions in that kingdom, entered into an alliance with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, with a design of stripping the infant king of his dominions, and dividing them between them. *Philip* was to have *Caria*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, and *Egypt*, and *Antiochus* all the rest. *Antiochus*, in less than two campaigns, made an entire conquest of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*. As the fame of the *Romans*, who had now put an end to the second *Punic* war, began to spread very extensively, the guardians of the young king, finding themselves reduced to great straits, sent an embassy to *Rome*, offering the *Romans* the guardianship of their king, and the regency of the kingdom during his minority; and left the senate should refuse the offer, they added, that the deceased king had recommended both to them at his death. The *Romans*, thinking this would redound greatly to their glory, accepted of the offer, and immediately required *Antiochus* and *Philip* to desist from

He enters into a confederacy with *Philip* of *Macedon* against the king of *Egypt*.

The *Romans* undertake the guardianship of the young king.

from invading the dominions of their pupil. *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, who was one of the ambaſſadors ſent to both kings, went to *Egypt*, and took upon him the guardianſhip of the king and kingdom. Having regulated affairs there in the beſt manner he could, he appointed *Ariſtomenes*, an *Acarnanian*, to be chief miniſter to the king, and then returned to *Rome*. *Antiochus* paying but little regard to the threats denounced by the *Roman* ambaſſadors, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of *Cœle-Syria*, and marched into *Aſia Minor* againſt *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*.

The *Egyptians* under *Scopas* reduce ſeveral provinces.

During his abſence, *Scopas*, an *Ætolian*, being appointed general of the *Egyptian* army, reduced all *Judea*, put a garriſon into the caſtle of *Jeruſalem*, and having recovered ſeveral other cities, returned on the approach of winter to *Alexandria*. *Antiochus*, however, the following year, no ſooner marched in perſon into *Cœle-Syria*, but the face of affairs was changed, and victory declared in his favour. *Scopas*, who returned with a powerful army, was defeated at *Paneas* near the ſource of the *Jordan*; upon which he retreated to *Sidon*, where he ſhut himſelf up with 10,000 of his men, all the reſt having been killed or taken priſoners. *Antiochus*, ſoon after, obliged him and the garriſon to ſurrender on terms of having only their lives ſpared, and diſmiſſed them, ſtript of their effects and quite naked. *Gaza*, which was next beſieged, making for ſome time a vigorous reſiſtance, he gave up the city, after he had taken it, to be plundered by his ſoldiers. Having then ſecured the paſſes leading from *Egypt*, he marched back, and reduced the remaining parts of *Paleſtine* and *Cœle-Syria*.

He is defeated by *Antiochus*.

The *Jews* ſubmit to *Antiochus*,

The *Jews*, when *Antiochus* advanced towards their country, went out in crowds to meet him, delivering to him the keys of their cities. At *Jeruſalem*, the prieſts and elders received him with great demonſtrations of joy, and the *Jews* joined his forces in reducing the caſtle, which had been ſtrongly garriſoned by *Scopas*. *Antiochus*, in return for theſe ſervices, granted the *Jews* many privileges and favours, having alſo in his eaſtern expedition been very kind to the *Jews* ſettled in *Babylonia* and *Meſopotamia*. He next reſolved to carry his arms into *Aſia Minor*; but to prevent the *Egyptians* from invading his new conqueſts during his abſence, he made propoſals to them of a marriage between *Cleopatra* his daughter, and the young king, to be conſummated as ſoon as they were of age, promiſing to give up thoſe provinces on the day of the nuptials by way of dowry with the young princeſs. The treaty was accordingly concluded and ratified, and the *Egyptians* relying on the promiſes of *Antiochus*, ſuffered him to carry on his conqueſts without moleſtation.

who invades *Aſia Minor*.

The king, early the next ſpring, ſent his army to *Sardis*, under the command of his two ſons *Ardyas* and *Mithridates*, while he himſelf embarked with a large force on board a fleet of 100 gallies and 200 other veſſels of all ſizes. As he ſailed along the coaſts of *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, and *Caria*, many maritime cities of thoſe provinces voluntarily ſubmitted to him. While he was employed in the ſiege of *Coraceſium*, a ſtrong city betwixt

Cilicia and *Pamphylia*, which alone had refuſed to ſubmit to him, he received an embaſſy from the *Rhodians*, who required him not to extend his conqueſts farther. *Antiochus* repreſſed his reſentment, and ſent ambaſſadors to *Rhodes* to renew the antient treaties which his anceſtors had made with that ſtate. He at length took *Coraceſium* by aſſault, and alſo reduced ſeveral other cities of *Ionia* and *Æolis*; but *Caunus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnaſſus*, and the iſland of *Samos*, were preſerved by the good offices of the *Rhodians*, and the large ſupplies of men and proviſions which they ſent them. *Antiochus* having reduced *Epheſus*, took up his winter quarters in that city, employing himſelf in concerting ſuch meaſures as were moſt proper for accompliſhing his vaſt deſigns.

Smyrna, *Lampſacus*, and other *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, reſolved to oppoſe *Antiochus*, and for this purpoſe implored the protection of the *Romans*, who willingly granted it to them, and immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to the king. Before their arrival, however, *Antiochus* had ſent two detachments of his army to beſiege *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus*, and with the reſt had croſſed the *Helleſpont*, and ſeized all the *Thracian Cherſoneſe*. Here he made it his firſt buſineſs to rebuild and repeople the great city of *Lyſimachia*, which then lay in ruins. As it was very commodiouſly ſituated, he propoſed to make it the capital of a great kingdom, which he intended as a portion for his ſecond ſon *Seleucus*. While he was buſied in the reſtoring of *Lyſimachia*, the *Roman* ambaſſadors, with the deputies from the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, arrived in *Thrace*, and were received in an hoſpitable and polite manner by *Antiochus*; but the *Romans*, in the firſt conference, giving themſelves thoſe imperious airs which they aſſumed wherever they came, *Antiochus* inſiſted, after much debate, that the *Romans* ſhould not be his judges; ſo that the aſſembly broke up, without any ſatisfaction being given on either ſide.

The free cities in *Aſia* implore the protection of the *Romans*.

Antiochus ſeizes the *Thracian Cherſoneſe*.

Mean while, a report being ſpread that the young *Ptolemy* was dead, *Antiochus* haſtened on board his fleet to take poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, which he looked upon as his own. Having left his ſon *Seleucus* with the army at *Lyſimachia*, he proceeded to *Epheſus*, and from thence to *Lycia*; but being there informed that the report of *Ptolemy*'s death was falſe, he directed his courſe for the iſland of *Cyprus*, with a deſign to ſeize it. In his way thither he was overtaken by a violent ſtorm, which deſtroyed a great many of his men and ſhips, ſo that he was forced to put in at *Seleucia* on the *Cilician* coaſts, and from thence return to *Antioch*, without attempting any thing elſe that year. The report of *Ptolemy*'s death had been occaſioned by the diſcovery of a plot formed againſt him by *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, who intended, after he had aſſaſſinated him, to have ſeized the kingdom for himſelf; but was put to death, with his accomplices, by *Ariſtomenes*.

Antiochus leaves *Thrace* with the intention of invading *Egypt*.

Early the following ſpring, *Antiochus* returned to *Epheſus*; but he had ſcarce left *Antioch*, when *Hannibal* arrived there, claim-

Hannibal puts himself under the protection of *Antiochus*, who sends an embassy to *Rome*.

ing his protection. This great general had been obliged to abandon his native country by a *Roman* faction at *Carthage*, who disliked his proceedings, and were apprehensive that he intended to embroil their republic at *Rome*. One of the sons of *Antiochus* kept *Hannibal* some days at *Antioch*, being desirous that he should be present at the festival celebrated near *Daphne* in honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. *Hannibal*, as soon as the ceremony was over, set sail for *Ephesus*, and quickly determined the king to engage in a war with the *Romans*.

Bef. Ch. 195.

Antiochus judging himself now able to cope with the *Romans*, employed all that year and the following in making the necessary preparations for a war with that republic. Hearing that *Flaminius*, who was at the head of the *Roman* troops in *Greece*, was also making great preparations for a new war, which he suspected might be against his son *Seleucus*, who was then at *Lysimachia*, he sent deputies to *Flaminius* to propose an alliance with *Rome*. *Antiochus*, by this embassy, designed only to gain time, and discover what the *Romans* were doing. *Flaminius* answered the envoys, that if their master desired to treat with the republic, he must send an embassy to *Rome*, as his own power was now expired. *Antiochus* not having yet finished the preparations he intended, sent *Menippus*, *Hegesinax*, and *Lysias*, to *Rome*, to desire of the senate, in his name, the friendship and alliance of the republic.

These ambassadors, on their arrival at *Rome*, were not received with that civility and regard which the dignity and reputation of their master required. The *Romans*, in an indirect manner, affronted them; for they would not admit them into the senate, but referred them to the ten commissioners, who had been formerly sent into *Macedonia* to conclude a peace with *Philip*, and settle the affairs of *Greece*. The ambassadors appeared before this new court, where the debates were carried on with great warmth on both sides. The ten commissioners gave this final answer, Either let *Antiochus* forbear ever setting foot in *Europe*, or expect that we shall send our troops over into *Asia*. The ambassadors then declared, that their master would not enter into an alliance with *Rome* upon such dishonourable terms, but would hazard a war rather than give up his antient right to vast countries in *Asia* and *Europe*. The *Romans*, at the same time, treated the ambassadors that had arrived from the *Asiatic* states and princes with great kindness, and told them, that the republic was determined to defend their liberties against *Antiochus*. The senate, however, did not then come to a final resolution, but sent three ambassadors to the king, who was continually instigated by *Hannibal* to hazard a war.

who sends an embassy to *Rome*.

Hannibal endeavours to draw *Carthage* into a confederacy with *Antiochus*.

Hannibal having still many friends at *Carthage*, endeavoured also to engage the *Carthaginians* to break with *Rome*. For that purpose he sent thither one *Aristo* a *Tyrian* merchant, who on other occasions had executed several important commissions for him. He gave him his instructions, and without committing any

any thing to writing, taught him ſeveral ſigns, by which he might ſatisfy his friends that he acted in his name. Though *Ariſto* acted with great caution, yet his buſineſs was quickly ſuſpected by the *Carthaginian* ſenate, who cited him to appear before them; but as they had no proof for their ſuſpicions, they deferred the full conſideration of the affair for ſome days. *Ariſto* in the mean time took an opportunity of eſcaping; but before he ſet ſail, he affixed the following words over the preſident's ſeat, Ariſto *had orders not to treat with private perſons, but with the ſenate of* Carthage. The *Roman* party immediately ſent intelligence to *Rome* of the proceedings with regard to *Ariſto*.

Antiochus, in the mean time, without declaring himſelf openly, took ſecret meaſures for promoting the great deſign he meditated. In order to ſtrengthen himſelf by new alliances, he went to *Raphia*, and there married his daughter *Cleopatra* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, king of *Egypt*, and reſigned to him, as her dowry, the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, but upon condition, that he himſelf ſhould ſtill retain half the revenues of thoſe provinces. On his return to *Antioch*, he gave his ſeſecond daughter *Antiochis* to *Ariarathes*, king of *Cappadocia*. He offered to beſtow the third on *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamus*; but that prince refuſed the match, contrary to the advice of his brothers. The event ſufficiently proved, that herein he acted wiſely.

Antiochus invades *Piſidia*.

Antiochus, having celebrated theſe marriages, returned about the middle of winter to *Epheſus*, and the following ſpring marched againſt the *Piſidians*, and made himſelf maſter of all the country round *Selga*, a city on the banks of the river *Ceſtrius*. While *Antiochus* was in *Piſidia*, the *Roman* ambaſſadors, who had been ſent into *Aſia*, arrived at *Pergamus*, where they found king *Eumenes* ready to take up arms againſt *Antiochus*. From thence they proceeded to *Epheſus* to viſit *Hannibal*, being ordered by the ſenate to gain him over, if poſſible, or at leaſt by their civilities, to make *Antiochus* ſuſpect him as keeping a ſecret intelligence with his enemies. *Hannibal* often appeared in public with them, frequently converſed with them in private, and laſtly even ſuffered them to lodge with him in the ſame houſe, which raiſed ſuch a jealouſy in *Antiochus*, that he no longer treated him with the ſame confidence as formerly. At *Apamea* the ambaſſadors had a conference with *Antiochus*; but as the *Romans* were too proud to abate any thing of their pretenſions, and inſiſted on *Antiochus*'s confining himſelf to *Aſia*, on his giving up ſome cities which he actually poſſeſſed, and his renouncing all his rights in *Europe*, the interview was ſoon at an end, without any thing being concluded.

The *Romans* ſend an embaſſy to *Antiochus*.

The king, about the ſame time, received the melancholy news of the death of his ſon *Antiochus*, a young prince, who had already given ſuch ſhining proofs of wiſdom, goodneſs, and other royal virtues, that he was univerſally beloved. What heightened the king's grief on this occaſion, was a report ſpread

abroad, that he, growing jealous of his rising merit, had caused him to be poisoned by the eunuchs of his court. Though this report had no good foundation, it was necessary to destroy it by the appearance of an extraordinary grief. When *Antiochus* arrived at *Ephesus*, *Hannibal* soon found that he was not the same favourite as formerly; for the king, under pretence of grief, shut himself up in his palace, and refused him admittance. *Antiochus* spent his whole time in private conferences with a favourite courtier named *Minio*, who had no knowledge of foreign affairs, and judged of his master's war with the *Romans* only by the victories he had gained in the east. The *Roman* ambassadors, on occasion of the king's grief, having retired to *Pergamus*, *Minio* prevailed with *Antiochus* to send for them, undertaking to answer them in his name. When they arrived, he treated them with more haughtiness than *Antiochus* himself would have done: he urged in behalf of his master's pretensions, that he had as good a right to the countries possessed by the eastern *Greeks*, whom he or his ancestors had conquered, as the *Romans* had to those of the western *Greeks* in *Italy* and *Sicily*. *Minio* nevertheless declared, that his master was ready to give up his claim to some *Greek* cities in *Asia*, and consent that *Cyzicus*, *Byzantium*, and *Rhodes* should remain free, and be at liberty to enter into an alliance with *Rome*: but the ambassadors still insisting that *Ionia* and *Æolis* should partake of the common liberty of *Greece*, which *Antiochus* would not consent to, they returned to *Italy*, leaving matters in the same situation they had found them on their first arrival.

Antiochus resolves on a war with the *Romans*.

The instant they were gone, *Antiochus* held a council on the present affairs, in which every one exclaimed against the *Romans*, knowing that to be the best method of making their court to their king. *Alexander* of *Acarnania*, who had formerly served *Philip*, and was now in great favour with *Antiochus*, assured the king, that the *Macedonians* would join him as soon as he landed in *Greece*; *Nabis*, tyrant of *Sparta*, he said, would join him with all his forces; and the *Ætolians*, who were exasperated against the *Romans*, would unanimously declare for him. *Antiochus*, being jealous of *Hannibal*, did not admit him to this council; but that general afterwards taking an opportunity of declaring to the king, that when a boy he had sworn at the altar to be a perpetual enemy to the *Romans*, by that declaration in some measure regained his confidence.

At the persuasion of the *Ætolians*, the king soon after went with a small body of men into *Greece*, whither he was attended by *Hannibal*, who insisted, that the surest way to distress the *Romans* would be to carry the war directly into *Italy*. *Antiochus*, however, from a mean jealousy neglecting this advice, soon found himself unable to oppose the *Romans* in *Greece*, and the following year, as we have mentioned in the history of *Ætolia*, was obliged to return with disgrace to *Asia*.

Soon after his return, he sailed with his fleet to the *Thracian Chersonese*, where he fortified *Lysimachia*, *Sestos*, *Abydos*, and the

the other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the *Romans* from croſſing the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*. Upon the intelligence that the *Roman* fleet had appeared off *Delos*, *Antiochus* returned to *Epheſus*, and ſent his fleet in ſearch of the enemy, with orders to engage them. *Polyxenidas*, the *Syrian* admiral, ſoon found the *Roman* fleet, and an engagement enſued, in which he was defeated with the loſs of 30 ſhips taken and 10 ſunk. The *Romans* loſt but one ſhip, which was taken in the very beginning of the action; but the whole crew leaped over board, and eſcaped ſlavery by ſwimming to the *Roman* veſſels. The *Roman* admiral, after having blocked up the port of *Epheſus* for ſome time, retired to *Canæ*, a port in *Myſia*, where he drew his ſhips on ſhore for the enſuing winter. *Antiochus*, hearing that his fleet had been defeated at *Corycus*, haſtened to the ſea coaſts, and applied himſelf with great care to the fitting out a new fleet, and ſent *Hannibal* to *Syria*, to bring from thence the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* fleets. He ſent his ſon *Seleucus* with part of the army into *Ætolia*, to watch the *Roman* fleet, and keep that country in awe; and he put the reſt of the troops into winter-quarters in *Phrygia*.

His fleet defeated by that of the *Romans*.

The following year, the *Romans* gave the command of the army againſt *Antiochus* to *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and of the fleet to *L. Æmilius Rhegillus*. *Scipio Africanus* ſerved under his brother as lieutenant, and *Hannibal* at the ſame time being a ſubaltern under *Antiochus*, the general attention on this account was greatly raiſed. The two *Scipios*, being in haſte to paſs over into *Aſia*, granted a truce of ſix months to the *Ætolians*, who were now weary of the war, which to them had proved very unfortunate. Upon their arrival at *Amphiſſa* in *Theſſaly*, *Acilius*, who was beſieging that place, reſigned the command of his two legions to the conſul, who had brought with him from *Italy* 13000 men, including auxiliaries and volunteers. *Livius*, the *Roman* admiral, in the mean time, had ſailed to the *Helleſpont*, and made himſelf maſter of *Seſtos* on the ſide of *Europe*, and inveſted *Abydos* on the oppoſite ſhore. While *Livius* was thus employed, *Polyxenidas*, the *Syrian* admiral, by pretending to deliver the fleet under his command to his countryman *Pauſiſtratus*, the commander of the *Rhodian* fleet, filled him with ſuch ſecurity, that he ſurprized him, and deſtroyed almoſt his whole ſquadron: this diſaſter obliged *Livius* to raiſe the ſiege of *Abydos*. After ravaging the territory in the neighbourhood of *Phocæa*, he ſailed to *Samos*, where he was joined by twenty new gallies from *Rhodes*. With this reinforcement he ſailed to *Epheſus*, and after inſulting the fleet in that harbour, challenged them to an engagement on ſhore; but they declining it, he returned to *Samos*, and reſigned the command to *Æmilius* his ſucceſſor. *Æmilius*, after appearing before *Epheſus* and *Patara*, without, however, effecting any thing, returned with his fleet to *Samos*.

Antiochus and *Seleucus*, in the mean time, invaded the kingdom of *Pergamus* in two different places. While *Seleucus* be-

Antiochus invades the kingdom of *Pergamus*,

sieged the capital city, which was named *Pergamus*, the king, who had in his army 4000 *Gauls*, employed them in plundering and laying waſte the country. *Eumenes*, hearing that his dominions were invaded, ſailed back immediately to the port of *Elæa*, and landing there, reached his capital before the enemy had notice of his march. The *Roman* and *Rhodian* fleets following him without delay, and news arriving, that the *Scipios* were advancing through *Macedon*, *Antiochus* began to be alarmed, and entrenching himſelf near *Elæa*, ſent an embaſſy to *Æmilius*, deſiring him to enter into a treaty with him. *Æmilius*, thinking it would greatly redound to his glory to conclude a peace before the *Scipios* arrived, readily hearkened to the propoſal; but *Eumenes* prevailed on him to return this anſwer, that nothing could be determined till the arrival of the *Scipios*; *Antiochus*, hereupon, leaving his ſon to ravage the kingdom of *Pergamus*, marched into the country of *Troas*, and encamped at the foot of mount *Ida*, the *Roman* admiral and *Eumenes* following him thither to protect their allies. Mean while, 1000 *Achæan* foot, and 300 horſe, entering the city of *Pergamus* under the command of an experienced officer named *Diophanes*, behaved with ſuch gallantry as to oblige *Seleucus* to raiſe the ſiege of that city, and to quit the dominions of *Eumenes*. *Antiochus*, after ravaging part of *Troas*, finding that he could not make himſelf maſter of *Adramyttium*, returned to *Sardis*. After he had evacuated *Troas*, the confederate fleets ſailed back to *Samos*, from whence *Eumenes* ſailed to the *Helleſpont*, and the *Rhodian* admiral returned home. The latter ſoon after attacked and entirely defeated *Hannibal*, who had arrived with a *Syrian* fleet on the coaſt of *Pamphylia*.

and endeavours to bring over *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*.

Antiochus, being now ſenſible of the imminent danger he was in, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to engage all the powers of *Aſia* in the war. He began with *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, whoſe alliance was at the ſame time ſollicited by the *Scipios*: *Pruſias* continued for ſome time wavering between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, till a new embaſſy quite fixed him; *Livius*, the late admiral of the *Roman* fleet, came to *Bithynia*, and made ſuch propoſals to him, in the name of the republic, as prevented him from entering into any engagements with the king of *Syria*.

Antiochus now meditated chiefly how he might beſt oppoſe the paſſage of the *Romans* into *Aſia*, which he concluded would be beſt effected by his being maſter of the ſea. With this view he came to *Epheſus*, where there were a great many ſhips, all well equipped, and ſtored with arms and proviſions. Having ordered *Polyxenidas* to ſail out, and venture another engagement, he himſelf marched, and inveſted the city of *Colophon*. The *Colophonians* ſolliciting the aſſiſtance of *Æmilius*, he left *Samos*, and ſailed to the iſland of *Teos*, where he was informed that *Polyxenidas* was waiting for him off *Myoneſus*, a maritime city of *Ionia*. *Æmilius* ſailed towards him with his ſhips in line of battle, and an engagement enſuing, he gained a compleat victory over the *Syrian* fleet, deſtroying 39, or, according to ſome

The *Syrian* fleet defeated by the *Romans*.

some accounts, 42 of their gallies, and taking 13, with the loss of only two of his own. The victory was chiefly owing to an invention of the *Rhodians*, who hung out at the prows of their gallies cauldrons full of combustible and burning materials, which terrified the *Syrians*, and threw them into disorder.

The news of this defeat so affected *Antiochus*, that, as if he had been deprived of his judgment, he took such measures as were quite opposite to his interest. He immediately sent orders to his forces in *Lysimachia*, and the other cities of the *Hellespont*, to return to *Asia*, though *Lysimachia* alone, if well garrisoned, might have stopped for a long time the whole consular army. His troops, in consequence of his orders, abandoned those cities so precipitately, that they left behind them great magazines of ammunition and provisions, which the *Romans* found in such great plenty, that they seemed to have been prepared expressly for the use of their army. *Antiochus*, about the same time, raised the siege of *Colophon*, and retired first to *Sardis*, and then to his son-in-law *Ariarathes*, king of *Cappadocia*, making it his chief business to assemble as great a land army as he could. The imprudent conduct of *Antiochus*.

As the *Romans* found no enemies at the *Hellespont* to dispute their passage, they crossed over in good order, by the care of *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*. The *Romans* stopt for some time at *Troy*, which city they looked upon as the place they had originally sprung from, and were highly pleased to see themselves in the antient abode of their forefathers. *Antiochus* no sooner heard that the *Romans* had entered *Asia*, than he was seized with fresh terror; and being fully convinced that some deity was contriving his ruin, he turned all his thoughts on peace. He accordingly sent an embassy to the *Roman* camp, and offered to deliver up to the *Romans* the cities of *Lampsacus*, *Smyrna*, and *Alexandria*, and to evacuate such places in *Ionia* and *Æolis* as the *Romans* had demanded; and lastly, that he would consent to pay half the expence which *Rome* had been at in bringing the war into *Asia*. *Heraclides*, the head of the embassy, who was a *Byzantine*, was desired to make his court chiefly to *Africanus*, and to assure him in private, that *Antiochus* was ready to restore him his son, whom he had lately made a prisoner; that all the king of *Syria*'s treasures were at his service; and that he was willing to share with him his dominions, and whatever else he had. *Africanus*, when *Heraclides* disclosed his instructions to him, returned him a friendly answer; but declared, that as a servant of the public, he could not of himself promise any thing to the king. The final answer of the council to *Heraclides* was, that peace would not be granted to *Antiochus*, unless he defrayed the whole expence of the war, restored liberty in general to all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, and relinquished all *Asia* on this side mount *Taurus*. *Antiochus*, judging that worse terms of peace could not be prescribed to him if he were conquered, turned all his thoughts to the necessary preparations for opposing the enemy, and encamped near *Thyatira* in *Lydia* with all his forces.

The *Romans* enter *Asia*. Bef. Ch. 190.

Antiochus sends an embassy to the *Scipios*.

Mean

Mean while, the *Romans* advancing to *Elæa*, a city ſubject to *Eumenes*, that king immediately waited on the *Scipios*, and then returning to *Pergamus*, ſent from thence all manner of proviſions for the army, which he ſoon after joined with all his forces. *Scipio Africanus*, in the mean time falling ſick, was conducted to *Elæa*, which *Antiochus* no ſooner heard of, than he ſent his ſon to him without ranſom; a moſt noble inſtance of generoſity in an enemy. *Scipio*, after embracing his ſon a long time in his arms, ſtrictly charged the perſon who conducted him to return his moſt hearty thanks to *Antiochus*, and to tell him, that the only teſtimony he could give of his gratitude was, to adviſe him not to hazard a battle till he was recovered, and returned to the camp. *Antiochus*, to avoid an engagement for ſome time, accordingly retired from *Thyatira*, and croſſing the river *Hermus*, encamped near *Magneſia* at the foot of mount *Sipylus*. The *Romans* ſoon after arriving, encamped within two miles and a half of his entrenchments, and in a few days a general engagement enſued, *Scipio* being eager to engage, even in the abſence of his brother. The army of *Antiochus*, according to *Livy*, conſiſted of 70,000 foot, 12,000 horſe, and 54 elephants. The *Roman* army did not amount to 30,000 men, horſe and foot, whereof 2000 were left to guard the camp.

He is entirely defeated at *Magneſia*.

A thick fog riſing in the morning of the battle, the ſky grew ſo dark, that it was not poſſible for the king's ſoldiers to diſtinguiſh one another, and act in concert, on account of their great extent. The damp alſo, occaſioned by this fog, ſlackened the ſtrings of the *Syrian* bows, and ſoftened their ſlings and the thongs which were uſed for throwing javelins. The armed chariots, which *Antiochus* had placed in the front of his firſt line, and had flattered himſelf would throw the enemy into confuſion, firſt occaſioned the defeat of his own forces. King *Eumenes*, who knew both where their ſtrength and weakneſs lay, oppoſed himſelf to them with the *Cretan* archers, the ſlingers, and horſe who diſcharged javelins, ordering them to charge in ſmall platoons, and to ſhout as loud as poſſible all the while. His orders being obeyed, the horſes in the chariots were ſo frightened, that they could no longer be kept in order, but turned on their own troops, which occaſioned a great confuſion in that quarter. Thoſe in the *Syrian* army, who were at a diſtance, hearing the noiſe and outcries, and not knowing the cauſe of them, were ſtruck with no ſmall terror. The *Roman* cavalry advancing, fell on thoſe whom the chariots had put in diſorder, and eaſily routed them. The legionaries, about the ſame time, driving the elephants of *Antiochus* upon their own phalanx, threw that body into diſorder, which was followed with the total rout of the whole army. The *Syrians* for ſome time fought with great bravery, and had even forced the left wing of the *Romans* to fly to their camp; but the enemy returning to the charge, *Antiochus* fled, and was followed by his troops: the *Romans*, walking over heaps of dead bodies, attacked and plundered the *Syrian* camp. The riches found in

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it are not to be deſcribed; but the taking of it coſt the *Romans* a new battle, which proved more fatal to the *Syrians* than that in the field; for the *Romans* having, in ſpite of a moſt deſperate reſiſtance, forced the entrenchments, gave no quarter, but put all to the ſword without diſtinction. Of the *Syrians* were ſlain in the battle, in the purſuit, and in the plunder of the camp, 50,000 foot and 4000 horſe; 1400 men were taken priſoners, and 15 elephants. The *Romans* loſt only 300 foot, and 25 horſe.

Antiochus, with part of the forces that remained, retired to *Sardis*, from whence he ſoon marched to rejoin his ſon *Seleucus*, who had fled to *Apamea*, and both of them with the utmoſt diligence paſſed mount *Taurus*, in order to reach *Syria*. In the mean time *Thyatira*, *Magneſia*, *Trallis*, *Magneſia* in *Caria*, all *Lydia* and *Epheſus* itſelf, ſent deputies to the conſul, and ſubmitted to the *Romans*. *Antiochus*, now judging it in vain to oppoſe the *Romans*, ſent *Antipater*, his brother's ſon, and *Zeuxis*, who had been governor of *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, to the *Romans* to ſue for peace, which was accordingly granted them. *Africanus*, to whom they applied, told them the reſolutions of the council, and is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf in the following terms: "We are ſenſible that the victory which we have lately gained "is owing to the gods, and therefore ſhall treat the vanquiſhed "with moderation. *Antiochus* ſhall obtain a peace on the fol- "lowing terms; that he confines his dominions to *Aſia* beyond "mount *Taurus*, pays us 15,000 *Euboic* talents for the expences "of the war, 500 down, 2500 when the ſenate and people ſhall "confirm the articles, and 1000 more every year for twelve "years together; that he pays *Eumenes* 400 talents which he "owes him, and what remains due for corn, which his father "ſent to the king of *Syria*. It is likewiſe the pleaſure of the "council that you deliver up to us *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, "*Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Mneſilochus* the *Acarnanian*, and *Philo* "and *Eubulis* two *Chalcidians*, and likewiſe twenty ſuch hoſ- "tages as we ſhall chuſe, of whom *Antiochus*, the king's "youngeſt ſon, ſhall be one."

Many cities declare for the *Romans*.

Articles of peace between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*.

All theſe conditions being accepted, *L. Cotta* was ſent to *Rome* with the ambaſſadors of *Antiochus*, to obtain the ratification of the treaty. Soon after, the 500 talents were payed the conſul at *Epheſus*, and hoſtages were given for the remainder of the payment, and the ſecurity of the other articles of the treaty. The inſtant *Hannibal* and *Thoas* received advice that a treaty was on foot, concluding that they ſhould be ſacrificed by it, they provided for their own ſafety, by retiring before it was concluded. The *Roman* ſenate, after ordering all the hoſtages, except *Antiochus*, to be changed every year, confirmed the treaty, the articles of which were engraved on braſs, and fixed up in the capitol. All *Aſia*, on this ſide mount *Taurus*, being now delivered to the *Romans*, the *Greek* cities were by them reſtored to their liberty, the provinces of *Caria* and *Lydia* given

to

to the *Rhodians*, and all the reſt, that had belonged to *Antiochus*, beſtowed upon *Eumenes*.

Antiochus plunders the temple of *Jupiter Belus*, and is ſlain. Bef. Chr. 187.

Antiochus did not long ſurvive his downfal: being greatly puzzled how to raiſe the ſum which he was to pay the *Romans*, he made a progreſs through the eaſtern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him, leaving the regency of *Syria* to his ſon *Seleucus*, whom he declared his ſucceſſor. Upon his arrival in the province of *Elymais*, hearing that a conſiderable treaſure was lodged in the temple of *Jupiter Belus*, he entered the temple in the dead of the night, and ſeized on all the riches upon a falſe pretence, that the inhabitants of the province had rebelled againſt him. The populace, highly exaſperated at this ſacrilege, roſe up in arms, and ſlew him with all his followers. This is the account of St. *Jerom*, upon the teſtimony of *Strabo*; but, according to *Aurelius Victor*, after his defeat he gave himſelf up to all manner of debauchery, and was killed at an entertainment by one of his gueſts, whom he had ſtruck and abuſed. *Antiochus* died in the 37th year of his reign, and 52d of his age, and is highly commended by moſt of the antient hiſtorians for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. His extraordinary regard for juſtice appears from a decree, which he is ſaid to have enacted, giving his ſubjects permiſſion, and even commanding them, not to obey his orders when they interfered with the laws. His great exploits and misfortunes were foretold by the prophet *Daniel* *.

Seleucus Philopater.

Seleucus, ſurnamed *Philopater*, or, as *Joſephus* ſtiles him, *Soter*, ſucceeded his father *Antiochus*. This prince reigned eleven years and ſome months; but made a very poor figure, by reaſon of the low ſtate to which the *Syrian* empire had been reduced by the *Romans*, and the exorbitant ſum of 1000 talents, which he was obliged to pay annually, by virtue of the treaty of peace between the king his father and that republic. *Seleucus* plundered the temple of *Jeruſalem*, and heaven did not long defer puniſhing him for his ſacrilegious attempt, by that very hand which he had employed in it. *Antiochus*, the ſon of *Antiochus* the great, having been thirteen years at *Rome*, was ſent for by his brother *Seleucus*, who offered his own ſon *Demetrius*, then but ten years of age, by way of exchange. The affair was warmly debated in the *Roman* ſenate, but at length the exchange was accepted, and *Antiochus* ſet out for *Aſia* about the ſame time that the young *Demetrius* ſet out for *Rome*. During the abſence of the two heirs to the crown, *Heliodorus*, his prime miniſter, who had gone to *Jeruſalem* to plunder the temple, thinking this a fair opportunity for ſeizing the throne, poiſoned *Seleucus*, and placed the crown on his own head. It is manifeſt from the ſecond book of *Maccabees*, and alſo from *Joſephus*,

He is poiſoned. Bef. Chr. 176.

* Liv. lib. xxxviii. Polyb. legat. 35. Appian. in Syriac. p. 112. Juſtin. lib. xxxi. Aurel. Vict. Diod. Sic. 1 & 2 Maccab. Dan. chap. xi. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xii.

that

that *Seleucus*, ſome years before his death, was in poſſeſſion of *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judea*; but by what means, or on what occaſion, theſe provinces became ſubject to him, we find no where mentioned.

Antiochus, the brother of *Seleucus*, on his arrival at *Athens*, in his way to *Aſia*, was informed of his brother's death, and that *Heliodorus* had ſeized the crown, and was ſupported by a ſtrong party; but that another party was forming in favour of *Ptolemy*, who claimed the kingdom of *Syria* in right of his mother, the late king's ſiſter. Hereupon, *Antiochus* had recourſe to *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamus*, and his brother *Attalus*, who ſeated him on the throne, after having expelled *Heliodorus*. On his being ſettled on the throne, he aſſumed the name of *Epiphanes*, that is, *illuſtrious*, which title was never worſe applied; the whole conduct of his life ſhewing, that the epithet of *vile*, or *deſpicable*, given him by the prophet *Daniel*, ſuits better with his character. *Polybius* and *Philarchus*, who were his cotemporaries, and alſo *Livy* and *Diodorus Siculus*, tell us, that he uſed frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied by two or three of his domeſtics, and ramble about the ſtreets of *Antioch*; that he ſpent whole days in the ſhops of goldſmiths and engravers, diſputing with them about the myſteries of their trades, which he ridiculouſly pretended to underſtand as well as they; that he was not aſhamed to ſtoop ſo low as to converſe with the dregs of the people, and mix indiſcriminately with them in the places to which they reſorted, drinking and carouſing with them, though he had never ſeen them before; that when he heard of any young rakes met together on a party of pleaſure, he uſed to intrude himſelf, and join in all their wanton frolics, without any regard to common decency; that ſometimes, diveſting himſelf of his royal robes, and putting on a *Roman* gown, he run from ſtreet to ſtreet, as he had ſeen done in the elections of magiſtrates at *Rome*, taking ſome by the hands, embracing others, and begging all he met to favour him with their votes, ſetting up ſometimes for edile, and ſometimes for tribune. We are likewiſe told, that he was much given to drunkenneſs, that he ſquandered away great part of his revenues in riotous exceſſes, and when intoxicated with liquor, would run wildly through the ſtreets, throwing money by handfuls among the populace. At other times he appeared in a *Roman* gown, with a garland of roſes on his head, and in that garb walked about the ſtreets, quite unaccompanied; if any one offered to follow him, he was ſure to be pelted with ſtones, which he carried under his gown for that purpoſe. He uſed often to go into the public baths among the common people, where he committed ſuch extravagancies, as made every body deſpiſe him; ſo that, inſtead of *Epiphanes*, his ſubjects beſtowed on him the title of *Epimanes*, or *the madman*.

Antiochus Epiphanes.

His extravagant behaviour.

His ſiſter *Cleopatra*, who was queen of *Egypt*, dying ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, the guardianſhip of her young ſon was committed to *Eulæus* an eunuch, and the adminiſtration

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tion of affairs to *Lennæus*, an *Egyptian* nobleman of great diſtinction. The new regents immediately demanded *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine* of *Antiochus*, and this demand ſoon occaſioned a war between the two crowns. Before the rupture, the king of *Egypt* being declared of age, *Antiochus* ſent *Apollonius*, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambaſſador, to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity of his coronation. The real motive of this embaſſy was to diſcover the deſigns of the *Egyptian* court, and the meaſures they were taking with regard to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*. *Apollonius*, on his return, informing him that war was intended againſt him, he went by ſea to *Joppa*, and viſiting the frontiers towards *Egypt*, put them into a ſtate of defence. In this progreſs he took *Jeruſalem* in his way, the *Jews* receiving him with the greateſt acclamations, little judging that they were ſoon to experience his tyranny. From *Jeruſalem* he went into *Phœnice*, and having ſettled all things in the places he paſſed through, he returned to *Antioch*, which city he was ſoon obliged to quit, to quell an inſurrection in *Cilicia*. The revenues of *Mallus* and *Tarſus*, two cities in that province, having been allotted to *Antiochis*, one of the king's concubines, the inhabitants roſe up in arms, and committed great diſorders; *Antiochus* therefore haſtened thither in perſon to appeaſe the ſedition.

Antiochus, having greatly advanced his warlike preparations, thought it prudent not to defer the war againſt the *Egyptians*, but to carry it into their country, inſtead of waiting for it in his own. He imagined, that as *Ptolemy* was then but ſixteen years of age, he ſhould be able to bring him to what terms he pleaſed, eſpecially as the *Romans*, under whoſe protection the *Egyptians* had put themſelves, were then engaged in a war with *Perſeus* king of *Macedon*. To keep as fair with *Rome* as the caſe would admit, he ſent an embaſſy thither, to pay the arrears of the tribute that was due to the republic, and, at the ſame time, to lay before the ſenate the right he had to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, then in his poſſeſſion. The *Romans* received his ambaſſadors very graciouſly, defrayed their expences, and made them preſents of a conſiderable value. They alſo renewed the alliance made betwixt their republic and his father; but returned no anſwer to his repreſentations concerning *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*.

He invades *Egypt*. *Antiochus*, before his ambaſſadors returned from *Rome*, put himſelf at the head of his army, and marching to the frontiers of *Egypt*, defeated the army of *Ptolemy* between mount *Caſius* and *Peluſium*. After this victory, he fortified his frontiers ſo well on that ſide, that they ever after checked the *Egyptians* in all their efforts to recover thoſe provinces.

His ſecond expedition into *Egypt*. Having ſpent the whole winter at *Tyre*, *Antiochus*, the following ſpring, gained a ſecond victory over the forces of *Ptolemy*, took *Peluſium*, and led his army into the very heart of *Egypt*. In the late battle, he had it in his power to have deſtroyed the whole *Egyptian* army; but he rode about the field, and reſtrained

reſtrained his men from the ſlaughter, which clemency gained him the hearts of the *Egyptians*; ſo that he eaſily made himſelf maſter of the whole country, except *Alexandria*, which held out againſt him. In this ſecond invaſion *Philometor* fell into the hands of the conqueror, who carried him with him to *Memphis*, and affected for ſome time to be extremely careful of the intereſt of the young king; but when he ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the country, he ſeized all that was valuable for himſelf, pillaged the cities, and cauſed ſuch terrible deſolations as are not to be expreſſed. It was about this time that *Antiochus* took *Jeruſalem*, profaned the temple, and miſerably haraſſed the *Jews*, as is mentioned in the books of *Maccabees*.

Ptolemy falls into his hands.

The *Alexandrians*, ſeeing their king in the hands of *Antiochus*, placed his younger brother on the throne, giving him the ſurname of *Euergetes*, which was afterwards changed into *Phyſcon*, or *great bellied*, his luxury and gluttony having made him remarkably corpulent. On his aſcending the throne, *Cineas* and *Cumanus* were appointed his chief miniſters. *Antiochus*, under pretence of reſtoring the depoſed king, made a third expedition into *Egypt*. Having defeated the *Alexandrians* in a ſea-fight near *Peluſium*, he advanced with a powerful army to *Alexandria*. The young king, dreading the conſequences of a ſiege, prevailed with the *Greek* ambaſſadors, who were then at his court, to interpoſe their mediation, which they readily agreed to. *Antiochus* received them very kindly, and proved to them his right to *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*; but, under pretence of waiting for two perſons who were abſent, deferred entering upon a negotiation, and proceeding to *Alexandria*, laid ſiege to the city. *Ptolemy Euergetes*, in this extremity, implored the protection of the *Romans*, who, conſidering that it would be dangerous to ſuffer *Antiochus* to unite the crown of *Egypt* to that of *Syria*, ſent three ambaſſadors to *Egypt*, to order *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy*, in the name of the ſenate, to ſuſpend all hoſtilities, and put an end to the war. In the mean time ambaſſadors arrived at *Alexandria* from *Rhodes*, to effect a reconciliation between the two kings. When they addreſſed *Antiochus* in favour of *Euergetes*, he interrupted them, and declared that the kingdom belonged to *Philometor* the elder brother, with whom he had concluded a peace, and that if they would reſtore the crown to him, the war would be ended at once. The reſiſtance he met with at *Alexandria* had made him change his plan; and concluding, that the ſureſt way to compaſs his deſign would be to engage the two brothers in a war againſt each other, with this view he raiſed the ſiege of *Alexandria*, and at *Memphis* put *Philometor* in poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom, except *Peluſium*, which he retained. Having thus ſettled things agreeable to his new ſcheme, he returned to *Antioch*.

Ptolemy Euergetes placed on the throne of *Egypt*.

Antiochus reſtores *Philometor*.

Philometor, being at length rouſed from the deep lethargy into which his indolence and effeminacy had plunged him, had penetration enough to ſee into *Antiochus*'s deſign. He immediately therefore ſent to his brother, entreating him to lay aſide all

all animosity, and make a thorough reconciliation, lest *Antiochus*, taking advantage of their domestic feuds, should dispossess them both of the kingdom. *Ptolemy Physcon* readily embraced the proposal, and an accommodation was effected, by which the two brothers agreed to reign jointly. The two brothers, not doubting but *Antiochus* would soon invade the kingdom anew, sent to hire some auxiliaries in *Greece*, which was a very prudent step; for *Antiochus*, hearing of their reconciliation, fell into a great rage, and resolved to employ the whole force of his kingdom against both.

The two *Ptolemies* agree to reign jointly.

Accordingly, early in the spring, having sent his fleet to secure the island of *Cyprus*, he marched with a powerful army towards *Egypt*, to seize it for himself. On his arrival at *Rhinolocura*, he was met by ambassadors from *Philometor*, who conjured him to suffer him peaceably to enjoy the crown, which he wore by his favour. *Antiochus* haughtily replied, that he would not grant peace to either of the brothers, but upon condition that the island of *Cyprus*, the city of *Pelusium*, with all the lands on that branch of the *Nile* on which it stood, and the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*, were delivered up to him for ever. The answer to his demand not being satisfactory, he entered *Egypt* in a hostile manner; and having reduced the whole country as far as *Memphis*, received there the submission of most of the other cities and provinces.

Antiochus again invades *Egypt*.

From *Memphis* he marched towards *Alexandria*, with a design to besiege that city; but when he arrived within four miles of the city, he was met by the *Roman* ambassadors, who shewed him the decree of the senate. As *Antiochus*, while he was an hostage at *Rome*, had contracted a great familiarity with one of the ambassadors, named *Popilius*, when he came up to him he offered him his hand, which the proud *Roman* refused, insisting that he should comply with the orders of the senate, before he would look upon him as his friend: *Antiochus* saying that he would advise with his council about the decree, *Popilius* immediately drew a circle round him in the sand with his staff, and in a peremptory tone said, "You shall not go out of this circle, "till you either accept or reject the proposal I have made to "you." After hesitating a moment, *Antiochus* gave the following answer, which would have better become a slave than a great king: "*Popilius*, I will do what your republic expects "from me." He had no sooner spoke, than all the three ambassadors offered him their hands at once.

He is compelled by the *Romans* to leave that kingdom.

Antiochus accordingly evacuated *Egypt*, and also restored *Cyprus* to the *Ptolemies*: but being highly provoked to see himself obliged to quit a kingdom, which he looked upon as his own, he vented his rage against the *Jews* and the unhappy city of *Jerusalem*. After several of his generals had been defeated, and the armies they commanded cut in pieces by *Judas Maccabæus*, *Antiochus* sent, at length, *Lysias*, one of the greatest lords of his court, to compleat the abolition of the law of God, and the destruction of its few defenders. The *Syrian* army, designed for

He vents his rage upon *Jerusalem*.

this

this purpoſe, conſiſted of 60,000 men, which alarming the ſuſpicions of *Tiberius Gracchus*, whom the *Roman* ſenate had ſent to viſit all the kings and free ſtates in the eaſt, he went to *Antioch* to watch the deſigns of the king. During his ſtay in that city, *Antiochus*, hearing that the *Roman* general, *P. Æmilius*, after conquering *Macedon*, had celebrated games at *Amphipolis*, cauſed the ſame to be exhibited at *Daphne* near *Antioch*. Having invited ſpectators from all parts, and, at an immenſe expence, brought to *Daphne* the beſt actors and moſt ſkilful workmen in *Europe* and *Aſia*, he celebrated the games with incredible pomp and magnificence, a particular account of which is given us by *Polybius* *. But moſt of the ſpectators were more offended at the mean and unbecoming behaviour of the king, than pleaſed with all the reſt. *Antiochus* behaved towards *Gracchus* with the meaneſt flattery; he attended him like a ſlave, and even offered to reſign his crown to him, which offer the *Roman* rejected with the utmoſt indignation; and judging of the king by what he had ſeen of him, acquainted his republic, that they had no reaſon to be apprehenſive of his ſchemes.

Antiochus, ſoon after the celebration of the games, being informed that the *Jews* had entirely cut off his army, he in a great rage aſſembled all his troops, with the reſolution of deſtroying the whole *Jewiſh* nation, and ſettling new colonies in their country; but having expended vaſt ſums in the late ſhews, and ſquandered away the greateſt part of his revenues in preſents to his friends, he found himſelf unable to pay his army.

He was, at the ſame time, greatly perplexed, according to the prophecy of *Daniel*, by tidings that came to him out of the eaſt and out of the north. In the north, *Artaxias*, one of his father's generals, who, with the permiſſion of *Antiochus* the great, had made himſelf ſovereign of a ſmall ſtate in upper *Armenia*, now revolted from him, and *Perſia*, which was in the eaſt, paid no longer the uſual tribute, all things being in confuſion there as in other parts of the empire, by reaſon of a decree which the king had enacted, enjoining all the nations ſubject to him to renounce the religion of their anceſtors, and conform to that of the *Greeks*. *Antiochus*, having left part of his army under *Lyſias* to reduce the *Jews*, marched with the reſt of his troops into *Armenia*, and defeating *Artaxias*, took him priſoner. *Armenia* and *Perſia* revolt. He takes the king of *Armenia* priſoner.

From *Armenia* the king marched into *Perſia*; but attempting to plunder the temple of *Elymais*, he was repulſed by the inhabitants with the greateſt ignominy, and obliged to retire to *Ecbatan* in *Media*, where he was informed that two of his generals had been defeated in *Judæa*. He immediately haſtened thither; and being informed on his march, that the *Jews* had alſo defeated *Lyſias*, had thrown down the images and altars, and reſtored their former worſhip, his rage and fury encreaſed. He commanded his charioteer to drive with the utmoſt ſpeed,

* Polyb. ap. Athen. lib. v. Diod. Sic. in excerpt. Valeſ.

threatning to extirpate the whole nation, without leaving one ſingle perſon of the *Jewiſh* race alive. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when he was ſeized with a great pain in his bowels, which no remedy could cure or abate. He nevertheleſs gave orders ſtill to proceed; but falling ſoon after from his chariot, he was ſo bruiſed by the fall, that his attendants were forced to put him in a litter. However, not being able to bear the motion of the litter, he was obliged to halt at a town called *Tabæ*, ſituate among the mountains, on the confines of *Perſia* and *Babylonia*, where he ſuffered inexpreſſible torments, occaſioned chiefly by the vermin that bred in his body, and the ſtench which made him inſupportable even to himſelf. The torments of his mind ſurpaſſed, by many degrees, thoſe of his body. His uneaſineſs of mind, according to *Polybius*, grew at laſt to a conſtant delirium, by reaſon of ſeveral ſpectres and apparitions, which he imagined were continually reproaching him with the many wicked actions he had been guilty of. *Polybius* looks upon his terror and deſpair, as a puniſhment for his ſacrilegious attempt upon the temple at *Elymais*; but *Joſephus* thinks his ſufferings were drawn upon him, by his profanation of the temple at *Jeruſalem*, which ſeems to have been the opinion of *Antiochus*, who, as we read in the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, hoped to appeaſe the Almighty by the great promiſes he had made. He died at *Tabæ* in the greateſt torments, after he had reigned eleven years and ſome months *.

His death. Bef. Chr. 165.

Antiochus Eupator.

Antiochus, before he expired, ſent for *Philip*, his chief favourite, and appointing him regent of the *Syrian* empire during the minority of his ſon, delivered into his hands the enſigns of royalty, charging him, above all things, to give his ſon, then nine years old, ſuch an education, as might qualify him to govern his ſubjects with juſtice and moderation. *Philip*, on his arrival at *Antioch*, found the employment, which the king had conferred upon him, uſurped by another. Upon the firſt advice of the king's death, *Lyſias*, who was tutor to his ſon *Antiochus*, placed him on the throne, and giving him the name of *Antiochus Eupator*, aſſumed the adminiſtration of his kingdom; ſo that *Philip*, not being able to contend with ſo formidable a rival, retired into *Egypt*.

The *Romans* refuſe to allow *Demetrius* to return to *Syria*,

Demetrius, the ſon of *Seleucus Philopater*, who was ſtill a hoſtage at *Rome*, and was now in the twenty third year of his age, hearing of the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and the ſucceſſion of *Eupator* to the crown, which of right belonged to him as the ſon of the elder brother, applied to the ſenate, and repreſented to them the indiſputable right he had to the crown of *Syria*. Some of the ſenators were for keeping the young prince ſtill at *Rome*, thinking that it would be more advantageous for the republic, that the throne of *Syria* ſhould be poſſeſſed by a child. They even propoſed, that *Antiochus* ſhould be declared the

* 1 & 2 Maccab. Polyb. in excerpt. Valeſ. Appian. in Syriac. Joſeph. Antiq. Lb. xii.

ward

ward of the republic, and guardians be ſent to govern his dominions, in the name and under the direction of the *Roman* ſenate. This opinion, though repugnant to all the laws of equity, prevailed, and three perſons were immediately named to give law to *Syria*, under pretence of aſſiſting and adviſing the new king during his minority. Theſe guardians were *Cn. Octavius*, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *L. Aurelius*, and they were ordered by the ſenate to burn all the *Syrian* ſhips with decks, to hamſtring all the king's elephants, and in ſhort, to weaken, by all means poſſible, the ſtrength of that powerful kingdom. and the guardianſhip of *Eupator*.

During theſe tranſactions, *Lyſias*, who had uſurped the guardianſhip of the young king, purſued with the utmoſt ardor the war againſt the *Jews*. At the ſame time *Philip*, who had been appointed regent by the king, finding it impoſſible to get any aſſiſtance from the kings of *Egypt*, who were then at variance, haſtened into the eaſt, and raiſed a conſiderable army of *Medes* and *Perſians*. While *Lyſias* was abſent in his expedition into *Judæa*, he ſeized *Antioch*, the capital of the empire, and there took upon him the government of the kingdom. *Lyſias*, that he might be at liberty to turn his arms againſt his rival, granted a peace to the *Jews* upon very honourable and advantageous terms, and ſoon after defeating *Philip*, and taking him priſoner, by his death put an end to all the diſturbances he had raiſed. *Philip* ſeizes the crown of *Syria*; but is taken and put to death.

Philip had not been long dead, when the *Roman* ambaſſadors, or rather guardians, entered *Syria*, which raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in the heart of *Lyſias*, who, as he was himſelf of the blood royal, could not brook that foreigners ſhould deprive him of what he thought his right. *Octavius*, without even notifying his arrival to *Lyſias*, advanced towards *Antioch*, with the pride of the republic, fancying that every thing would give way before him at the bare name of a *Roman*. *Lyſias*, being too wiſe to oppoſe the deſigns of *Rome* by open force, hired an *African* to diſpatch *Octavius*, without appearing to have any hand in the murder himſelf. *Octavius* arriving at *Laodicea*, between *Tripolis* and *Antioch*, with an unheard of preſumption began there to put in execution the unjuſt orders of his republic, and to act the ſovereign, before he had even taken poſſeſſion of the regency. He cauſed all the *Syrian* ſhips which he found there to be burnt, and the elephants to be diſabled from ſerving in war, under pretence that, by the treaty made with the *Scipios*, *Antiochus* the great had engaged to build no more ſhips of war, and to tame no more elephants. The *Laodiceans* being greatly exaſperated againſt *Octavius*, the *African* took an opportunity of killing him in the gymnaſium. *Lyſias* ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome* to aſſure the ſenate, that neither he nor the king had any hand in the aſſaſſination; but the *Romans* ſent back the ambaſſadors without any anſwer, reſerving the whole to a future enquiry. *Octavius*, the *Roman* ambaſſador in *Syria*, ſlain.

Demetrius now reſolved to addreſs the ſenate a ſecond time; but as he had contracted an intimate friendſhip with *Polybius* the hiſtorian, who was then a priſoner at *Rome*, and was generally *Demetrius* eſcapes from *Rome*.

rally deemed one of the beſt politicians of his age, he firſt adviſed with him. The counſel of *Polybius* was to the following purpoſe; "Take care not to ſtumble twice againſt the ſame "ſtone; have you but one way of getting into *Syria?* Should "a man of your age depend on the capricious will of an unjuſt "ſenate? Only dare to ſet yourſelf at liberty, and you will "reign of courſe." Theſe words made an impreſſion on *Demetrius*; but he, nevertheleſs, ſuffered himſelf to be ſwayed by the timorous counſels of *Apollonius*, a young *Syrian* nobleman, who had been bred up with him, and again applied to the ſenate, who perſiſted in their former reſolution. He now began to think of putting the advice of *Polybius* in execution, and again conſulted him, as to the manner in which he might beſt elude the vigilance of the *Romans*. *Polybius* took the management of the whole affair upon himſelf, and a *Carthaginian* veſſel being then at *Oſtia*, with the deſign of ſailing to *Tyre*, he prevailed with his friend *Menithyllus*, who reſided at *Rome* as agent for one of the *Egyptian* kings, to hire a paſſage on board that ſhip for himſelf and his attendants. *Demetrius*, to conceal his deſign from the many domeſtics he had in his houſhold, ſent moſt of his retinue with his hunting equipage to *Anagnia*, as if he deſigned to follow them thither the next day. The evening before his departure, *Demetrius* gave a grand entertainment to his friends in a hired houſe, which alarmed *Polybius*, who, knowing that the young prince, when in company with his friends, uſed to indulge himſelf in mirth and jollity, without bounds or reſerve, ſent him a letter, containing ſeveral ſentences out of the antients, touching the courage, ſecrecy, and ſobriety neceſſary for the executing of great deſigns. *Demetrius*, upon peruſing the letter, pretended to be out of order; and taking leave of his friends, returned home, from whence, in the dead of night, he ſet out for *Oſtia*, accompanied by ſome *Syrian* noblemen, to whom he had communicated his deſign. *Menithyllus*, pretending to have received orders to continue for ſome time longer at *Rome*, recommended *Demetrius* and his retinue, to the number of ſixteen perſons, to the commander of the *Carthaginian* veſſel, telling him, they were officers of diſtinction, who were going to ſerve in the *Egyptian* army. The *Carthaginian* weighed anchor by break of day, to the great joy of *Demetrius*, who was not miſſed in *Rome* for three days. After two days ſearch for him, the ſenate, being fully convinced that he had made his eſcape, reſolved to take no further notice of it for the preſent, but only to ſend three ambaſſadors into *Syria*, to obſerve what effect the return of *Demetrius* would produce in that kingdom.

The *Syrians* join him.

Demetrius no ſooner landed at *Tripolis*, than he was acknowledged as king by all the inhabitants. In all the places through which he paſſed, he gave out, that he was ſent by the *Roman* ſenate to take poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions; which report being credited, *Eupator*'s cauſe was looked upon as loſt, and the cities and ſtrongholds ſtrove which ſhould firſt ſubmit to *Demetrius*.

Demetrius. The citizens of *Antioch* received him with the greateſt joy, and *Lyſias* and *Eupator*, being ſeized by their own ſoldiers, were delivered up to him, and by his orders put to death. *Eupator*, according to *Joſephus* and *Euſebius*, reigned only two years; but the author of the ſecond book of *Maccabees* ſays, that he died in the third year of his reign, or after he had reigned three years. *Eupator* put to death.

Demetrius was no ſooner fixed on the throne, than he delivered the *Babylonians* from the tyranny of *Timarchus* and *Heraclides*, two brothers, whom *Antiochus Epiphanes* had raiſed to great honours, upon no other merit but that of a ready compliance with his unnatural luſt. This deliverance was ſo acceptable to the *Babylonians*, that they gave *Demetrius* the title of *Soter*, or *Saviour*, which he bore ever afterwards. *Demetrius* not long after renewed the war againſt the *Jews*, in which the famous *Judas Maccabæus*, after repeated victories over the *Syrian* armies, loſt his life. Upon his death, *Jonathan* his brother took upon him the command of the army; but the *Syrians* ſoon after withdrew their forces from *Judæa*. He ſucceeds to the crown. Bef Chr. 162.

Demetrius, being extremely ſollicitous to get himſelf acknowleged king of *Syria* by the *Romans*, no ſooner heard that three *Roman* ambaſſadors were at the court of *Ariarathes*, king of *Cappadocia*, than he ſent thither one of the chief lords of his court to treat with them on this ſubject. He afterwards ſent other deputies to them, and at length, by continually preſſing and ſolliciting them, he obtained what he deſired, being acknowleged as king firſt by the ambaſſadors, and afterwards by the republic. The following year, to cultivate the friendſhip of the *Romans*, he ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, with a crown of gold of great value, in acknowlegement of the kind entertainment he had received while an hoſtage in that city: he alſo at the ſame time ſent the aſſaſſin who had murdered *Octavius*. *Demetrius*, not long after, turned his arms againſt *Cappadocia*, where young *Ariarathes* then reigned, and ſet up a pretender, named *Holofernes*, to his crown. He is acknowleged king by the *Romans*.

The king, upon being diſengaged from wars, gave himſelf up entirely to pleaſures and eaſe. He cauſed a caſtle to be built near *Antioch*, and there ſhutting himſelf up, caſt off all care of the public, being ſeldom ſober the whole time he lived in that retirement. As he entirely neglected all care of the government, his ſubjects formed a conſpiracy for the depoſing of him, which, however, was diſcovered before it could take effect. *Holofernes*, whom he had endeavoured to place on the throne of *Cappadocia*, engaged in this plot againſt his benefactor. *Demetrius* cauſed *Holofernes* to be kept under cloſe confinement at *Seleucia*, and finding that the kings of *Cappadocia*, *Pergamus*, and *Egypt* had been alſo concerned in the plot, he judged, that the ſafeſt way to ſecure the ſucceſſion to his ſon, would be to ſend him to *Rome*. The young prince accordingly went thither; but the *Romans* reviving their former reſentment againſt his He gives himſelf up to drunkenneſs and debauchery. Sends his ſon to be brought up at *Rome*.

his father, for making his eſcape, received him very coldly, and ſcarce treated him as a nobleman. The young prince's governors, offended with the behaviour of the *Romans*, carried him back to *Syria*, when they had ſcarce ſhewn him at *Rome*. This ſudden eſcape of the ſon was no leſs reſented by the ſenate than that of the father had been ſome years before.

Heraclides, whom *Demetrius* had baniſhed from *Babylon*, and who had been for ſome time at *Rome*, now reſolved to ſeize the opportunity of raiſing diſturbances in *Syria*. While he had reſided at *Rhodes*, he found a young man named *Balas*, of mean extraction, but of parts and addreſs, whom he had inſtructed to perſonate the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and under that title to lay claim to the crown of *Syria*. The kings of *Egypt*, *Cappadocia*, and *Pergamus*, acted in concert with *Heraclides*, and acknowleged *Balas* as the ſon of *Antiochus*. *Heraclides* conducted the impoſtor to *Rome*, with *Laodice*, the real daughter of *Antiochus*, whom he had gained over, and introduced them both to the ſenate a few days after the flight of the young *Demetrius*. The ſenate received them very graciouſly; and though the whole city, as *Polybius*, who was then at *Rome*, mentions, was fully convinced of the impoſture, they paſſed a decree in favour of the pretenders, deſiring their allies to aſſiſt *Balas*, who had taken the name of *Alexander* in the recovery of his father's dominions.

Alexander Balus lays claim to the crown,

and is countenanced by the *Romans*.

Alexander being thus countenanced by the *Roman* ſenate, upon his arrival in *Syria* quickly raiſed a powerful army, *Ariarathes*, *Ptolemy*, and *Attalus* ſending him powerful ſuccours, which enabled him to make himſelf maſter of *Ptolemais* in *Paleſtine*. As the *Syrians*, on this conqueſt, flocked to him in great numbers, *Demetrius* was obliged to raiſe an army in his own defence, and, to appeaſe the *Romans*, ſent *Andriſcus*, who pretended to be the ſon of the late king of *Macedon*, to *Rome*. The *Roman* ſenate, though pleaſed to have that mock king in their hands, did not, however, diſcountenance in the leaſt the pretender to the crown of *Syria*. *Demetrius*, to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt his rival, endeavoured, by large offers, to ſecure the friendſhip of *Jonathan*, the brother and ſucceſſor of *Judas Maccabæus*; but as he had, on all occaſions, betrayed an irreconcileable hatred againſt the *Jews*, *Jonathan* ſeemed rather to hearken to the offers of *Alexander*, and reſolved to enter into an alliance with him.

The two kings having taken the field, at the head of their reſpective armies, *Demetrius* gained the victory in the firſt battle; but *Alexander*, being ſpeedily reinforced by the three kings who had declared for him, and ſupported alſo by *Jonathan* and the *Romans*, ſtill maintained his ground. *Demetrius*, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, as his ſubjects deſerted from him to the impoſtor, ſent his two ſons, *Demetrius* and *Antiochus*, to *Cnidus*, a city of *Caria*, and there committed them with a great treaſure to the care of a friend of his in that place. He ſoon after hazarded a deciſive battle with his rival, in which,

after

after an obſtinate diſpute, he was entirely defeated. When *Demetrius* his troops gave way, he diſplayed an extraordinary ſkill in military affairs, by retiring in good order, and keeping his men together. But in the retreat, his horſe having unluckily plunged into a bog, he was abandoned by his own men, and ſurrounded by the enemy. In this ſituation he quitted his horſe, and for a conſiderable time fought on foot with incredible bravery, putting all thoſe to death who dared to approach him. Having at length received a great many wounds from darts, arrows, and javelins, he ſunk down and expired. *Polybius* and *Porphyrius*, who were both intimately acquainted with this prince, tell us, that he was killed after he had reigned twelve years. defeated and killed. Bef. Chr. 150.

Alexander, after the death of *Demetrius*, being acknowleged as king of *Syria*, married *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and ſoon after abandoned himſelf to his natural inclination for luxury, idleneſs, and debauchery. He ſhut himſelf up in the inner parts of his palace with lewd women, ſpending his whole time with them, and leaving the management of affairs to a favourite called *Ammonius*, a man of a ſuſpicious, cruel, and ſavage diſpoſition. All thoſe of the blood royal who fell into his hands, were moſt inhumanly maſſacred; which conduct ſoon brought upon himſelf and his maſter the hatred of the whole nation. *Demetrius*, the eldeſt ſon of the late king, hearing that the *Syrians* were greatly diſſatisfied with *Alexander*, hired ſome companies of *Cretans* by means of *Laſthenes*, who had been truſted with the care of his education, and ſetting ſail for *Cilicia*, ſoon made himſelf maſter of that province, the inhabitants flocking from all parts to join him. *Alexander*, alarmed by his ſucceſs, drew together what forces he could; but ſoon after, upon advice that *Apollonius*, governor of *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, had declared for *Demetrius*, he began to ſuſpect the fidelity of the *Syrians*, and called in *Ptolemy*, his father-in-law, to his aſſiſtance. *Alexander* abandons himſelf to debauchery. *Demetrius* attempts to recover his father's kingdom.

Apollonius endeavoured, but with very bad ſucceſs, to reduce *Jonathan*, the commander of the *Jews*. *Ptolemy Philometor*, in the mean time, advanced into *Paleſtine* with a very numerous army, all the cities thro' which he paſſed receiving him with loud acclamations. The king of *Egypt*, upon his arrival at *Ptolemais*, was informed, to his great aſtoniſhment, that *Alexander* had a deſign upon his life, and that his favourite *Ammonius* had taken upon himſelf the chief direction of the aſſaſſination.

Ptolemy, at firſt, would not believe that *Alexander* was concerned in the plot; but aſcribing the whole to the jealous temper of *Ammonius*, who, without the knowlege of his maſter, had put to death many *Syrian* lords of great diſtinction, he wrote to his ſon-in-law, complaining of the attempt, and demanding the criminal to be delivered up to him. *Alexander* refuſing to comply with ſo juſt a demand, *Ptolemy* concluded from thence that he was privy to the plot, and reſolved to turn his arms againſt him. He accordingly ſent ambaſſadors to young *Ptolemy* concludes an alliance with *Demetrius*.

Demetrius, offering him his daughter *Cleopatra*, *Alexander*'s wife, in marriage, and promiſing to ſettle him on his father's throne. *Demetrius* embracing the offer with joy, waited on *Ptolemy*, and received from him his daughter, who was not aſhamed to break thro' her former engagements.

The inhabitants of *Antioch*, upon hearing that *Ptolemy* had declared for *Demetrius*, roſe up in arms in a tumultuous manner, and ſlew *Ammonius*, as he was attempting to eſcape from his palace in the attire of a woman. Tho' they deteſted *Alexander*, and were now reſolved to ſhake off his yoke, *Ptolemy*, however, could not prevail upon them to declare in favour of *Demetrius*. They opened their gates to *Ptolemy*, and offered to put the crown on his head; but that prince, with a generoſity ſcarce to be paralleled, refuſed their offer, and in an aſſembly of the inhabitants pleaded in favour of *Demetrius*, offering to be their guarantee for his conduct, and undertaking to aſſiſt him with his advice. *Demetrius*, in conſequence of the repreſentations of *Ptolemy*, was at length proclaimed king of *Syria*, and placed on the throne of his anceſtors. *Alexander* being ſoon after defeated by *Ptolemy* and his new ſon-in-law, fled with a few followers to *Arabia*, where he was treacherouſly murdered by one whom the author of the book of *Maccabees* calls *Zabdiel*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, *Diocles*, who had received him in a friendly manner into his houſe. *Ptolemy* was mortally wounded in the action, and died five days after. *Demetrius*, who now aſſumed the title of Nicator, or the conqueror, without any further oppoſition took poſſeſſion of his father's dominions. *Alexander Balas*, according to *Joſephus*, reigned five years, but ſix years, according to the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*.

Demetrius proclaimed king of *Syria*.

Alexander murdered.

This is the account of the troubles of *Syria* at this period according to *Joſephus*; but the author of the book of *Maccabees* relates, that *Ptolemy* advanced into *Paleſtine* with the deſign of ſeizing that country for himſelf, and left *Egyptian* garriſons in all the cities thro' which he paſſed, *Alexander* having ordered them to admit him as a friend. Upon his arrival at *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, he threw off the maſk, and concluded a treaty with *Demetrius*, whom he ſoon after alſo deceived; for upon entering *Antioch*, he cauſed himſelf to be declared king of *Syria*; but the battle with *Alexander*, put a period to his ambition.

Demetrius diſcontents his ſubjects.

Demetrius being altogether a ſtranger to ſtate affairs, left the whole care of the government to *Laſthenes*, who being a man of a ſevere and imperious temper, ſoon alienated the minds of the *Syrians* from their new king. The firſt wrong ſtep he took, was to command all the *Egyptians*, left by *Ptolemy* in the maritime cities of *Phœnice* and *Syria*, to be cruelly maſſacred by the *Syrian* troops who were in the ſame garriſons. Hereupon the *Egyptian* army, which was ſtill in *Syria*, and had placed *Demetrius* on the throne, abandoned him, and returned home. *Demetrius*, ſoon after, at the inſtigation of his prime miniſter, cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made after all thoſe who had been againſt him or his father in the late wars, and put them all to death.

death. Having now, as he thought, got rid of all his enemies, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, by which means he raised disaffection among those veterans who would otherwise have hazarded their lives to keep him on the throne.

Not long after, being informed that *Jonathan* was besieging the fortress which the *Syrians* still held at *Jerusalem*, he proceeded to *Ptolemais*, and summoned *Jonathan* to wait on him there. *Jonathan* ordering his troops to pursue the siege with all possible vigour, waited on *Demetrius* with some of the priests and principal men of the nation, carrying with him many rich and valuable presents. He was so successful as to appease the king, who confirmed him in the office of high priest, and annexed to *Judea* the three governments of *Apharema*, *Lydda*, and *Ramatha*. He agreed also to free the whole country under his government from all duties for 300 talents, to be paid to him by way of equivalent.

Demetrius, upon his return to *Antioch*, gave himself up to all kind of excesses, being prompted thereto by *Lasthenes*. *Dionotus*, afterwards called *Tryphon*, observing the general disaffection of the people occasioned by the wild conduct of the king, resolved to make an attempt to seize the crown. He had been appointed by *Balas* governor of *Antioch* in conjunction with *Hierax*, and having been very zealous in his cause, had no share in the confidence of *Demetrius*. According to *Strabo*, in the very beginning of the reign of *Nicator*, he seized the fortress of *Coracesium* in *Cilicia*, and from thence scouring the seas with impunity, took many of the inhabitants of the coasts, and carrying them to *Delos*, sold them for slaves to the *Romans*. After he had formed the design of making himself king, he went to *Zabdiel* in *Arabia*, and prevailed with him to deliver into his hands *Antiochus* the son of *Balas*, under pretence of putting the youth on the throne of his father; his real design, however, was to put the crown on his own head, after he had driven *Demetrius* from the throne.

He abandons himself to all excesses.

Jonathan, in the mean time, desiring *Demetrius* to withdraw the garrison from the fortress of *Jerusalem*, the king promised to grant his request, on condition he would send him some troops to keep the *Antiochians* in awe. Hereupon *Jonathan* sent him 3000 men; by which reinforcement, the king believing himself sufficiently strengthened, resolved to disarm the *Antiochians*, and accordingly ordered them all to deliver up their arms. The inhabitants, upon this unexpected order, ran to arms, and to the number of 120,000 men invested the king's palace with a design to kill him. All the *Jews* in the city hastened to his relief, fell upon the mutineers, killed about 100,000 of them, and set fire to the city, which soon obliged the rest to submit and sue for pardon; which was granted them. The tumult being thus quelled, the *Jews* returned loaded with spoils to *Jerusalem*.

Seditions and tumults at *Antioch*.

Demetrius, notwithstanding the pardon he had granted to the *Antiochians*, put many of them to death, and treated the inhabi-

inhabitants in the moſt cruel and tyrannical manner, which alienated from him the hearts of the whole nation. He likewiſe diſguſted the *Jews* by refuſing to ſtand to the treaty concluded with *Jonathan* at *Ptolemais*, and exacting the taxes and tributes from them with the utmoſt rigour.

Antiochus the ſon of *Balas* claims the crown, and is acknowleged king. Ref. Chr. 144.

While things were in this unſteady condition, *Tryphon* arrived with *Antiochus* in *Syria*, and was immediately joined by the veterans whom *Demetrius* had diſbanded, and multitudes of others whom he had provoked by his tyranny. *Demetrius* being defeated in an engagement, was forced to ſhelter himſelf within the walls of *Seleucia*, while the other party being received into *Antioch*, there placed the young prince on the throne of *Syria*, and gave him the ſurname of *Theos*, or *the god*.

Jonathan and his brother *Simon* having received large offers from *Tryphon*, declared for *Antiochus*, and having drawn together a great army, they marched round the country as far as *Damaſcus*, and ſecured all thoſe parts for the new king. In the mean time, the forces which *Demetrius* had in *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, invaded *Galilee*, which obliged *Jonathan* to turn his arms that way. He gained a compleat victory over them, and after purſuing them to the banks of the *Eleutherus*, turned his arms firſt againſt the *Arabians*, who were of the party of *Demetrius*, and afterwards entered the territory of *Damaſcus*, putting all thoſe to the ſword who refuſed to ſide with *Antiochus*, while his brother *Simon* did the ſame in the country of the *Philiſtines*.

Jonathan treacherouſly ſeized by *Tryphon*,

Tryphon thought it now time to put in execution the deſign he had formed of ſeizing the crown for himſelf; and foreſeeing that *Jonathan* would oppoſe ſuch a treacherous attempt, he reſolved in the firſt place to rid himſelf of ſo formidable an enemy. With this deſign he entered *Judea* with a powerful army; but *Jonathan* meeting him at the head of 40,000 men, he thought it beſt to have recourſe to artifice, and accordingly told the high-prieſt that he had come only to conſult with him about their common intereſt, and to put *Ptolemais* into his hands. *Jonathan* too eaſily believing him, diſmiſſed all his army except 3000 men, and of theſe he afterwards ſent 2000 into *Galilee*, ſo that he entered *Ptolemais* with a guard of only 1000 men. He was no ſooner got within the walls, but the gates were ſhut upon him, and he himſelf ſeized, after all his followers had been put to the ſword. The *Jews* chooſing *Simon* for their general inſtead of *Jonathan*, applied themſelves with all poſſible ſpeed to the finiſhing of the fortifications of *Jeruſalem*. When *Tryphon* entered *Judea*, *Simon* marched out againſt him; but was perſuaded by him to ſend him 200 talents and the two ſons of *Jonathan*, in hopes of recovering his brother's liberty. *Tryphon* again violated his promiſe, and returned into *Syria*, carrying *Jonathan* and his two ſons along with him; and having reinforced his army, he marched back into *Judea*, with a deſign utterly to deſtroy the whole nation. Being forced by *Simon*, however, to retire with diſgrace, he, on his retreat, put

who cauſes *Antiochus* to be murdered,

Jonathan

Jonathan to death, and ſoon after cauſed *Antiochus* to be privately murdered.

Upon the death of the young king, *Tryphon* took poſſeſſion of the throne of *Syria*, without meeting with any oppoſition. The firſt ſtep he took after he had aſcended the throne, was to try whether he could prevail with the *Romans* to acknowlege him as king. He therefore ſent an embaſſy to the *Romans*, to notify his acceſſion to the throne of *Syria*, and preſented them with a ſtatue of a Victory of maſſy gold, weighing 1000 of thoſe pieces of gold which were called *Aurei*. The *Romans*, without acknowleging his title, received his preſent, and ordered the name of young *Antiochus*, whom *Tryphon* had lately murdered, to be engraven on it, as if it had been ſent by him. About this time *Sarpedon*, one of the commanders of *Demetrius*, attempted to recover *Phœnice*; but was defeated by the forces which *Tryphon* had in thoſe parts. and uſurps the crown of *Syria*. Bef. Chr. 141.

Demetrius, in the mean time, remained at *Laodicea*, where he abandoned himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, without ſo much as ſeeming to be ſenſible of his miſfortunes. However, receiving an embaſſy from *Simon*, he granted all he requeſted with regard to himſelf and the *Jews*, on condition they joined him againſt *Tryphon*. Not long after, he was encouraged to attempt the recovery of his kingdom, by other ambaſſadors ſent to him out of the eaſt, and inviting him thither. The *Parthians* having over-run and reduced moſt of the eaſtern provinces from the *Euphrates* to the *Indus*, ſuch of the inhabitants of thoſe countries as were originally *Macedonians*, not being able to bear that uſurpation, earneſtly entreated *Demetrius* to come and put himſelf at their head. *Demetrius* accordingly left *Syria* and went into the eaſt, where he was joined by the *Elymæans*, *Perſians*, and *Bactrians*, and ſeveral defeated the *Parthians* in ſeveral engagements. Being at laſt, however, deceived by falſe appearances of a treaty of peace, he inadvertently put himſelf into the power of a *Parthian* commander, who ſeized on his perſon, and cut his whole army in pieces. The king of *Parthia*, who was named *Mithridates*, carried *Demetrius* round the provinces which had revolted, that the people might be eaſier brought to ſubmit to their former yoke. After this, he ſent him as a priſoner at large to *Hyrcania*, and even gave him his daughter *Rhodagune* in marriage. *Demetrius* concludes a malliance with *Simon*. He gains ſeveral advantages over the *Parthians*, but is at laſt made a priſoner by them.

Cleopatra, wife to *Demetrius*, upon advice of her huſband's captivity, ſhut herſelf up with her two children in *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, whither many of *Tryphon*'s ſoldiers flocked to her; but to ſtrengthen herſelf the more againſt the uſurper, ſhe invited *Antiochus Sidetes*, the brother of *Demetrius*, to join his intereſt with hers, promiſing, on that condition, to marry him, and procure him the crown. This *Antiochus* ſeems to have continued about *Cnidos*, where he was educated, even after his brother's acceſſion to the crown. Having accepted the offer made him by *Cleopatra*, he immediately aſſumed the title of king of *Syria*, and *Cleopatra* his wife claims the crown, and marries *Antiochus Sidetes* his brother.

and wrote a letter to *Simon* dated from the iſles of the ſea, that is from *Rhodes*, as is commonly underſtood, ſince he had been there a little before. To gain him over to his intereſt, he confirmed to him all the privileges and immunities which other kings had granted to the *Jewiſh* nation, and exempted *Jeruſalem* from the juriſdiction of the kings of *Syria*, by which means *Simon* was prevailed upon to declare for him.

Sidetes marches againſt *Tryphon*,

The young prince accordingly, in the beginning of the following year, landed in *Syria*, and marrying *Cleopatra*, joined what forces ſhe had to his own, and marched againſt *Tryphon*. Moſt of the uſurper's forces, weary of his tyranny, went over to *Antiochus*, whoſe army was thereby augmented to 120,000 foot and 8000 horſe. *Tryphon* having ſhut himſelf up in *Dora*, *Antiochus* inveſted that city. *Simon*, on this occaſion, ſent the king 2000 men, with conſiderable preſents in gold, ſilver, arms, and engines of war; but proſperity had changed the heart of *Antiochus*. He ſent back to *Simon* his preſents and troops, and with them *Athenobius*, to demand the reſtitution of the fortreſs of *Jeruſalem*, with ſeveral other places then held by *Simon*, or elſe 500 talents in lieu of them, and 500 more for the damages done by the *Jews* in his dominions. *Simon* not returning a ſatisfactory anſwer to this demand, *Antiochus* was greatly enraged againſt the *Jews*, and ſent part of his troops under the command of *Cendebæus* againſt *Simon*, while he in perſon purſued the ſiege of *Dora*. When the city was reduced to the laſt extremity, *Tryphon* eſcaped from thence to *Orthoſia*, another maritime town of *Phœnice*, and from thence to *Apamea*, his native city, which being taken by aſſault, he was there ſlain, according to *Joſephus*, in the third year of the captivity of *Demetrius*.

who is killed at *Apamea*.

Antiochus marches againſt the *Parthians*.

The death of *Tryphon* having put an end to the inteſtine broils, *Antiochus* aſcended his father's throne without any further oppoſition. Having reduced all the cities of *Syria* which had ſhaken off the yoke and made themſelves independant, he turned his arms againſt *Judea*, and reduced *Jeruſalem* to ſuch ſtraits, that *John Hyrcanus*, who had ſucceeded his father, was obliged to capitulate and deliver up the city.

Antiochus having concluded a peace with the *Jews*, marched with a numerous army againſt *Phraates* king of *Parthia*, under pretence of delivering his brother from his captivity; but in reality to recover ſome provinces lately uſurped by the *Parthians*. He is ſaid to have had in this expedition above 80,000 men well armed and diſciplined; but the train of luxury conſiſting of ſutlers, cooks, confectioners, actors, ſingers, lewd women, &c. were near four times as numerous as the army; for according to *Athenæus*, they amounted to above 300,000 perſons. Being greatly favoured by the *Babylonians* and *Medians*, he defeated *Indates* the *Perſian* general on the banks of the *Lycus*, and afterwards routed *Phrahates* himſelf in three ſucceſſive battles; by which means he recovered all the provinces that formerly belonged to the *Syrian* empire, except *Parthia*

thia alone. *Hyrcanus*, prince of the *Jews*, accompanied *Antiochus* in this expedition, and at the end of the campaign returned to *Jeruſalem* loaded with glory and rich ſpoils. The reſt of the army wintered in the eaſt; but as they cruelly oppreſſed the inhabitants in all places where they were quartered, the people of the country entered into a correſpondence with the *Parthians*, and agreed to maſſacre their troubleſome gueſts all in one day in their ſeveral quarters. This they accordingly executed; and the ſlaughter was ſo general, that out of ſuch a prodigious number of perſons, ſcarce one had the good fortune to return into *Syria*. *Antiochus*, it is ſaid, was ſlain as he was marching to the aſſiſtance of the quarters that were next to him *. From the book of the *Maccabees*, ſome have concluded that *Antiochus* was ſlain by the prieſts of the goddeſs *Nanea*, ſuppoſed to be *Diana*, whom he declared he would marry, that he might have a good pretence for carrying off the treaſures out of her temple. All *Syria* was ſtruck with conſternation and grief upon the news of the death of *Antiochus*, and of the loſs of their army. *Antiochus* was particularly lamented, he being a prince endowed with many excellent qualities. *Plutarch* relates a ſaying of his very much to his honour. Having one day loſt his way in purſuit of a wild beaſt, he was obliged to paſs a night in a cottage without any of his attendants. The poor people, who were ignorant of his rank, entertained him with great hoſpitality; and at ſupper, the converſation turning upon the perſon and conduct of the king, the maſter of the houſe told him, that the king, as was commonly believed, meant well, but that his too great paſſion for hunting made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repoſe too much confidence in his miniſters, whoſe actions did not always anſwer the goodneſs of his intentions. Next morning, when the lords of the court arrived at the cottage, he thanked his landlord in their preſence for his kindneſs, but more eſpecially for having told him the truth, "which none of theſe," ſaid he, "has honeſty "enough to do, though I have taken them into my ſervice for "that purpoſe †."

His army maſſacred in their quarters, and himſelf ſlain.

Some time before the general maſſacre of the *Syrian* army, *Phrahates* had ſet *Demetrius* at liberty, and ſent him with a body of troops into *Syria*; but upon the news of the maſſacre he endeavoured, tho' in vain, to overtake and bring him back. *Demetrius*, upon arriving at *Antioch*, made great rejoicings for the recovery of his kingdom, while all *Syria* was in tears for the loſs of the army in the eaſt, there being ſcarce a family in the whole country which had not a ſhare in that common calamity.

Demetrius recovers the kingdom of *Syria*. Bef. Chr. 130.

A civil war, about this time, breaking out in *Egypt* between *Ptolemy Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra* his divorced queen, the latter ſolicited

* Juſtin. l. xxxviii. Joſeph. l. xiii. Oroſ. l. v. Euſeb. † Plut. in Apophtheg.

licited the assistance of *Demetrius*, and promised him the crown of *Egypt* for his reward. *Demetrius* accepting of the proposal without hesitation, marched with a powerful army into *Egypt*, and laid siege to *Pelusium*. The inhabitants of *Antioch*, *Apamea* and other cities, who detested him on account of his tyrannical government and vicious manners, took this opportunity of revolting from him, which obliged him to abandon *Egypt*, and return to his own dominions. *Physcon*, upon his departure, having driven *Cleopatra* from *Egypt*, and settled the affairs of that kingdom, resolved to revenge the late invasion of *Demetrius*; and knowing that he was universally hated by the *Syrians*, he set up an impostor against him called *Alexander Zebina*. He was the son of a pawn-broker of *Alexandria*, but pretending to be the son of *Alexander Balas*, under that title laid claim to the crown of *Syria*, *Physcon* furnishing an army to take possession of it. On his arrival in *Syria*, multitudes flocked to him, without examining the justice of his pretensions, or caring whom they had for their king, provided they got rid of *Demetrius*, whose tyranny they could no longer bear. *Demetrius* being entirely defeated by his rival in the neighbourhood of *Damascus*, fled with a few attendants to *Ptolemais*, where his wife *Cleopatra* then was: but she still retaining her former resentment against him for his marrying *Rhodagune*, shut the gates against him. From *Ptolemais* he sailed to *Tyre*, with the design of taking sanctuary in a temple built there by his brother *Antiochus*; but he had no sooner entered that city, than he was treacherously put to death, in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign after his captivity. Upon his death, *Cleopatra* retained a small part of the kingdom. *Zebina* reigned over all the rest, and for the better securing himself in the possession of the crown, entered into a strict alliance with *John Hyrcanus* prince of the *Jews*.

The *Antiochians* revolt,

and join an impostor named *Alexander Zebina*.

Demetrius treacherously put to death.

Seleucus, the eldest son of *Demetrius Nicator* by *Cleopatra*, being now in the 20th year of his age, caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother, who was for reigning alone, was highly offended with the conduct of her son; and fearing lest in time he should revenge his father's death, which was ascribed to her, she, with her own hand, plunged a dart into his breast and killed him, after he bore the title of king one year.

Cleopatra murders her son *Seleucus*.

Notwithstanding this unnatural murder, which raised an universal indignation all over *Syria*, three of *Zebina*'s captains revolted from him to *Cleopatra*, and seized on *Laodicea*. But *Zebina*, who was of a mild temper, prevailed upon them to return to their duty, by promising to pardon them, and to restore them to their former rank. He not only generously forgave them, but reposed in them the same confidence as formerly, without once reproaching them with their desertion. *Cleopatra*, in the mean time, sent for her other son, named *Antiochus*, from *Athens*, whither she had sent him for the benefit of his education; and upon his arrival, declared him king of *Syria*,

allowing him, however, no more than the bare title. To diſtinguiſh this from the other *Syrian* princes of the ſame name, he is generally called *Grypus*, a ſurname taken from his aquiline noſe. *Joſephus* calls him *Philometor*; but on his medals, he bears the name of *Epiphanes*.

Zebina refuſing to pay homage to *Phyſcon*, which he demanded becauſe he had been ſettled on the throne by his troops, the king of *Egypt*, therefore, gave his daughter *Tryphæna* in marriage to *Grypus*, and ſent a conſiderable army to *Syria*, to drive from the throne the perſon he had a few years before placed on it. *Zebina* being entirely defeated by his rival, fled to *Antioch*, where, as he was in great want of money, he allowed his ſoldiers to ſeize on the rich furniture of the temple of *Jupiter*. The citizens taking up arms in defence of their temple, drove him from their city, and his troops diſperſing, he embarked in a ſmall veſſel for *Greece*: but being taken by a pyrate, he was delivered up to *Grypus*, and by him put to death, in the fourth year of his reign.

Zebina defeated by *Antiochus Grypus*,

Grypus, on the death of his rival, beginning to take on him the authority as well as the name of king, *Cleopatra* reſolved to cut him off, and call to the crown another ſon ſhe had by *Antiochus Sidetes*, who was but an infant. With this view, ſhe, one day, offered a poiſonous draught to *Grypus*, as he returned hot and weary from ſome exerciſe: but that prince having been forewarned of her deſign, inſiſted upon her drinking the liquor which ſhe had prepared for him. The unhappy woman being obliged to yield, the poiſon immediately had its effect, and delivered *Syria* from a monſter, who, by her unheard of crimes, had been long the ſcourge of the ſtate.

who is acknowleged as king. Bef. Chr. 123.

Antiochus Grypus, upon her death, enjoyed the kingdom of *Syria* eight years without the leaſt diſturbance, at the end of which *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, his half brother, contended with him for the ſovereignty of *Syria*. This prince, who was born while *Demetrius* was priſoner in *Media*, upon his return to *Syria* was ſent by his mother to *Cyzicus*, a city lying on the *Propontis*. *Grypus* ordering him to be poiſoned, *Antiochus*, in his own defence, took up arms, and laid claim to the crown. *Cleopatra*, the divorced queen of *Lathyrus* king of *Egypt*, marrying *Cyzicenus*, raiſed an army in the iſland of *Cyprus*, or, according to ſome, gained over the army which *Grypus* had there, and brought it inſtead of a dowry to her new huſband.

Antiochus Cyzicenus claims the crown of *Syria*. Bef. Chr. 117.

Grypus having defeated *Cyzicenus*, ſoon after made himſelf maſter of *Antioch*, where he found *Cleopatra*, his rival's wife. Tho' ſhe had taken ſanctuary in one of the temples of the city, yet ſuch was the barbarity of her ſiſter *Tryphæna*, that, contrary to the inclination of her huſband *Grypus*, ſhe ſent aſſaſſins, who murdered her at the altar. Her death did not remain long unrevenged; for *Cyzicenus* defeating his brother in a ſecond engagement, in the purſuit took the inhuman *Tryphæna*, whom he immediately ſacrificed to the manes of his deceaſed wife. *Grypus* now retired to *Aspendus* in *Pamphilia*; but the next year he

The kingdom of *Syria* divided between *Grypus* and *Cyzicenus*.

he returned with a great army, recovered *Syria*, and put an end to the inteſtine broils by conſenting to a diviſion of the empire; in virtue of which *Cyzicenus* reigned at *Damaſcus* over *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, and *Grypus* at *Antioch* over all the other provinces. Both brothers now abandoned themſelves to a moſt idle and debauched manner of life.

John Hyrcanus, prince of the *Jews*, in the mean time, made himſelf maſter of all *Judea*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*. *Cyzicenus*, indeed, attempted to put a ſtop to his progreſs; but being defeated by the two ſons of *Hyrcanus*, *Samaria*, after that defeat, was obliged to ſurrender to the conquerors. The two brothers ſoon renewing the war againſt each other, ſeveral cities, namely, *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Ptolemais*, and *Gaza*, ſubject to the *Syrians*, took that opportunity of making themſelves independant. In others, tyrants ſtarted up, and uſurped a ſovereign power. Thus *Theodorus* cauſed himſelf to be acknowleged the ſovereign lord of *Gadara* and *Amathus*; *Zoilus* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Dora* and *Strato*'s tower, and others of other places.

Grypus aſſaſſinated. Bef. Ch. 97.

During theſe tranſactions, *Grypus* was aſſaſſinated by one *Heracleon*, after having reigned, according to *Joſephus*, 29, or according to *Porphyrus*, 26, years. He left behind him five ſons, namely, *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* and *Philip*, twins; *Demetrius* and *Antiochus Dionyſius*. *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, on the death of *Grypus*, ſeizing *Antioch*, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to make himſelf maſter of the whole empire; but was defeated and ſlain by *Seleucus*, who took poſſeſſion of his part of the kingdom. The ſon of *Cyzicenus*, who was named *Antiochus Euſebes*, eſcaping from *Antioch*, which was reduced by *Seleucus*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of *Syria* at *Aradus*, and aſſembling an army, defeated *Seleucus*. This prince was now obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Mopſueſtia*, a city of *Cilicia*, where he was ſoon after burned in his palace by the inhabitants, who were provoked againſt him on account of the exorbitant taxes with which he had loaded them. *Antiochus* and *Philip*, the twin ſons of *Grypus*, to revenge the death of their brother, marched againſt *Mopſueſtia*, which they razed to the ground, after having put all the inhabitants to the ſword. On their return they were routed by *Euſebes* on the banks of the *Orontes*, where *Antiochus* was drowned. *Euſebes*, to ſtrengthen his intereſt, married *Selene*, the widow of *Grypus*, who after the death of her huſband had retained ſome territories in her own poſſeſſion. *Lathyrus* king of *Egypt*, whoſe wife *Selene* had been, taking offence at this alliance, ſent to *Cnidos* for *Demetrius Euchærus*, the fourth ſon of *Grypus*, who was brought up in that place, and made him king of *Damaſcus*. *Euſebes* and *Philip* were too much employed againſt each other to prevent this blow. Not long after, however, *Philip* entirely defeated *Euſebes*, and obliged him to take refuge among the *Parthians*. *Demetrius*, the brother of *Philip*, not being contented with his ſhare of the empire, drove *Philip* out of *Antioch*, and purſued him as far as *Beræa*, now *Aleppo*, which he cloſely beſieged. While *Demetrius*

Seleucus defeats *Antiochus Cyzicenus*.

The unhappy end of *Seleucus*.

Euſebes defeats the two ſons of *Grypus*.

Demetrius and *Philip* quarrel about their territories.

rius was employed in this ſiege, *Zizus*, an *Arabian* king, and *Mithridates*, a *Parthian*, attacked and routed his army, and taking himſelf priſoner, conducted him to *Parthia*, where he died of a lingering diſtemper.

Philip, after the defeat of his brother, ranſomed all the *Antiochian* priſoners, which gained him the hearts of the inhabitants of that city, who on his return welcomed him with loud acclamations. Soon after he was again employed in oppoſing his old competitor *Euſebes*, who over-ran, with great rapidity, the *Syrian* provinces bordering on *Parthia*. While *Philip* was abſent in the northern parts of his dominions, his younger brother *Antiochus Dionyſius*, ſeized on *Cœle-Syria*, and choſe *Damaſcus* for the capital of his new kingdom. He having imprudently engaged in a war with *Aretas* king of *Arabia Petræa*, *Philip*, by the treachery of *Mileſius*, made himſelf maſter of *Damaſcus*; but neglecting to reward the traitor as he expected, he was again ſhut out from thence, and obliged to retire. After his departure, *Antiochus* renewed the war with the *Arabians*, and was cut off in *Arabia*, with the greateſt part of his army. *Ptolemy* prince of *Chalcis*, now wanted to make himſelf maſter of *Damaſcus*; but the inhabitants bearing an utter averſion to him, choſe rather to ſubmit to *Aretas*, by whom their king and their army had been lately cut off.

The *Syrians* ſeeing no end to the devaſtations, ſlaughters, and other calamities which attended the diſſenſions among the princes of the race of *Seleucus*, reſolved at laſt to exclude them all, and ſubmit to a foreign prince, and reſtore tranquillity to their country. They pitched upon *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, who accepting of their offer, came and took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Syria*, which he governed 18 years in great tranquillity. *Tigranes* no ſooner entered *Syria*, but *Euſebes* fled into *Cilicia*, where he paſſed the reſt of his life in obſcurity. What became of *Philip*, is not known. *Selene*, the wife of *Euſebes*, retained *Ptolemais*, with part of *Phœnice* and *Cœle-Syria*, and reigned there many years without moleſtation, which enabled her to give her two ſons an education ſuitable to their birth. The eldeſt was called *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, and the youngeſt *Seleucus Cybioſactes*. Some diſturbances happening about this time in *Egypt*, *Selene* hoped to procure that kingdom for herſelf, and ſent her two ſons to *Rome* to ſolicite the ſenate in her behalf. The *Romans* kept them there two years; but after *Alexander*, who was in poſſeſſion of the *Egyptian* throne, had ſpent all his treaſures in bribing the ſenate, they confirmed him in the kingdom, and diſmiſſed the two young princes.

The *Syrians* ſubmit to *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*. Bef. Ch. 83.

This deſign of *Selene* proving unſucceſsful, ſhe attempted to enlarge her dominions in *Syria*, and prevailed upon many cities to revolt from *Tigranes* and ſide with her. The king of *Armenia*, to put a ſtop to the deſigns of *Selene*, entered *Syria* at the head of 500,000 men, and having reduced *Ptolemais*, and taken *Selene* priſoner, ſhe having ſhut herſelf up in that city, he cauſed her to be put to death at *Seleucia* in *Meſopotamia*. *Tigranes*,

not long after, being defeated by *Lucullus* the *Roman* general, was obliged to recall *Megadetes* the governor of *Syria*. *Antiochus Asiaticus* seized this opportunity of asserting his claim, and took possession of some provinces of *Syria*, where he reigned quietly four years.

Antiochus Asiaticus robbed of his crown by the *Romans*. Bef. Chr. 65.

Pompey, the *Roman* general, having then obliged *Tigranes* to confine his ambition to the inheritance of his forefathers, *Antiochus Asiaticus* thinking that none could shew a better claim to *Syria* than himself, appeared before *Pompey*, and entreated the *Roman* not to exclude him from a crown which his ancestors had long wore with great glory. But as the *Romans*, in the age we are writing of, had only the bare appearance and outside shew of virtue, and scrupled not, when it served their interest, to commit the most flagrant acts of injustice, *Pompey* gave *Antiochus* a haughty and disobliging answer, and stripping him of his inheritance, reduced *Syria* to a *Roman* province. *Antiochus* spent the rest of his life in obscurity. His brother *Seleucus* survived him a few years: for the *Alexandrians* having placed *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy Auletes* on the throne of *Egypt*, sent an embassy into *Syria*, inviting *Antiochus Asiaticus*, who was the next male heir to the *Egyptian* crown, to marry *Berenice*, and to reign in conjunction with her. The ambassadors finding that he was dead, and thereupon returning home, the *Alexandrians* sent another embassy to *Seleucus* his brother with the same proposal; which he readily accepting, reigned in *Egypt* till *Berenice*, growing weary of him, caused him to be put to death *. In him ended the whole race of *Seleucus*, after the empire of *Syria* had continued in that family 270 years, according to *Appian*, or 251 years, according to *Eusebius*.

CHAP. IV.

The history of the PTOLEMIES *in* Egypt, *from the death of* Alexander *the Great, till that kingdom was reduced by the* Romans.

Ptolemy Soter supposed to be the son of *Philip* of *Macedon*.

PTOLEMY, the first of the *Macedonian* race who reigned in *Egypt* after *Alexander* the Great, was, according to *Arrian*, a native of *Eordæa*, a small place in the province of *Mygdonia* in *Macedon*. He was called *Lagides*, or the son of *Lagus*, but commonly believed to be the son of king *Philip*, that prince having given *Arsinoe*, the mother of *Ptolemy*, in marriage to *Lagus*, a *Macedonian* of a mean descent, when she was big with child to himself. *Lagus*, unwilling to father

* Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. Strab. l. xvii. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. Appian. in Syriac.

another

another man's child, as ſoon as his wife was brought to bed, expoſed the new infant according to the barbarous cuſtom of thoſe times. An eagle, according to *Suidas*, touched with compaſſion, performed, with wonderful care and aſſiduity, all the duties of a fond parent, ſheltering the helpleſs infant with his wings, and nouriſhing him with the blood of his prey. *Lagus*, greatly affected with this miraculous adventure, acknowleged the child for his ſon, and as ſuch brought him up with great care. According to *Theophilus Antiochus*, *Ptolemy* was of the royal family of *Macedon* by his mother *Arſinoe*, who was nearly related to *Philip*. *Juſtin* ſays, he ſerved under *Philip*, and afterwards under *Alexander*, in the capacity of a common ſoldier; and it appears, that he was commonly believed to be of mean deſcent, from a circumſtance relating to him mentioned by *Plutarch*. When he one day aſked a vain grammarian, "Who was the father of *Peleus*?" the grammarian anſwered without heſitation, "Pray tell me, O king, "if you can, who was the father of *Lagus* *?"

Ptolemy ſeems to have preferred the name of *Lagides*, or the ſon of *Lagus*, to all other appellations, ſince he tranſmitted it with his own to all his deſcendants. According to *Epiphanius*, he even inſtituted a military order in honour of his father, calling it from his name *Lageon*. Whatever was his deſcent, all the antients who write of thoſe times, give him an extraordinary character. He was one of the chief favourites of *Alexander* the Great, who repoſed in him the greateſt truſt, and relied entirely upon his wiſdom, conduct and courage, in the execution of his moſt important enterprizes. He was no leſs dear to the ſoldiers than to the king.

Appointed governor of *Egypt*.

After the death of *Alexander*, he was appointed governor of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders upon *Egypt*; which provinces he held to his death, tranſmitting them, with many new acquiſitions, as an hereditary kingdom to his deſcendants. He is commonly diſtinguiſhed from the other *Ptolemies* his ſucceſſors, by the ſurname of *Soter*, or *Saviour*, which was firſt given him by the *Rhodians*, in conſideration of the ſuccours they received from him when their metropolis was beſieged by *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Upon his firſt being appointed governor of *Egypt*, he choſe the city of *Alexandria* for the uſual place of his reſidence; and his ſucceſſors likewiſe making it their capital, that city became thereby one of the moſt wealthy and populous in the world. *Ptolemy* granted great privileges to all who ſhould ſettle there, whether *Greeks*, *Jews*, or *Egyptians*, which drew ſuch crowds of new inhabitants out of *Judea*, that their quarter was one of the largeſt in the place.

Tho' *Ptolemy*, from the time he was firſt veſted with the government of *Egypt*, had exerciſed the regal authority, yet he did

* Theoph. ant. l. ii. Plut. de Ira cohib. Epiphan. de menſur. & pond.

Aſſumes the title of king. Bef Chr. 304.

did not aſſume the title of king till he ſaw himſelf firmly ſettled in his new kingdom, which happened after the unſucceſsful invaſion of *Egypt* by *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, that is, 19 years after the death of *Alexander*. From this time *Soter*, agreeable to *Ptolemy*'s canon, reigned 20 years; which with the former 19, makes 39 years, which authors commonly allow him to have reigned alone. In the 40th year of his reign, being 80 and upwards, he placed *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, one of his ſons by *Berenice*, on the throne, declaring him his partner in the empire, and ſucceſſor to the crown after his death. He had ſeveral ſons by his other wives, and among theſe *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, or the *Thunderer*, who was the eldeſt of his male iſſue, and the ſon of *Eurydice* the daughter of *Antipater*. *Berenice*, who had been companion to *Eurydice*, and was afterwards wife to *Ptolemy*, had ſuch an aſcendant over her huſband, that ſhe prevailed upon him to ſettle the crown on her iſſue, and exclude *Ceraunus*. Hereupon *Ceraunus* retired to the court of *Lyſimachus*, whoſe ſon *Agathocles* had married his ſiſter *Lyſandra*. Upon the death of *Agathocles* he fled to *Seleucus*, who engaged in a war with *Lyſimachus* on his account; but was baſely murdered by him. He himſelf was ſoon after ſlain by the *Gauls* in *Macedon*.

Makes his ſon *Philadelphus* his partner in the empire.

In the firſt year of the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, the famous watch tower, in the iſle of *Pharos*, was compleated. It was uſually called the tower of *Pharos*, and has been reputed one of the ſeven wonders of antiquity. It was a large ſquare tower, built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was conſtantly kept burning, in order to guide ſhips in their courſe.

Much about this time the image of the god *Serapis* was brought from *Pontus* to *Alexandria*. *Ptolemy* had been induced by a dream to demand it, by repeated embaſſies, of the king of *Sinope*, a city of *Pontus*, where it was kept. In this negotiation three years were ſpent, *Ptolemy* ſparing no entreaties nor charges, but ſending continually new ambaſſadors loaded with freſh preſents both for the king and his favourites. The king at length being warned by a dreadful ſpectre to ſend away the deity, aſſembled the people, and endeavoured to obtain their conſent to part with the ſtatue. They, however, envying *Egypt* ſuch a bleſſing, ſurrounded the temple in a tumultuous manner, and threatned to put any one to death that offered to remove their god. Hereupon the god, as ſome authors write, of his own motion conveyed himſelf into the ambaſſador's ſhip, which lay cloſe to the ſhore, and the veſſel, the third day after, arrived ſafe at *Alexandria*. Other writers ſay, that the inhabitants of *Sinope* ſuffered ſuch extremities from a famine, that they conſented to reſign the idol to *Ptolemy* for a ſupply of corn; which he ſent them. The ſtatue of *Serapis* being thus brought to *Alexandria*, was ſet up in one of the ſuburbs of that city called *Rhacotis*, where a moſt magnificent temple was afterwards erected in his honour, and called *Serapeon*.

Within the verge of this temple, which *Ammianus Marcellinus* says surpassed all other edifices in the world in magnificence, except the capitol at *Rome*, was a library, which in after ages became very famous for the number and value of the books it contained. *Ptolemy Soter* being a learned prince, to encourage and improve the liberal arts in his dominions, founded an academy at *Alexandria*, or a society of learned men, who devoted themselves to the study of philosophy and all other sciences. For the use of these, he made a collection of choice books, which by degrees grew under his successors to a prodigious bulk, the books lodged in it at length amounting to 700,000 volumes. This library was formed by the following method: All the *Greek* and other books that were brought into *Egypt*, were seized and sent to the musæum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose. The transcripts were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals laid up in the library. *Ptolemy Euergetes*, for instance, borrowed of the *Athenians* the works of *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, and *Æschylus*, and only returned them the copies, retaining the originals for his library, and presenting the *Athenians* with 15 talents for the exchange, that is, with 3000 pounds sterling and upwards *. The musæum was first in that quarter of the city which was called *Bruchion*; but when 400,000 volumes were collected in that place, the rest were deposited within the verge of the *Serapeon*. In the war which *Julius Cæsar* carried on in *Alexandria*, the library in *Bruchion* was unfortunately burnt. The library in *Serapeon*, however, still remained, and afterwards became more numerous and considerable than the former. Tho' it was plundered and ransacked more than once during the troubles and revolutions, yet it was again and again repaired, and continued for many ages to be of great fame and use in those parts, till it was at length burnt by the *Saracens* in the 64eth year of the Christian Æra. The musæum on the quarter called *Bruchion*, stood after the library adjoining to it was consumed, and lasted till that whole part of the city was destroyed by the emperor *Aurelian*. *Strabo*, in his description of this musæum, says, that it was a large structure adjoining to the palace, and fronting the harbour; that it was surrounded with a portico, where the philosophers walked and conversed together; that the members of the society were under the government of a president, whose station was so honourable, that under the *Ptolemies* he was always nominated by those princes, and in the *Roman* times by the emperors. The celebrated *Demetrius Phalereus*, according to *Plutarch* (in *Apoph.*) was the first who proposed to the king the founding both of the musæum and the library; and he is supposed to have been the first president of that seat of learning.

The celebrated library and academy of *Alexandria*.

* Plin. l. xxxvi. Strab. xvii. Appian in Syriac. Lloyd Lex Geog.

The death of *Ptolemy Soter*. Bef. Ch. 284.

Ptolemy Soter, having reigned two years in partnership with his son, died in the 84th year of his age. He was the best prince of his race, and left behind him an example of prudence, justice, and clemency, which none of his successors cared to follow. He retained on the throne the same simplicity of manners and aversion to all pomp and ostentation, which he had shewn while in a private station. He was easy of access, and always ready to redress the grievances of his subjects. He frequently made public entertainments; and on such occasions thought it no disparagement to borrow the plate of his friends, having no more of his own than what was necessary for his common use. At the time of his death he held the following countries, which we find enumerated by *Theocritus*; namely, *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, meaning *Cœle-Syria*, *Lybia*, *Æthiopia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and some of the *Cyclades*. *Ptolemy* had four wives; 1. *Artenis* the daughter of *Artabazus*, who brought him no children. 2. *Thais*, who had been formerly one of *Alexander*'s concubines, by whom *Ptolemy* had *Leontiscus*, or *Lenticus*, *Lagus*, and *Irene*; *Solon* king of *Cyprus*, *Athenæus* tells us, married *Irene*. 3. *Eurydice* the daughter of *Antipater*, who bore him two sons, one of whom was named *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, and two daughters; namely, *Ptolemais* and *Lysandra*. 4. *Berenice*, by whom he had *Ptolemy Philadelphus* and *Argæus*; with two daughters, *Arsinoe*, who was married to *Lysimachus*, and *Philotera*.

Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, on the death of his father, became sole master of *Egypt*, and the many countries we have mentioned above. During his father's life, *Philadelphus* had carefully concealed his resentment against *Demetrius Phalereus*, who had counselled *Ptolemy Soter* not to part with the crown in his lifetime, and had also advised him, in his choice of a successor, to prefer the children of *Eurydice* to those of *Berenice*; which advice, however, the king did not follow. *Philadelphus* no sooner found himself solely in possession of the sovereign power, than he commanded *Demetrius* to be seized and sent under a strong guard to a remote fortress, where he ordered him to be confined, till he should determine what further punishment to inflict upon him; but in the mean time the accidental bite of an asp, put an end to the life of this great man, whose extraordinary learning and other qualifications deserved a far better fate.

Death of *Demetrius Phalereus*.

Ptolemy Ceraunus, not long after the accession of *Philadelphus*, being killed by the *Gauls* in *Macedon*, *Arsinoe*, his sister and wife, whom he had confined in *Samothrace*, retired into *Egypt*, where here brother *Philadelphus* married her, after he had divorced another *Arsinoe* the daughter of *Lysimachus*, whom he had married on his accession to the crown. The first wife being convicted of entering into a conspiracy against the king, was sent a prisoner to Upper *Egypt*, after she had brought to her husband two sons, the eldest of whom was his successor, and a daughter.

Ptolemy marries his sister *Arsinoe*.

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The *Romans*, about this time, having obliged *Pyrrhus* king of *Epire*, after a ſix years war, to abandon *Italy*, and return with diſgrace into his own country, thereby raiſed their reputation among the *Greeks*. *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, therefore, ſent ambaſſadors to deſire their friendſhip, and the *Romans* were charmed to find it ſolicited by ſo great a king. In return for the civilities of *Ptolemy*, an embaſſy was ſent from *Rome* to *Egypt* the year following. At *Ptolemy*'s court they met with a reception ſuitable to their rank, and worthy of ſo great a prince. He gave them a ſplendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to preſent each of them with a crown of gold; which they accepted, being unwilling to diſoblige him by declining the honour he intended to confer upon them: but the very next morning they crowned with them the ſtatues of the king, which were erected in the public places of the city. This contempt of riches gained the *Romans* great reputation in *Egypt*, and the king would not ſuffer the ambaſſadors to depart without new preſents, both for their republic and themſelves; but they ſhewed the ſame diſintereſtedneſs at *Rome*, depoſiting all their preſents in the public treaſury before they appeared in the ſenate to give an account of their embaſſy.

Sends an embaſſy to *Rome*.

After the death of *Pyrrhus*, *Antigonus Gonatas* king of *Macedon*, having made himſelf very formidable to the ſtates of *Greece*, *Ptolemy* entered into an alliance with the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* againſt him, and when *Athens* was beſieged by *Antigonus*, ſent a fleet to the relief of the city; which, however, returned without entering the port, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Greece*. *Ptolemy*, in the 20th year of his reign, was diſturbed by the revolt of *Magas*, who was his half brother, being the ſon of *Berenice* before her marriage with *Ptolemy Soter*. *Berenice* had prevailed with *Soter* to confer on *Magas* the government of *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, who having married *Apame* the daughter of *Antiochus Soter*, now endeavoured not only to render himſelf independant in his government, but even to diſpoſſeſs his brother of the kingdom of *Egypt*. While he was on his march towards *Alexandria*, he was obliged to return home, on intelligence that the *Marmarides*, a people of *Lybia*, had revolted from him.

Ptolemy enters into an alliance with the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*. *Magas* revolts. Bef. Ch. 265.

Ptolemy, by a like revolt at home, was prevented from purſuing him; for 4000 *Gauls*, whom he had taken into his ſervice, had formed a deſign to drive him out of *Egypt*, and ſeize it for themſelves. Having drawn the conſpirators into an iſland in the *Nile*, he there ſhut them up ſo effectually, that they all periſhed. *Magas* having quelled the diſturbances in his territories, renewed his deſigns upon *Egypt*, and engaged in the ſame war *Antiochus Soter*, his father-in-law. *Ptolemy*, however, by invading the maritime provinces of *Syria*, obliged *Antiochus* to keep at home; and *Magas*, without his aſſiſtance, did not think it adviſeable to make any farther attempts.

Ptolemy being delivered from the apprehenſion of a war, bent his mind on advancing the riches of his kingdom, by drawing

Ptolemy enlarges the trade of *Egypt*.

ing to it all the trade of the eaſt, which the *Tyrians* had to this time carried on by ſea, and from thence to *Tyre* by the way of *Rhinocolura*. To draw this trade to *Egypt*, *Ptolemy* built a city on the weſt ſide of the *Red Sea*, from whence he ſent out fleets into all thoſe countries to which the *Tyrians* traded from *Elath*; but obſerving that the *Red Sea*, towards the bottom, was very dangerous by reaſon of its rocks and ſhelves, he built a city on the ſame coaſt near the frontiers of *Æthiopia*, which from his mother he called *Berenice*. The harbour here, however, not being convenient, the trade was transferred to *Myos Hormos* in that neighbourhood, and from thence conveyed on camels to *Coptus* on the *Nile*, and there ſhipped for *Alexandria*.

Magas propoſes an accommodation.

Magas king of *Cyrene* and *Lybia* growing old and infirm, propoſed, as a means to accommodate his differences with his brother *Ptolemy*, a marriage between his only daughter *Berenice*, and king *Ptolemy*'s eldeſt ſon, promiſing to make over all his dominions to her by way of dowry. The propoſal was accepted by *Ptolemy*; but *Magas* dying before the affair was concluded, after he held the government of *Cyrene* and *Lybia* for the ſpace of 50 years, his wife *Apame* did all that lay in her power to break off the match between her daughter and the ſon of *Ptolemy*; but her attempts only ſerved to kindle a war between *Ptolemy* and her brother *Antiochus Theos* king of *Syria*. The particulars of this war have not been tranſmitted to us; but the articles of the peace concluded between the two kings, are mentioned by *Polyænus*, *Strabo*, and others. One of theſe was, that *Antiochus* ſhould divorce *Laodice*, marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and ſettle the crown on the male-iſſue of that marriage. *Antiochus* agreeing to theſe terms, tho' paſſionately fond of *Laodice*, we may conclude from thence that *Ptolemy* had gained conſiderable advantages over him. This marriage, which was contracted merely on political views, was attended with moſt fatal conſequences, which we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria*.

A peace concluded between *Ptolemy* and *Antiochus*.

Not long after the concluſion of this peace, *Ptolemy* was afflicted with the loſs of *Arſinoe*. He did not long ſurvive his beloved wife; for being originally of a tender conſtitution, which he had moreover weakened by a luxurious manner of life, the infirmities of old age, and the loſs of a conſort whom he loved beyond meaſure, ſunk him into a languiſhing diſtemper, which put an end to his life in the 63d year of his age, and 40th of his reign. *Philadelphus* was a prince of great prudence and abilities; but his many excellent qualities were ſtained with very conſiderable vices. He diſhonoured the beginning of his reign by his reſentment againſt *Demetrius Phalereus*. He put two of his brothers to death, having, as ſome writers tell us, forged plots in order to give ſome colour of juſtice to his blind jealouſy; and hence he was called ironically *Philadelphus*, or *a lover of his brothers*. He was much addicted to effeminate pleaſures, and entirely neglected all kind of military diſcipline. On the other hand, as he was himſelf a prince of great learn-

Ptolemy dies.

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ing, he was a zealous promoter and encourager of it in others, an induſtrious collector of books, and a generous patron of thoſe who were eminent in any branch of literature. Tho' he had a peculiar taſte for the ſciences, he applied himſelf nevertheleſs with indefatigable induſtry to buſineſs, ſtudying all poſſible methods to render his ſubjects happy, and raiſe his dominions to a flouriſhing condition. This enticed great multitudes of foreigners to ſettle in *Egypt*, inſomuch that, according to *Theocritus*, this prince is ſaid to have had in his dominions 33,339 well peopled cities. He built an incredible number of cities, and repaired others, granting many valuable privileges to all perſons without diſtinction who came to ſettle in them. In *Paleſtine* he particularly rebuilt *Ace*, which he called *Ptolemais*, and *Rhabbah* of the children of *Ammon*. He left ſo many public monuments of his magnificence, that all works of an extraordinary taſte and grandeur were proverbially called *Philadelphian* works. *Appian* ſays, that as he was the moſt magnificent and generous of all kings in laying out his money, ſo he was of all the moſt ſkillful and induſtrious in raiſing it. Beſides two large fleets, he maintained in conſtant pay an army of 200,000 foot and 40,000 horſe, with 300 elephants, 3000 armed chariots, and had his armory at *Alexandria* ſtocked with 300,000 complete ſuits of armour, and all other neceſſary implements and engines of war; leaving behind him nevertheleſs an immenſe treaſure.

Ptolemy Euergetes. Bef. Chr. 246.

He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who in the beginning of his reign engaged in a war with *Antiochus Theos* king of *Syria*. On his return from that war he brought with him out of *Syria* 2500 pictures and ſtatues, among which were many of the *Egyptian* idols which *Cambyſes*, when he had conquered *Egypt*, had ſent into *Perſia*. Theſe *Ptolemy* reſtored to their antient temples; in acknowlegement for which favour, the *Egyptians* gave him the ſurname of *Euergetes*, or the *Benefactor*. In this expedition, according to *Juſtin*, *Appian*, *Polybius*, *Jerom*, and others, he made himſelf maſter of all the countries that lie between mount *Taurus* and the confines of *India**. When *Ptolemy Euergetes* firſt marched againſt *Antiochus*, his queen *Berenice*, who tenderly loved him, made a vow to conſecrate her hair, which was her chief ornament, in caſe he ſhould return ſafe; and accordingly, when he came back crowned with glory and ſucceſs, ſhe cut off her hair, and dedicated it to the gods in the temple which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had built in honour of his beloved *Arſinoe*, under the name of the *Zephyrian Venus*, on the promontory *Zephyrium* in *Cyprus*. This conſecrated hair being loſt ſoon after, or perhaps contemptuouſly flung away by the prieſts, *Ptolemy* was much offended, and threatned to puniſh the prieſts for their neglect. *Conon* of *Samos*, a great mathematician, to appeaſe the king's

His extenſive conqueſts.

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* Juſtin. l. xxvii. Appian. in Syriac. Polyb. l. v. Hieron. in Dan.

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wrath and gain his favour, gave out that the queen's locks had been conveyed up to Heaven, and pointed out ſeven ſtars near the tail of the lion, which till that time had not belonged to any conſtellation, declaring that they were the queen's hair. Several other aſtronomers, to gratify the king, affirmed the ſame; hence *Coma Berenices*, or *the hair of* Berenice, became one of the conſtellations, and is ſo to this day.

Ptolemy, on his return from this expedition, having paſſed thro' *Jeruſalem*, offered there many ſacrifices to the God of *Iſrael* in acknowlegement for the victories he obtained over the king of *Syria*, ſhewing thereby that he preferred the true God to all the idols of *Egypt*.

He improves the library of *Alexandria*.

Euergetes having agreed to a peace with *Seleucus* the ſucceſſor of *Antiochus Theos*, devoted moſt part of his time to the cultivating of the ſciences and the improving of his father's library at *Alexandria*. With this view he ſent perſons of learning into diſtant countries, to purchaſe, at any rate, what books they ſhould think proper for his deſign, and invited from *Athens Eratoſthenes* the *Cyrenean*, and ſcholar of *Callimachus*, a man of univerſal learning, whom he appointed chief librarian.

The *Jews* neglect to pay the tribute.

Onias, the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, who was of a very covetous temper, having neglected, for ſome years, to pay the annual tribute of 20 talents, *Ptolemy* threatned the *Jews*, that if they did not immediately pay their arrears, he was determined to ſend a body of troops into *Judea*, who ſhould drive them out of the country, and divide it among themſelves. This meſſage, which was carried to *Jeruſalem* by one *Athenion*, throwing the *Jews* into the utmoſt conſternation, *Joſeph* the nephew of the high-prieſt, prevailed on his uncle to appoint him ambaſſador to *Ptolemy*, and then inviting *Athenion* to his houſe, entertained him with great kindneſs and ſplendor, and at his departure made him conſiderable preſents; by which means he procured his friendſhip. Soon after, having borrowed about 20,000 drachmas, or about 700 pounds ſterling, and thereby furniſhed himſelf with an equipage, he ſet out for *Alexandria*, joining on the road ſeveral of the chief nobility of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, who were travelling to the ſame place, with the intention of offering terms for farming the revenues of thoſe provinces. As their equipages were very magnificent, they laughed at *Joſeph* for the meanneſs of his. He taking all in good part, hearkened to the converſation they had with each other about their buſineſs at court, and got ſuch an inſight into it, as put him in a condition to laugh at them in their turn. *Joſeph*, on his arrival at *Alexandria*, finding that the king had taken a progreſs to *Memphis*, ſet out for that city to wait on him, and had the good fortune to meet him on his return with the queen and *Athenion* in the ſame chariot. The king, who had heard great commendations of him from *Athenion*, was overjoyed to ſee him, and taking him into his chariot, complained, in a friendly manner, of his uncle *Onias*. *Joſeph* excuſed his uncle in ſo handſome a manner, that he not only ſatisfied the king,

king, but raiſed in him ſuch an opinion of his abilities, that he took him into his favour, allowed him an apartment in the royal palace, and entertained him at his own table. When the day came, whereon the king uſed annually to farm out the revenues of the ſeveral provinces of his empire, *Joſeph* doubled the ſum offered by his fellow travellers for the provinces of *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*, and proffered 16,000 talents, beſides the forfeitures which had hitherto been appropriated to the farmers. *Ptolemy* demanding what ſecurity he could give for the performance of his agreement, *Joſeph* anſwered, that he would give him the ſecurity of ſuch perſons as he could not except againſt, and named the king and queen, which pleaſantry was ſo agreeable to *Ptolemy*, that he truſted him on his word, without any other ſecurity. *Joſeph*, borrowing 500 talents to pay his uncle's arrears, was admitted to the truſt of receiver-general of all the revenues of the abovementioned provinces, and having received a guard of 2000 men, left *Alexandria*, in order to act in his new ſtation. On his arrival at *Aſkelon*, the inhabitants of that city not only refuſed to pay him the king's duties, but abuſed him with opprobrious language. Having cauſed 20 of the ringleaders of the tumult to be immediately executed, he ſent their forfeited eſtates, which amounted to 1000 talents, to the king. The ſame rigour he practiſed at *Scythopolis*, where he met with the like oppoſition, and by this means ſo awed the reſt of the cities, that they all opened their gates to him, and readily paid the king's duties. His prudent conduct, and the punctuality of his payments, gained him ſuch favour at court, that he was continued in his office by the two ſucceeding kings for the ſpace of twenty-two years, till *Antiochus* the great made himſelf maſter of thoſe provinces.

Joſeph, the nephew of the high-prieſt, admitted to the truſt of receiver-general.

Ptolemy, after the peace with *Seleucus*, king of *Syria*, applied himſelf to the enlarging of his dominions ſouthward, and was therein attended with great ſucceſs; he made himſelf maſter of all the coaſts of the *Red Sea*, both on the *Arabian* and *Æthiopian* ſides. Upon his return, his aſſiſtance was ſollicited by the *Achæans* againſt the *Ætolians* and *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*; but the *Achæans* having alſo applied to *Antigonus*, king of *Macedon*, for aſſiſtance, *Ptolemy* was ſo much offended, that he ſent powerful ſuccours to *Cleomenes*, hoping by that means to humble both the *Achæans* and *Antigonus*. However, he had the mortification to ſee *Cleomenes* expelled from *Greece*, and obliged to take refuge in his dominions. *Ptolemy* received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs, allowed him a yearly penſion of 24 talents, and aſſured him, that in due time he would uſe his utmoſt efforts to replace him on the throne of *Sparta*: but before he could fulfill his promiſe, he died in the 27th year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ptolemy Philopator*. *Ptolemy Euergetes* was the laſt of his race, in whom any virtue, humanity, or moderation appeared, thoſe who ſucceeded him abandoning themſelves to all manner of vices. He imitated his father and grandfather in the generous protection

Ptolemy enlarges his kingdom.

His death.

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which he gave to learning and learned men, and was himself well verſed in all the branches of learning, having been brought up by the famous *Ariſtarchus*. In his youth he wrote hiſtorical commentaries, which were in great repute *.

Ptolemy Philopator.

Bef. Ch. 217.

Ptolemy Philopator, the ſon of *Euergetes*, in the very beginning of his reign, cauſed his brother *Magas* to be murdered, being jealous of his abilities, and of the intereſt he had with the army. The death of *Magas* was ſoon followed by that of *Cleomenes*, who was a refugee at his court. As *Cleomenes* was generally eſteemed a man of great wiſdom and ſagacity, *Soſibius*, who was *Ptolemy*'s prime miniſter, employed him in the beginning of that prince's reign, and admitted him into his moſt ſecret councils, even imparting to him his deſign of cutting off *Magas*, which *Cleomenes* uſed all his perſuaſions to prevent. After the death of *Magas*, *Ptolemy* devoted all his time to pleaſures and diverſions, not ſuffering them to be interrupted by cares or application of any kind. His example being followed by the courtiers, vice and licentiouſneſs univerſally prevailed; ſo that the kingdom fell, as it were, into a kind of anarchy. *Cleomenes*, not able to bear the diſſolute manners of the *Egyptian* court, and hearing that *Antigonus* was dead, and the *Achæans* were engaged in a war with the *Ætolians*, he ſollicited the ſuccours which *Ptolemy* had formerly promiſed him. Theſe being denied him, he deſired leave to depart for *Greece* with his followers; but *Ptolemy*, who was wholly immerſed in pleaſures, paid no regard to his requeſt, and *Soſibius*, fearing his intereſt with the foreign troops, cauſed him and his followers to be confined. *Cleomenes* making an unſucceſsful attempt to recover his liberty, he and his followers ruſhed on their own ſwords.

His baſe treatment of *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta.*

Antiochus, king of *Syria*, taking advantage of the diſſolute and voluptuous life of *Ptolemy*, attempted the recovery of *Cœle-Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and *Judea*, which had belonged to his predeceſſors. *Ptolemy*, after having gained a ſignal victory over *Antiochus*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria*, concluded a peace with him, which filled his own kingdom with ſuch diſcontent, that it ſoon broke out into an open rebellion; but the particulars of the civil war are not mentioned by any author.

A civil war kindled in *Egypt.*

After the victory over *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy*, before he returned to *Egypt*, viſited all the ſtates and cities of note in *Cœle-Syria* and *Judea*, and among the reſt *Jeruſalem*, where he took a view of the temple, and offered ſacrifices to the God of *Iſrael*, beſtowing, at the ſame time, rich donations on that holy place. Not being ſatisfied with viewing the temple from the outer court, beyond which no *Gentile* was allowed to paſs, he ſhewed a great inclination to enter the ſanctuary, and even the holy of holies itſelf, into which none but the high-prieſt ever entered, and he once a year, on the day of the great expiation. The prieſts and levites, informing him of the holineſs of the place,

* Joſeph. Ant. lib. xii. Polyb. lib. ii. Athen. lib. ii. Plut. in Cleom.

drew

drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, the people also assembling from all parts to withstand him. His curiosity being only more inflamed by their opposition, he forced in as far as the second court, where, while he was preparing to enter the temple itself, he was struck by God with such terror, that he was carried off half dead. On this account, being highly provoked against the *Jews*, he began, on his return, to vent his rage upon such of the *Jewish* nation as lived in that metropolis. In the first place, by a decree, he excluded from his palace all those who did not sacrifice to the gods he worshiped. By another decree, he ordered that they should be degraded from the first rank of citizens, and enrolled among the common people of *Egypt*, who were of the third rank. In the same decree it was enacted, that all the *Jews* should, at an appointed time, appear before the proper officers, in order to be enrolled among the common people; that at the time of their enrollment, they should have the mark of an ivy leaf impressed with a hot iron upon their faces, and be declared slaves. Those who refused to submit to the decree were to be punished with death; but those who sacrificed to his gods were to enjoy their former privileges. Notwithstanding this tempting offer, 300 only, out of the many thousand *Jews* that lived in *Alexandria*, were prevailed upon to abandon their religion. The others chose rather to be stigmatized in the manner the king had ordered, or to redeem themselves from that ignominious mark, by parting with all they had to the king's officers. Those who continued in the religion of their forefathers, excluded their fallen brethren from all manner of communication with them, which so enraged *Ptolemy*, that he resolved to extirpate the whole nation. Pursuant to this resolution, he commanded all the *Jews*, who lived in any part of *Egypt*, to be brought in chains to *Alexandria*, and there to be shut up in the hippodrome, which was a very spacious place without the walls, where the people used to assemble to see horse-races, and other public shews. He then ordered 500 elephants to be let loose upon the prisoners in the hippodrome; but the execution was deferred for two days, on account of the drunkenness of the king. The *Jews*, who were shut up in the hippodrome, in the mean time, ceased not to offer up prayers to the Almighty for their deliverance, which he granted them: for on the third day, when the king was present, and the elephants were let loose upon the prisoners, those fierce animals, instead of falling upon the *Jews*, turned their rage upon the spectators and soldiers and destroyed great numbers of them; which, with some appearances seen in the air, so terrified the king, that he commanded the *Jews* to be immediately set at liberty, acknowleged the power of the God they worshipped, and, to appease his anger, restored his people to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, bestowing upon them besides many favours, and loading them with presents at their departure. The *Jews*, seeing themselves thus restored to the king's favour, obtained leave from him to put all those of their own nation to death, who had abandoned their religion, which

Ptolemy persecutes the *Jews*.

The *Jews* miraculously delivered.

permission

permiſſion they ſoon made uſe of, without ſparing a ſingle man *.

Ptolemy receives an embaſſy from *Rome.*

In the ninth year of the reign of *Philopator*, the *Romans*, who were then at war with *Carthage*, ſent an embaſſy to *Egypt*, to renew their friendſhip and alliance with the king.

Arſinoe, who was both wife and ſiſter to *Ptolemy*, after having been barren for ſeveral years, brought him at length a ſon, who was ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, or the Illuſtrious. His birth occaſioned great rejoicings all over *Egypt*, and the neighbouring provinces ſubject to that crown. The king, in the mean time, purſuing his old courſe of life, abandoned himſelf to vicious pleaſures and exceſſes of every kind. *Soſibius*, an old and crafty miniſter, who had ſerved under three kings, managed the affairs of ſtate, not indeed in the manner he deſired, but as the favourites would permit him. *Arſinoe*, the king's ſiſter and wife, had no authority at court; the favourites and prime miniſter did not ſhew her the leaſt reſpect. On the other hand, the queen was not patient enough to ſuffer every thing without murmuring, and they at laſt grew weary of her complaints.

He cauſes his wife *Arſinoe* to be murdered.

The king, and thoſe who governed him, commanded *Soſibius* to rid them of her, and the wicked miniſter complied with their requeſt. Upon her death, the king fell in love with one *Agathoclea*, a woman of a mean extraction, and was entirely governed by her, by her brother *Agathocles*, who was ſubſervient to his unnatural luſt, and by their mother *Oenanthe*. The murder of *Arſinoe*, and ſeveral actions of the ſame nature, provoked the people to ſuch a degree againſt *Soſibius*, that they obliged the king to diſmiſs him from his ſervice, and raiſe to the office of prime miniſter one *Tlepolemus*, a young man of quality, who had ſignalized himſelf in the army.

The death of *Ptolemy Philopator.*

Ptolemy having, by his continued debaucheries, worn out a very ſtrong conſtitution, died in the flower of his age, after he had reigned ſeventeen years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child only five years old. *Agathocles*, his ſiſter, and their creatures, concealed the king's death as long as they could, and in the mean time carried off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace which they could lay their hands on. They alſo formed a ſcheme for uſurping the regency during the minority of *Epiphanes*, and publiſhing the king's death, they ſummoned a general council of the *Alexandrians* of the *Macedonian* race. In this aſſembly, *Agathocles*, holding the young king in his arms, and ſhedding abundance of tears, told the *Macedonians*, that the late king, when at the point of death, had committed the young prince to the care of *Agathoclea*, and recommended him to the fidelity of his *Macedonians*; he therefore begged their aſſiſtance againſt *Tlepolemus*, who, as he was informed, intended to ſeize the crown for himſelf. The malice of this contrivance being too glaring, the

* Maccab. lib. iii.

people, instead of falling upon *Tlepolemus*, vowed the utter ruin of the speaker, his sister, and all their creatures. Having taken from them the young king, and placed him on the throne on the hippodrome, they caused *Agathocles*, *Agathoclea*, and their mother, to be put to death in his presence. The other sisters, the relations, and creatures of *Agathocles* met with the same treatment, every one of them being cut off by the people whom they had oppressed and abused. His late favourites put to death.

The guardianship of the young king was, for the present, committed to *Sosibius*, the son of that *Sosibius*, who had been prime minister during the three last reigns. In the beginning of the reign of *Epiphanes*, *Antiochus* the great, king of *Syria*, entering into an alliance with *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, made himself master of *Palestine* and *Cœle-Syria*; but was soon dispossessed of them again by *Aristomenes*, the prime minister of *Egypt*, as we have related in the history of *Syria*. In the third year of his reign, an embassy arrived at *Egypt* from *Rome*, to notify to the *Egyptians* the victory which the *Romans* had gained over *Hannibal*, and the treaty of peace concluded between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The *Egyptian* lords, who were guardians to the young king, encouraged by this embassy, put their young prince and his kingdom under the protection of the *Roman* senate, who sent *M. Lepidus* to take upon him the guardianship. *Lepidus*, after a short stay in *Egypt*, appointed *Aristomenes*, an *Acarnanian*, as guardian, who acquitted himself of his charge with great prudence and fidelity. In the beginning of his administration, being informed of the ravages committed by *Philip* of *Macedon* in *Attica*, he sent an embassy to the senate, offering to deliver *Athens* from the danger that threatned her, provided it were agreeable to the *Romans*. About the same time, he renewed the alliance between the crown of *Egypt* and the republic of *Achaia*, on which occasion *Lycortas*, the father of *Polybius* the historian, and two others, were sent by the *Achæan* confederacy into *Egypt*, to sign the treaty. *Sosibius* made guardian of the infant king. The *Romans* assume the guardianship of *Epiphanes*.

The king soon after attaining to the 14th year of his age, his enthronization, called by the *Alexandrians Anacleria*, was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, and the administration of affairs put into his hands. As soon as *Epiphanes* became his own master, the kingdom suffered great calamities, and the remaining part of his reign was rendered infamous, the flattery of his worthless courtiers having more influence with him than the wise counsels of *Aristomenes*, whom he soon caused to be put to death. Having thus, as he thought, got rid of a troublesome censor, he plunged himself into all the vices, which hab rendred his father's name and reign so odious, and exercised a most cruel tyranny over his subjects. His bad administration.

The *Egyptians*, not being able to bear the grievances they suffered under his arbitrary administration, entered into a conspiracy, with a design to depose him, which they were near putting in execution. To extricate himself out of these difficulties, he appointed *Polycrates* his prime minister, who duced by was *Polycrates*. His subjects revery volt; but are re-

was a man of great abilities, and had been general under his father at the famous battle of *Raphia*. By his means, having got the better of the rebels, their leaders, who were the chief lords of the country, capitulated, and submitted upon certain conditions. The king, however, forfeited his promise to them, and caused them all to be put to death; which treacherous conduct involved him in new difficulties, from which he was again delivered by the wisdom of *Polycrates*.

He maintained, during his whole reign, a strict friendship with the *Romans*. *Livy* tells us, that he offered them 100 pounds weight of gold, and 20,000 of silver to carry on the war against *Antiochus* the great, and that he afterwards sent an embassy to *Rome*, to congratulate the senate on the flight of *Antiochus*, and to offer them, in his name, and in that of his queen *Cleopatra*, who was the daughter of *Antiochus*, what ships, money, or provisions they wanted, to pursue the war with the king of *Syria*. *Ptolemy* also cultivated with care the friendship of the *Achæan* republic, but while he was preparing to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with them, he was cut off by poison. After reducing his rebellious subjects, he meditated a war with *Seleucus*, king of *Syria*; but as his finances were exhausted, one of his chief officers asked him, by whiat means he would raise money to support the expences of the intended war; he replied, that his friends were his treasure; which answer being spread abroad among the chief men about him, they inferred from thence, that he intended to carry on the war with their fortunes and estates, and, to prevent this evil, caused poi-

The death of *Ptolemy Epiphanes.* son to be given him, of which he died in the 24th year of his reign. He left two sons, both under age, namely, *Ptolemy Philometor*, and *Ptolemy Physcon*, and one daughter, by name *Cleopatra*.

Ptolemy Philometor. *Ptolemy Philometor*, who was but six years old, succeeded his father, under the guardianship of his mother *Cleopatra*, who governed for eight years with great prudence and moderation. Bef. Ch. 176. Upon her death, the regency fell to *Lannæus*, a nobleman of great distinction in that country, and to *Eulæus*, an eunuch. These no sooner entered upon the administration, than they demanded *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine* of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This demand occasioned a war between the two crowns, in the course of which *Philometor*, either of his own accord, delivered himself to *Antiochus*, or, according to some, was taken prisoner by that prince. The *Alexandrians*, looking upon him as lost, declared his younger brother king, who at first assumed the surname of *Eucrgetes*, *Physcon* being afterwards given to him on account of his prominent belly. *Antiochus*, returning soon after into *Egypt*, conquered the whole kingdom, except *Alexandria*, and left *Philometor* in possession of the throne. His design was, to kindle a war betwixt the two brothers; but *Philometor*, concluding an accommodation with *Physcon*, *Antiochus* again invaded *Egypt*, from which, however, he was obliged to depart, by the peremptory command of the *Roman* ambassadors.

War between him and the king of *Syria*.

The

The two brothers, after the retreat of *Antiochus*, quarrelled with each other, and the diviſions between them roſe to ſuch a height, that the *Roman* ſenate ordered their ambaſſadors in *Syria* to proceed to *Alexandria*, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reconcile the two kings. Before the two ambaſſadors reached *Egypt*, *Philometor*, being expelled the kingdom by *Phyſcon*, ſailed to *Brunduſium*, and travelled from thence to *Rome* on foot, meanly dreſſed, and with very few attendants. He refuſed the royal equipage that was brought to him on the road by *Demetrius*, the ſon of the late king of *Syria*, who was then an hoſtage at *Rome*, and took up his lodging in the private houſe of a painter of *Alexandria*, his ſubject. The ſenate was no ſooner informed of his arrival, but they ſent for him, and excuſed themſelves for not having received him with thoſe ceremonies which were uſual on ſuch an occaſion. After deſiring him to quit the habit in which he came, and to fix a day for an audience of the ſenate, he was conducted to lodgings ſuitable to his dignity, and the quæſtor was ordered to ſupply him, at the public expence, with all things neceſſary.

He reigns jointly with his brother *Phyſcon*. Is obliged to take refuge at *Rome*.

The ſenate decreed his reſtoration; and ſending two of their own body with him to *Alexandria*, an accommodation was effected between the two brothers, in virtue of which *Phyſcon* was put in poſſeſſion of *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, and *Philometor* of all *Egypt* and the iſland of *Cyprus*, each of them being declared independant of the other. Not long after, *Phyſcon*, being diſſatisfied with the part allotted him, ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, deſiring that *Cyprus* might be alſo aſſigned him. He even went in perſon to *Rome* to ſolicit it, and the ſenate being no ways ſcrupulous to violate the late partition, granted him what he demanded.

The *Romans* reconcile the two brothers. The iſland of *Cyprus* adjudged by the *Romans* to *Phyſcon*.

Phyſcon, during his reſidence at *Rome*, fell in love with *Cornelia*, the mother of the *Gracchi*, who was the pattern of her ſex, and the prodigy of her age: but ſhe being the daughter of *Scipio Africanus*, and the widow of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been twice conſul, and once cenſor, deſpiſed the offers made to her by *Phyſcon*, thinking it more honourable to be one of the firſt matrons in *Rome*, than to reign with *Phyſcon* in *Lybia* and *Cyrene*.

Phyſcon ſet out from *Rome* with the two ambaſſadors, who were to put him in poſſeſſion of *Cyprus*. One of the ambaſſadors, on his arrival at *Alexandria*, found *Philometor* no ways inclined to comply with the decree of the ſenate. *Phyſcon*, who had gone to *Lybia* with the other, ſent him alſo to aſſiſt his collegue. *Philometor* treated them both for forty days with great kindneſs; but when they inſiſted upon a poſitive anſwer, he told them, that he was reſolved to ſtand to the firſt treaty, and would hearken to no other. With this anſwer, one of the ambaſſadors returned to *Phyſcon*, and the other to *Rome*.

Philometor refuſes to deliver it up.

The *Cyreneans*, in the mean time, being informed of the ill conduct of *Phyſcon*, during his ſhort reign at *Alexandria*, reſolved to keep him out of their country by force. *Phyſcon* marched

The *Cyreneans* revolt againſt *Phyſcon*.

marched againſt the *Cyreneans* with all his forces; but being defeated by them, he ſent a ſecond embaſſy to *Rome*, to renew his complaints againſt his brother. The ſenate, to expreſs their reſentment againſt *Philometor* for not ſubmitting to their decree, renounced all friendſhip and alliance with him, and ordered his ambaſſadors to leave the city in five days.

Phyſcon, having ſoon after re-eſtabliſhed himſelf at *Cyrene*, was one night attacked by ſome *Cyreneans*, who wounded him ſo deſperately, that they left him for dead upon the ſpot. This he laid to the charge of his brother *Philometor*, whom he accuſed in perſon at *Rome*. Though *Philometor* was known to be a prince of a moſt mild and humane diſpoſition, yet the ſenate hearkened to the falſe accuſation of his brother, would not hear the defence of his ambaſſadors, and ſent five commiſſioners to conduct *Phyſcon* into *Cyprus*, enjoining all their allies in thoſe parts to furniſh him with forces for taking poſſeſſion of the iſland. *Phyſcon* landed in *Cyprus* with ſome forces; but was defeated by his brother, and afterwards taken priſoner. *Philometor*, on this occaſion, gave a ſignal proof of his good-nature and truly generous temper; for he not only forgave his brother, but reſtored to him *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, adding ſome other territories in lieu of the iſland of *Cyprus*, and promiſing him his daughter in marriage *. Thus an end was put to the war between the two brothers, the *Romans* being aſhamed any longer to oppoſe *Philometor*.

Phyſcon taken priſoner by *Philometor*, who generouſly pardons him.

Demetrius, king of *Syria*, having endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of *Cyprus*, by bribing the governor of the iſland, *Ptolemy*, in reſentment, joined *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, in ſetting up a pretender to his crown. The pretender was *Alexander Balas*, who, after he was placed on the throne of *Syria*, being ſuſpected of entering into a plot againſt *Ptolemy*, his benefactor, he marched into *Syria* againſt him, and defeated him near *Antioch*; but died a few days after of the wounds he received in the engagement. *Philometor* is, by all the profane hiſtorians, commended on account of his clemency and good-nature. *Polybius*, who was his cotemporary, ſays, that he was an enemy to all kind of cruelty and oppreſſion, and averſe from ſpilling the blood of his ſubjects. His mean behaviour towards *Antiochus*, in the beginning of his reign, is attributed, not to his want of natural courage, but to his effeminate education, the eunuch, *Eulæus*, having endeavoured to enervate him by all manner of luxury. He allowed the *Jews*, to build a temple in *Egypt* like that of *Jeruſalem*, being induced thereunto by *Onias*, who was in high favour both with him and his queen *Cleopatra*. The author of the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* repreſents *Ptolemy* as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under foot the moſt ſacred laws of juſtice and nature.

The death of *Philometor*.

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* Polyb. in excerpt. Valeſ. Diod. Sic. Polyb. Legat.

Cleopatra,

Cleopatra, queen of *Egypt*, on the death of *Philometor*, her brother and husband, endeavoured to secure the throne for the son she had by him; but the greater part of the nobles declaring for *Physcon*, she had recourse to *Onias* and *Dositheus*, two *Jews*, who hastened to her assistance with an army of their countrymen. Before hostilities were committed, *Thermus*, a *Roman* ambassador, then at *Alexandria*, mediated an accommodation, *Physcon* agreeing to marry *Cleopatra*, to reign jointly with her during her life, and to declare her son by *Philometor* next heir to the crown. *Physcon*, on the day of the nuptials, murdered the young prince in his mother's arms, and soon after caused all those who shewed any concern for the prince's murder to be put to death. Transported against the *Jews* for having espoused the cause of *Cleopatra*, he used them more like slaves than subjects. His own people he treated no better than the *Jews*, putting every day some of them to death for the smallest faults, and sometimes merely to gratify his cruel and inhuman temper. In the second year of his reign, queen *Cleopatra* brought him a son, at which he expressed great joy; he named him *Memphitis*, from the ceremonies which he was discharging at the time of his birth in the city of *Memphis*. He could not, however, forbear his cruel practices, even during the public rejoicings on account of the young prince's birth. Upon his return to *Alexandria*, he banished all those who had been brought up with his brother *Philometer*, and allowed his guards, who consisted of *Greek* and *Asiatic* mercenaries, to murder and plunder the inhabitants of that rich metropolis at their pleasure. *Justin* and *Athenæus* tell us, that upon this licence, not only the private houses, but the streets, and even the temples, streamed daily with the blood of the innocent citizens. The *Alexandrians*, to avoid these repeated massacres, fled into other countries; so that *Physcon* was obliged by edicts to invite strangers to repeople the place. Great multitudes accordingly flocked thither, and were admitted to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the former citizens.

Ptolemy Physcon, or *Euergetes*.

His barbarity.

His cruelty to the *Alexandrians*.

In the mean time, three *Roman* ambassadors, namely, *Scipio Africanus* the younger, *Sp. Mummius*, and *L. Metellus*, landed at *Alexandria*, having been sent by their republic to visit the countries which were subject to *Rome*, and those also that were only in alliance with her. The more conscious *Physcon* was of his crimes and wicked administration, the more respect he affected to shew to the ambassadors. He entertained them during their stay at *Alexandria* with all the varieties of the most sumptuous viands; but they, scorning that rich fare, as prejudicial both to their bodies and minds, touched nothing but what was necessary for the support of nature. After they had viewed the great metropolis, and made themselves well acquainted with the state of affairs there, they sailed up the *Nile*, to see the other parts of *Egypt*. In this progress, observing the great number of cities, the vast multitudes of inhabitants, and the fertility of the soil, they concluded that *Egypt*, if governed by a

He receives an embassy from *Rome*.

prince of abilities and application, might be one of the moſt powerful ſtates in the world; and were therefore well pleaſed to find a prince on the throne entirely deſtitute of every noble qualification.

The ambaſſadors no ſooner left *Egypt*, but *Phyſcon* began to exerciſe the ſame cruelties upon the new inhabitants of *Alexandria*, which had obliged the antient citizens to abandon their country. Falling in love with a daughter which his queen *Cleopatra* had to his brother *Philometor*, he firſt raviſhed, and afterwards married, her. His many exceſſes, at length, wholly alienated his ſubjects from him; but they were prevented from taking up arms by *Hierax*, his chief miniſter, who was a native of *Antioch*, and had once governed that city in the reign of *Alexander Balas*. Having entered into the ſervice of *Phyſcon*, he was raiſed to the chief command of the army, and charged with the chief management of affairs. He gained the affections of the ſoldiers, by paying them punctually, and endeavoured, by his good and wiſe adminiſtration for ſeveral years, to balance, as far as in him lay, the wicked conduct of his maſter.

He cauſes the young men of *Alexandria* to be maſſacred.

Afterwards, upon his death or removal, the *Alexandrians* began openly to complain of the oppreſſions they groaned under. *Phyſcon*, in order to put them out of a condition of attempting any thing againſt him, maſſacred all the young men of the city, while they were one day aſſembled in the gymnaſium. The people, being exaſperated to the higheſt degree, inſtantly aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and ſet fire to the king's palace, which they reduced to aſhes. *Phyſcon* had the good fortune to make his eſcape undiſcovered, and to retire to the iſland of *Cyprus*, with his young wife and his ſon *Memphitis*.

Is driven from the throne.

Upon his flight, the *Alexandrians* placed on the throne his divorced queen and ſiſter; but he fearing leſt they ſhould beſtow the crown on his ſon, whom he had appointed governor of *Cyrene*, ſent for him into *Cyprus*, and ordered him to be aſſaſſinated. He alſo cauſed the throat of his ſon *Memphitis* to be cut in his own ſight, and his mangled members to be put into a box, with the head intire, to ſhew to whom they belonged, and ſent as a preſent to *Cleopatra* on her birth-day. The *Alexandrians* were ſtruck with horror at the ſight, and, to prevent *Phyſcon* from ever reaſcending the throne, they raiſed an army, and gave the command of it to *Marſyas*. This general was defeated on the frontiers of *Egypt* by the king's mercenaries, and being taken priſoner, was ſent in chains to *Phyſcon*, who, to the ſurprize of every one, pardoned him, and gave him his liberty: for, finding by experience that his cruelties did not keep in awe, but exaſperate the people, he reſolved to try whether he could, by uſing lenity, regain their affections. *Cleopatra*, being greatly diſtreſſed by the loſs of her army, which in the late battle was almoſt cut to pieces, ſolicited the aid of her ſon-in-law *Demetrius* king of *Syria*, offering him the crown of *Egypt*

as

as a reward. *Demetrius* accepted the propoſal without heſitation; but while he was beſieging *Peluſium*, the *Syrians* revolted, which obliged him to abandon *Egypt*. *Cleopatra*, finding herſelf unable to make head againſt *Phyſcon*, put all her valuable effects on board a ſhip, and ſet ſail for *Ptolemais*, where her daughter *Cleopatra*, queen of *Syria*, then reſided.

Phyſcon, upon the flight of *Cleopatra*, returned to *Alexandria*, and reaſſumed the government. From this time he held the kingdom of *Egypt* undiſturbed till the 29th year of his reign, and 67th of his age, when he died at *Alexandria*. One would hardly believe, that a prince, who is repreſented by hiſtorians as a monſter rather than a man, ſhould have deſerved the reputation of the reſtorer of letters, and the patron of learned men. Such, however, is the character given of him by *Athenæus*, *Vitruvius*, *Epiphanius*, and others. On account of his extenſive learning, *Athenæus* ſays, he acquired the ſurname of *Ptolemy* the phylologiſt. The ſame author adds, that he wrote an hiſtory in twenty-four books, and a learned comment on *Homer*. He left three ſons behind him; *Apion*, whom he had by a concubine, *Lathyrus* and *Alexander*, whom he had by *Cleopatra* his niece.

He gave *Apion* the government of *Cyrene*, and left *Egypt* to his widow *Cleopatra*, in conjunction with one of her ſons, whom ſhe ſhould think fit to chuſe. She gave the preference to *Alexander*, the youngeſt; but the *Alexandrians* taking up arms, obliged her to admit *Lathyrus* to reign jointly with her. But before ſhe would ſuffer him to be inaugurated, ſhe forced him to divorce his eldeſt ſiſter *Cleopatra*, whom he paſſionately loved, and to marry his youngeſt ſiſter *Selene*, for whom he had no inclination. *Cleopatra* ſoon ſaw her daughter, whom *Lathyrus* had divorced, and her other daughter *Tryphæna*, both come to an untimely end, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria*. Their fate, however, made but a ſlight impreſſion upon her, as ſhe was wholly bent upon ſupporting her authority in *Egypt*. She gave the kingdom of *Cyprus* to her younger ſon *Alexander*, that ſhe might from thence be aſſiſted by him againſt his brother *Lathyrus*, in caſe he ſhould ever diſpute the authority which ſhe was determined never to part with.

Lathyrus having, contrary to his mother's inclination, ſent 6000 men to the aſſiſtance of the *Samaritans* againſt the *Jews*, ſhe, to reſent this, and ſome other attempts of the like nature againſt her authority, firſt took his wife *Selene* from him, tho' he had already two ſons by her, and then drove him out of the kingdom. The *Alexandrians* were prevailed on to aſſiſt her againſt him by the following artifice: ſhe cauſed ſome of her favourite eunuchs, on whom ſhe could depend, to be wounded, and bringing them covered with blood into the public aſſembly of the *Alexandrians*, pretended that they had been treated in that manner by *Lathyrus*, for defending her perſon againſt his wicked attempts. Upon the flight of *Lathyrus*, *Cleopatra* ſent for her younger ſon *Alexander*, and declaring him king of *Egypt*, obliged

Ptolemy Lathyrus, Bef. Ch. 122.

Cleopatra gives *Cyprus* to her ſon *Alexander*.

She drives out *Lathyrus*,

and places *Alexander* on the throne.

obliged *Lathyrus* to be content with *Cyprus*. This happened, according to *Porphyry*, in the 8th year of *Alexander*'s reign in *Cyprus*, and the 11th of *Cleopatra*'s reign in *Egypt* *.

Not long after this revolution, the inhabitants of *Ptolemais* being beſieged by *Alexander Jannæus* prince of the *Jews*, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of *Lathyrus*; but afterwards reflecting that they might thereby draw upon themſelves the reſentment of *Cleopatra*, they deſired him not to intereſt himſelf with their affairs. *Ptolemy*, however, landed on their coaſt with an army of 30,000 men, when his aſſiſtance, which was now rejected by the inhabitants of *Ptolemais*, was deſired by the *Gazæans*, and *Zoilus* prince of *Dora*. *Lathyrus* accordingly marched to the relief of *Dora* and *Gaza*, which obliged *Jannæus* to raiſe the ſiege of *Ptolemais*, that he might be at leiſure to watch his motions.

Lathyrus invades *Phœnicia.*

Jannæus entered into a treaty with him, and engaged to pay him 400 talents of ſilver, on condition that he would deliver *Zoilus* into his hands, with all the places which he held. *Ptolemy* agreed to the propoſal, and ſeized on *Zoilus*; but being informed that *Jannæus* was treating underhand with *Cleopatra*, in order to bring her upon him with all her forces, he broke off all friendſhip with him, and the following year, dividing his army into two bodies, detached one of them to form the ſiege of *Ptolemais*, and with the other marched againſt *Alexander*. He took *Aſochis*, a city of *Gallilee*, on a ſabbath-day, and carried away from thence 10,000 captives, with an immenſe booty. He next advanced to *Seppharis*; but hearing that *Alexander* was coming againſt him at the head of 50, or, as ſome write, of 80,000 men, he marched to *Aſophos*, not far from the *Jordan*, where he gained a compleat victory over *Alexander*, who loſt in the battle 30,000 men, or, according to *Timagrines*, 50,000, excluſive of the priſoners. *Lathyrus*, after this victory, ravaged and laid waſte the whole country without oppoſition; till *Cleopatra*, who was rouſed by his ſucceſs, landed a powerful army at *Phœnice*. Upon her arrival, he abandoned the ſiege of *Ptolemais*, and retired in great haſte to *Cœle-Syria*. *Cleopatra* diſpatched *Chelcias* with part of her army againſt *Lathyrus*, and with the reſt ſat down before *Ptolemais*, which had refuſed to open its gates to her. While ſhe was engaged in this ſiege, *Chelcias* died, and *Lathyrus* marched into *Egypt*, hoping to find it unprovided of forces in the abſence of his mother. He was, however, diſappointed in his expectation, and returned to *Gaza*, where he took up his winter quarters. *Cleopatra*, in the mean time, having reduced *Ptolemais*, *Alexander Jannæus* haſtened thither to implore her protection. She renewed her alliance with him, after which he returned to *Jeruſalem*, and recruiting his army, marched beyond the *Jordan* againſt *Gadara*. The

Cleopatra marches thither with an army to oppoſe him.

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* Juſtin. lib. xxxix. Pauſan. in Attic. Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Joſeph. Ant. lib. xiii.

following

following ſpring, *Lathyrus*, finding all his efforts againſt *Paleſ-* He re-
tine ineffectual, abandoned that country, and returned to *Cyprus*, turns to
and *Cleopatra*, alſo, about the ſame time, returned to *Egypt*. *Cyprus.*

Cleopatra, underſtanding that *Lathyrus* was treating with *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, who promiſed to aſſiſt him with a body of troops to make a ſecond attempt on *Egypt*, ſhe rendered their meaſures abortive, by giving her daughter *Selene*, whom ſhe had taken from *Lathyrus*, to *Antiochus Gripus*, the competitor of *Cyzicenus*, ſending him at the ſame time a conſiderable ſupply of men and money. *Ptolemy Alexander*, in the mean time, being at laſt tired out with the indignities he was forced to ſuffer from his mother, ſtole away privately from *Alexandria*. The queen, being well apprized that the *Alexandrians* would never ſuffer her to reign without one of her ſons, prevailed upon *Alexander* to return, though ſoon after ſhe formed a conſpiracy againſt his life. *Alexander*, having notice of her deſign, pre- *Cleopatra*
vented it, and cauſed her to be put to death, which was no murdered
ſooner known, than the *Alexandrians* drove him out with igno- by *Alex-*
miny, and ſending to *Cyprus* for *Lathyrus*, replaced him on the *ander*,
throne. *Alexander*, the following year, made an attempt to who is
return to *Egypt*; but being defeated at ſea by the *Egyptian* ad- driven
miral, he was killed as he was attempting to land on the iſland from the
of *Cyprus*. He died in the 19th year of his reign, and left a throne.
ſon behind him named alſo *Alexander*.

Apion, the natural ſon of *Phyſcon*, in the mean time, main- *Apion* be-
tained peace and tranquillity in *Cyrene*, and other parts of his queaths
dominions, and after a reign of twenty-one years, left them by the king-
will to the *Romans*. In this country were the following chief dom of
cities, *Cyrene*, *Berenice*, *Arſinoe*, *Ptolemais*, and *Apollonia*, whence *Cyrene* to
it was called the *African Pentapolis*. *Cyrenaica* comprehended the *Ro-*
other countries beſides the *Pentapolis*, which the *Romans*, upon *mans.*
the death of *Apion*, did not fail to take poſſeſſion of. But they
were at firſt very moderate in the exerciſe of their power, de-
claring the people a free people, and only obliging them to pay
an annual tribute of *laſer*, which grew here in great quantities.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, upon the death of his mother and brother, *Lathyrus*
being delivered from two formidable competitors, began to re- returns to
medy, as far as in him lay, the many diſorders and abuſes that *Egypt*, and
had crept in during the late troubles. The city of *Thebes*, in takes
upper *Egypt*, however, refuſing to ſubmit to his regulations, *Thebes.*
Lathyrus, after defeating the revolters in a pitched battle, in-
veſted the city, which ſtood a ſiege of three years; but being at
laſt taken, was given up to be plundered by the ſoldiers. *La-*
thyrus not long after died, having reigned eleven years jointly His death.
with his mother in *Egypt*, eighteen in *Cyprus*, and ſeven alone
in *Egypt* after his mother's death, in all thirty-ſix years.

He was ſucceeded by *Cleopatra* his daughter, whoſe proper
name was *Berenice*, *Cleopatra* being the general name given to
all the females of the royal family. *Sylla*, who, at this time, *Alexan-*
was perpetual dictator at *Rome*, and gave and took away crowns *der* II.
at pleaſure, ſent *Alexander*, the ſon of the brother of *Lathyrus*,

to ſucceed his brother in the kingdom, as the next heir of the male line. This *Alexander*, when his grandmother *Cleopatra* marched againſt her ſon in *Phœnice*, was ſent by her into the iſland of *Cos*, with a great ſum of money, all her jewels, and her moſt valuable effects. *Mithridates*, king of *Pontus*, making himſelf maſter of that iſland, the young *Egyptian* prince was delivered up to him, and received from him an education ſuitable to his birth. *Alexander* afterwards fled from the court of *Mithridates*, and took refuge in *Sylla*'s camp, while that general was making war in *Aſia*. He lived in the dictator's family, and, in a manner, among his domeſtics, till he was ſent to take poſſeſſion of the crown of *Egypt*. The *Egyptians* prevailed on him to marry *Cleopatra*, who was placed on the throne ſix months before his arrival, and to reign jointly with her.

He marries *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Lathyrus*, and murders her.

The nuptials were accordingly celebrated with great pomp and magnificence; but *Alexander*, with the greateſt barbarity, cauſed his young wife to be aſſaſſinated nineteen days after the marriage. This prince reigned fifteen years, during which time he made himſelf ſo odious to his ſubjects, that they at laſt roſe in arms, and would have ſacrificed him to their reſentment, if he had not withdrawn himſelf from their fury. He fled firſt to *Pompey*, who was then in that neighbourhood, carrying on the war againſt *Mithridates*, king of *Pontus*, and in vain endeavoured to prevail with him to eſpouſe his cauſe. He then took refuge in the city of *Tyre*, whither he had ſent before great part of his treaſures, and there died ſome months after. Before his death he had appealed to the *Roman* ſenate concerning the diſpute betwixt him and his rebellious ſubjects; but dying before the negotiation was finiſhed, he declared by his laſt will the *Roman* people heirs to his kingdom, that he might thereby raiſe up a competitor againſt his rival *Auletes*, whom the *Egyptians* had placed on the throne. The *Romans* thought proper to wave any right they might have to *Egypt* by the will, and only took poſſeſſion of the effects of the deceaſed king at *Tyre*.

He is driven out.

Ptolemy Auletes, that is, the *flute-player*, whom the *Egyptians* had placed on the throne, was one of the natural ſons of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*. Another of his natural ſons held the kingdom of *Cyprus*, where he reigned till he was, with the greateſt injuſtice, deprived of it by the *Romans*. *Auletes*, king of *Egypt*, was ſo mean as to contend for the prize in the public games at playing on the flute. He took great pleaſure alſo in imitating the effeminacies of the *Bacchanals*, dancing in a female dreſs, and in the ſame meaſures uſed during the ſolemnity of their god *Bacchus*, and hence he had the name of the new *Dionyſius*, or *Bacchus*. According to *Strabo*, he was no leſs infamous on account of the effeminacy of his manners, than his grandfather *Phyſcon* was for his wickedneſs.

Ptolemy Auletes. Bef. Chr. 61.

To ſupport himſelf on the throne, he applied to the *Roman* to acknowledge his title, and *Julius Cæſar*, being then conſul and immenſely in debt, granted his requeſt, in conſideration o 6000 talents, that is, 1,162,500 pounds ſterling, paid partly t himſelf

Buys the title of king from *Julius Cæſar*.

himſelf, and partly to *Pompey*, whoſe intereſt was neceſſary for obtaining the conſent of the people. To raiſe this ſum he was obliged to overtax his ſubjects, which occaſioned a general diſcontent throughout the kingdom. At the ſame time, news arriving, that the *Romans* had paſſed a decree for dethroning the brother of *Auletes* in *Cyprus*, the *Egyptians* preſſed their king to demand the iſland as part of the territories of *Egypt*, and in caſe of a denial, to declare war againſt the *Romans*, which he refuſing, they ſurrounded his palace, and threatned violence. He eſcaped their fury, and ſailed to *Rhodes*, where he had a conference with *Cato* the *Roman*, who told him, that the *Romans* would not concern themſelves about a king, who brought nothing with him but wants and complaints; wealth, pomp, and grandeur, being the only things in requeſt at *Rome*. He therefore adviſed him to return to *Egypt*, and even offered to reconduct him thither in perſon. The king, however, was perſuaded by his followers to purſue his journey to *Rome*, and *Cato* proceeded to *Cyprus* to dethrone his brother. The *Egyptians*, in the mean time, placed *Berenice*, his daughter, on the throne, and propoſed a marriage betwixt her and *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, who, by his mother *Selene*, was next male heir of the family. The *Egyptian* ambaſſadors finding *Antiochus* dead, made the ſame propoſal to his brother *Seleucus*, who readily accepted of the offer. This *Seleucus*, according to *Strabo*, was no leſs deformed in body than in ſoul, and the *Egyptians*, ſoon diſcovering his true character, gave him the nick-name of *Cybioſactes*, that is, *the ſcullion*. He was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he ſeized the maſſy gold coffin, in which the body of *Alexander* was depoſited; which crime ſo provoked *Berenice*, who was already grown weary of him, that, breaking through the moſt ſacred ties, ſhe cauſed him to be ſtrangled. She then married one *Archelaus*, high-prieſt of *Camana* in *Pontus*, who pretended to be the ſon of *Mithridates* the great, though he was in fact only the ſon of that king's chief general.

He is driven from the throne.

The *Egyptians* place his daughter *Berenice* on the throne.

Auletes, upon his arrival at *Rome*, was received with great expreſſions of kindneſs by *Pompey*, who gave him an apartment in his houſe. But notwithſtanding the protection of ſo powerful a man, the king was forced to go from houſe to houſe, like a private perſon, ſoliciting the ſuffrages of the ſenators. After he had ſpent immenſe treaſures in procuring a ſtrong party at *Rome*, he was at laſt admitted to lay his complaints before the ſenate. The *Alexandrians*, in the mean time, ſent 100 of their principal citizens to *Rome* to juſtify their revolt; but *Ptolemy* found means to deſtroy the moſt of them, either at *Rome*, or before their arrival in that metropolis; which ſo intimidated the reſt, that they declined acquitting themſelves of their commiſſion.

Solicits the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* in a baſe manner.

Some of the ſenators, however, on the rumour of theſe murders, accuſed *Auletes* in the ſenate. *Dio*, the chief of the *Alexandrian* embaſſy, being ſummoned to give an account of the aſſaſſinations, *Pompey*, *Lentulus*, and the other great men at *Rome*, whoſe

whoſe intereſt the perfidious king had bought at a vaſt price declared ſo openly in his favour, that *Dio* was afraid to appear. He was ſoon after ſtabbed by an aſſaſſin, and *Ptolemy*, knowing he could depend upon *Pompey*'s protection, was not aſhamed to own himſelf the chief author of the murder, which he ever pretended to juſtify. A proſecution, however, was carried on againſt the aſſaſſin, who, though convicted by unexceptionable witneſſes, was nevertheleſs acquitted. An action was then brought by the adverſe party againſt the judges, for ſelling themſelves to *Ptolemy*, and betraying their truſt; but by the intereſt of *Pompey* the venal judges were cleared, and injuſtice triumphed.

Though *Auletes*, by his ſcandalous behaviour, had made himſelf contemptible to the *Romans*, yet, by the powerful intereſt of *Pompey*'s party, a decree was carried in the ſenate, whereby it was enacted, that the *Egyptians* ſhould be compelled by force of arms to receive their king. All the great men of *Rome* were ambitious of being charged with the commiſſion of reconducting a king, which they well knew would be attended with immenſe profit. *Pompey* was excluded, after ſeveral months warm debates, under this honourable pretence, that his preſence was neceſſary at *Rome*. All things ſeemed next to favour *Lentulus*, who was governor of *Cilicia*; but the *Sybilline* books being conſulted, on account of an omen, *C. Portius Cato*, who was then a young man, and one of the tribunes, took that opportunity of baulking his avaricious citizens. He was highly incenſed at the meanneſs of the *Roman* magiſtrates, and was a zealous advocate for virtue.

He read, or pretended to read, in the *Sybilline* books, the following words, *If a king of* Egypt *ſhall apply to you for ſuccour, aſſiſt him, but not with an army. If you uſe violence, fear great dangers and misfortunes.* *Cicero* acknowleges, that all men of ſenſe were convinced that the pretended prediction was forged; nevertheleſs, the young tribune obliged the keepers of the *Sybilline* books to rehearſe the words in full comitia.

Auletes leaves Rome.

Several expedients were then propoſed for facilitating the king's return, without diſobeying the pretended oracle: but the whole year being ſpent in fruitleſs debates, *Ptolemy* left *Rome*, where he had incurred the hatred of the people, and took ſanctuary in the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*. From thence he wrote to *Ammonius*, his ambaſſador at *Rome*, deſiring that *Pompey* might be named to replace him on the throne. One of the tribunes ſupported this requeſt, but he was oppoſed by the ſenate, in which the debates were very warm, as to the manner of the king's reſtoration. *Cicero* greatly favoured *Lentulus*, the governor of *Cilicia* and *Cyprus*, who had been his friend during his exile. He even wrote to him after he was gone to *Cilicia*, adviſing him to advance, without any further orders from the ſenate, with all his ſea and land forces to *Alexandria*, and oblige the inhabitants by force to receive their king.

Ptolemy, in the mean time, by the advice of *Pompey*, applied to *Gabinius*, who commanded in *Syria* in quality of proconſul.

Gabiniu

Gabinius was a man of a moſt infamous character, and ready to undertake any thing, without the leaſt regard to juſtice or religion. Finding that the *Syrians*, whom he had moſt cruelly oppreſſed, could no longer gratify his avarice, he had undertaken, in hopes of acquiring immenſe treaſures, to reſtore *Mithridates*, who had been expelled *Parthia* by his brother *Orodes*. *Ptolemy* came up with him as he was approaching the borders of *Parthia*, and delivered into his hands the letters of *Pompey*. It was againſt an expreſs law for any governor to go out of the limits of his province, or to make war with the neighbouring princes and ſtates, without poſitive orders from the ſenate and people of *Rome*. *Gabinius*, however, made no ſcruple of violating the law, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, except *Mark Anthony*, who commanded the horſe. *Gabinius* rated his aſſiſtance very high, and was not aſhamed to demand of the king 10,000 talents, or near two million of pounds ſterling, one half of it to be paid immediately, and the other as ſoon as he ſhould be ſettled on the throne. The proconſul refuſing to ſtir till the firſt payment was made, the king was obliged to borrow the money from a *Roman* knight, *Pompey* becoming ſurety for the payment of the capital and intereſt.

Gabinius governor of *Syria*, undertakes to replace *Ptolemy* on the throne.

Gabinius, upon receiving 5000 talents, left *Mithridates* to ſhift for himſelf, and began his march towards *Egypt*. *Anthony*, who was detached before him, ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Peluſium*. *Ptolemy*, on his entering the place, was for putting all the *Egyptian* inhabitants to the ſword; but *Anthony* oppoſed ſo barbarous an execution. *Gabinius* ſoon after penetrating into the heart of *Egypt*, defeated *Archelaus*, the huſband of *Berenice*, and took him priſoner. He might now have put an end to the war; but he gave *Archelaus* his liberty, upon his paying a conſiderable ranſom, and then demanded freſh ſums of *Ptolemy* to purſue the war. *Archelaus*, who was a young man of extraordinary parts, again took the field; but after ſeveral defeats, he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Alexandria*. After ſuſtaining a ſiege for ſome time, he hazarded another battle, which put an end both to his reign and life.

defeats the *Egyptians*.

Ptolemy, having recovered *Alexandria*, ſoon reduced all the reſt of *Egypt*; but he no ſooner thought himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown, than he began to vent his rage on all thoſe who had been any ways concerned in the rebellion. He put his daughter *Berenice* to death, for having accepted of the vacant throne, when the *Alexandrians* offered it her. Afterwards he cut off moſt of the wealthy citizens of *Alexandria*, under pretence that they had been concerned in the rebellion, and confiſcated their eſtates, in order to raiſe the vaſt ſums he was ſtill to pay to *Gabinius*. The king, according to *Dio Caſſius*, filled his dominions with blood and ſlaughter, that he might thereby fill his coffers with the treaſures of his unhappy ſubjects. The *Alexandrians*, being awed by the *Roman* garriſon left by *Gabinius*, bore the oppreſſions of their king with great ſubmiſſion; but neither their fear of the *Romans*, nor their au-

Ptolemy recovers his throne.

thority,

thority, could make them put up with an inſult to their ſuperſtition: for a *Roman* ſoldier having killed a cat, which animal was worſhipped by them, the *Alexandrians* made a general inſurrection, forced their way through the *Roman* guards, dragged the ſoldier out of his houſe, and tore him in pieces.

Rabirius, the *Roman* knight, who had ſupplied *Ptolemy* with money, came to *Egypt*, in hopes of being paid; and as an expedient for recovering his money, accepted the poſt of general collector of the king's revenues; but *Ptolemy* ſoon after ordered him and all his ſervants to be confined. Having, in a ſhort time, made his eſcape, he was glad to ſave his life from the wicked deſigns of his debtor. Upon his return to *Rome*, he was proſecuted for lending money to *Ptolemy*, to corrupt the ſenate, and for being an accomplice with *Gabinius*; but ſeems to have been acquitted. Three actions were alſo commenced againſt *Gabinius*, in two of which he was caſt, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment. Before he left *Rome*, he is ſaid to have been reduced to great poverty *.

His death. *Auletes*, notwithſtanding the unheard of tyrannies with which he haraſſed his ſubjects, died in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, about four years after his re-eſtabliſhment, and thirty after he firſt aſcended the throne, leaving behind him two ſons and two daughters. He bequeathed his crown to his eldeſt ſon and his eldeſt daughter, ordering them to be joined in marriage, and becauſe they were both under age, he left them under the tuition of the *Roman* people. A copy of his will being tranſmitted to *Rome*, the people appointed *Pompey* guardian to the young prince.

Ptolemy and *Cleopatra*.

As *Pothinus*, an eunuch, and *Achillas*, commander in chief of the *Egyptian* forces, had the tuition of *Ptolemy*, they, to engroſs the whole power to themſelves, deprived *Cleopatra* of that ſhare in the ſovereignty which had been left her by the will of *Auletes*, and drove her out of the kingdom. *Cleopatra* having raiſed an army in *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, marched back to *Egypt* at the head of it to aſſert her right by arms. *Ptolemy* marched out with another army to oppoſe her, and both armies encamped between *Peluſium* and mount *Caſius*. *Pompey*, in the mean time, after the loſs of the battle at *Pharſalia*, arrived off *Peluſium*, hoping to find in the kingdom of *Egypt* an open and ſafe aſylum. He therefore ſent ſome of his friends to acquaint the king with his arrival, and to demand permiſſion to land and enter his kingdom. The king, being then but thirteen years old, gave no anſwer; but *Pothinus* and *Achillas* conſulting with ſome others, *Theodotus*, a rhetorician, adviſed them, as the ſafeſt courſe, to invite *Pompey* on ſhore, and to cut him off; which advice was accordingly followed.

Pompey put to death by the order of *Ptolemy*.

* Diod. Sic. lib. i. Cic. Epiſt. fam. lib: viii. Id. pro Rabir. Id. ad Attic. lib. iv. epiſt. 16.

Cæſar

Cæſar, in the mean time, being informed that *Pompey* had ſteered his courſe towards *Egypt*, purſued him thither, and arrived at *Alexandria*, juſt as the news of his death reached that city. For the greater expedition, he had purſued *Pompey* with few forces, having with him, when he arrived at *Alexandria*, only 800 horſe, and 3200 foot. He very near paid dear for his preſumption; and, to protect himſelf againſt the unruly mob of that populous city, which was all in an uproar, on account of *Pompey*'s death, he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the king's palace with part of his men, the reſt having been driven back to their ſhips by the outrageous multitude. The *Eteſian* winds preventing *Cæſar* from leaving *Alexandria*, he ſent orders to the legions he had left in *Aſia* to join him with all poſſible expedition. The tumult being ſoon appeaſed, he ventured out of the palace, and having, by his affable behaviour, gained the affections of the common people, he ſpent his time in viſiting the curioſities of that great and ſtately metropolis, and aſſiſting at the public ſpeeches and harangues made by the *Alexandrian* orators.

Julius Cæſar arrives at *Alexandria*.

He likewiſe began to take cognizance of the difference between young *Ptolemy* and his ſiſter *Cleopatra*, and to ſolicit the payment of the money due to him from *Auletes*, who had only paid part of the ſum he had promiſed to him in his conſulſhip. *Cæſar* now exacting the remainder of the debt, *Pothinus*, the king's treaſurer, by ſeveral artifices made his demand appear very oppreſſive; for he plundered their temples of their gold and ſilver utenſils, and perſuaded the king, and all the great perſons of the kingdom, to eat in earthen or wooden veſſels, inſinuating underhand, that *Cæſar* had ſeized all their gold and ſilver plate.

He takes cognizance of the differences between *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*.

What moſt provoked the *Alexandrians*, was the haughtineſs with which *Cæſar* acted as judge between *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*, whom he not only cited to appear before him, but peremptorily commanded to diſband their armies, and ſtand to the ſentence which he ſhould pronounce. This the *Egyptians* looked upon as a violation of the royal dignity, and an open encroachment on the prerogative of their ſovereign, and the independancy of their kingdom. *Cæſar* appeaſed them, by alleging, that he acted only as an arbitrator appointed by the will of *Auletes*, the whole power of the *Roman* people, who had been left by him as guardians to his children, being veſted in himſelf as dictator. The cauſe was accordingly referred to his tribunal, and advocates were appointed on both ſides to plead before him.

Cleopatra, however, believing that her preſence would be more perſuaſive with her judge than any advocate ſhe could employ, embarked in a ſmall veſſel, with only one of her ſervants, *Apollodorus* the *Sicilian*, and in the duſk of the evening arrived under the walls of *Alexandria*. That ſhe might elude the vigilance of *Ptolemy*'s friends, and get to *Cæſar*'s houſe without being known, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be tied up in a carpet, and was thus carried by *Apollodorus* on his back to *Cæſar*'s apartment.

Cleopatra gains over *Cæſar* to her intereſt.

ment. *Cæſar* was highly pleaſed with the ſtratagem, but much more with the perſon of *Cleopatra*, whoſe extraordinary beauty ſo charmed him, that he kept her with him all that night, and next morning ſent for *Ptolemy*, and preſſed him to receive his ſiſter again upon her own terms.

Ptolemy found by this propoſal, that his judge was become his adverſary, and being at the ſame time informed that his ſiſter was then in *Cæſar*'s apartment, he quitted the palace in a violent paſſion, and in the open ſtreet took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground, crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumſtances to the multitude who flocked round. The city being inſtantly all in an uproar, *Ptolemy* put himſelf at the head of the populace, and aſſaulted the palace; but being ſeized by ſome *Roman* ſoldiers, was delivered to *Cæſar*. As the *Romans* were diſperſed through the city, and the violence of the mob encreaſed, *Cæſar* would have been abſolutely overpowered, if he had not had the preſence of mind to ſhew himſelf from a balcony, which was out of the reach of the people, and from thence aſſure them, that he was ready to do whatever they ſhould think fit to ſuggeſt to him. Having, by this means, appeaſed the tumult, the next day he brought out *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* into an aſſembly of the people, and then cauſing the father's will to be read, he decreed, as guardian, that *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* ſhould reign jointly in *Egypt*, and that *Ptolemy*, the younger ſon, and *Arſinoe*, the younger daughter, ſhould reign in *Cyprus*. He added this laſt article to appeaſe the people, and eſcape their fury, which he then greatly dreaded.

Ptolemy ſtirs up the *Alexandrians* againſt him.

He decides as guardian.

This decree pleaſed all except *Pothinus*, who was apprehenſive of the reſentment of *Cleopatra* for what he had acted againſt her, and therefore endeavoured ſtill to exaſperate the *Alexandrians* againſt *Cæſar*, by alleging, that he privately intended to place *Cleopatra* alone on the throne, at the ſame time ſoliciting *Achillas*, who lay encamped at *Peluſium*, to advance with his army to *Alexandria*. His inſinuations had a great effect with the populace; and *Achillas* approaching *Alexandria* with 20,000 regular and well-diſciplined troops, all things were again thrown into confuſion. *Ptolemy*, at *Cæſar*'s deſire, ſent out two ambaſſadors to *Achillas*, ordering him not to uſe any violence, as he was well pleaſed with what *Cæſar* had decreed. *Achillas*, however, cauſed the two ambaſſadors to be ſeized, and put to death, and advanced into the city; but *Cæſar* had poſted his men ſo well in the ſtreets and avenues of that part of the town which he had taken poſſeſſion of, that he found no difficulty in ſupporting the attack of the whole *Egyptian* army. The *Egyptians*, not being able to force that quarter, went to the port, with the deſign of making themſelves maſters of the fleet, and to cut off the communication of the *Romans* with the ſea. *Cæſar*, however, fruſtrated their deſign, by ſetting fire to the *Egyptian* fleet, and ſeizing the tower of *Pharos*, in which he placed a ſtrong garriſon. Some of the ſhips, when on fire, driving to

He is beſieged in *Alexandria*.

the

the ſhore, communicated their flames to the adjoining houſes, by which accident the noble library, in the quarter of the city called *Bruchium*, was conſumed. Great part of the library burnt.

Cæſar fortified the quarter of the city which he poſſeſſed with walls, towers, and other works, and diſcovering that *Pothinus*, who attended the king, carried on a private correſpondence with *Achillas*, he cauſed him to be put to death. *Ganymedes*, another eunuch of the palace, who was charged with the education of the princeſs *Arſinoe*, fearing, that as he had been privy to the treaſonable practices of *Pothinus*, he ſhould ſhare in his fate, fled with the princeſs to the *Egyptian* army, who, wanting one of the royal family to head them, were overjoyed at her arrival, and proclaimed her queen. *Achillas*, being ſoon after accuſed by *Ganymedes* of having betrayed the fleet which *Cæſar* had burnt in the harbour, was condemned, and put to death, and the command of the army was conferred on *Ganymedes*. *Ganymedes*, though a man of no probity, yet had great penetration and activity, and contrived a thouſand artful ſtratagems to diſtreſs *Cæſar*; one of theſe we ſhall mention. The *Alexandrians* being wholly ſupplied by the waters of the *Nile*, which were admitted once a year into vaults below their houſes, and had a free communication with each other, *Ganymedes* ſtopped up the communications between the vaults in *Cæſar*'s quarters, and thoſe of the reſt of the city, and turned the ſea-water into the former. This raiſed a general uproar among *Cæſar*'s troops; but by digging wells, they were ſoon ſupplied with freſh water. *Arſinoe* declared queen by the *Egyptians*.

Cæſar ſoon after receiving advice, that a legion, ſent to him from *Aſia* by *Calvinus* his lieutenant, was arrived on the neighbouring coaſts of *Lybia*, he advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it ſafely to *Alexandria*. *Ganymedes* immediately aſſembled all the *Egyptian* ſhips he could, to attack him upon his return. An engagement accordingly enſuing, he was obliged to retire with loſs, and *Cæſar* brought his legion ſafe into the port of *Alexandria*. *Ganymedes* ſoon after, having reinforced his fleet, entered the harbour, and a ſecond engagement enſuing, *Cæſar* gained another victory, which was owing to the valour of the *Rhodians*, and their great ſkill in naval affairs. *Cæſar*, to improve his victory, endeavoured to ſeize the town of *Pharos*, and the mole leading to it called the *Heptaſtadium*; but after he had landed his troops in the iſland, he was repulſed with the loſs of above 800 men, and had almoſt periſhed himſelf: for finding the ſhip, in which he endeavoured to eſcape, ready to ſink, by reaſon of the numbers of people who had crowded into it, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and with great difficulty ſwam to the next ſhip. Whilſt he was in the ſea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of conſequence, and by that means prevented them from being wetted. *Cæſar* vigorouſly attacked by the *Alexandrians*.

The *Alexandrians*, finding that the *Romans* were rather encouraged than diſheartned by their late loſs, ſent ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, demanding their king, and aſſuring him, that his compliance

pliance with their requeſt, would gain over the multitude him, and put a ſpeedy end to the war. *Cæſar* looked upon th embaſſy as an artifice of the *Alexandrians*; but neverthele complied with their requeſt, that all the blame of future hoſt lities might lie upon them. *Ptolemy*, early inſtructed in the a of diſſimulation, begged of *Cæſar*, with tears in his eyes, th he might be allowed to ſtay with him; but he was no ſooner the head of his troops, than he renewed hoſtilities with mo vigour than ever. Being entirely governed by *Ganymedes*, h attempted to intercept with his fleet all *Cæſar*'s proviſion which occaſioned another ſea-fight near *Canopus*, when the *R mans* were again victorious.

An army arrives in *Egypt* to the aſſiſtance of *Cæſar*.

Mithridates, king of *Pergamus*, in the mean time, had a ſembled an army in *Syria*, which being reinforced by 3000 *Jew* marched to the relief of *Cæſar*. This army, having taken *Pe luſium* by ſtorm, advanced towards *Alexandria*; but on ap proaching the province of *Onion*, they found the paſſes guarde by the *Jews*. *Antipater* the *Idumean*, partly by his own autho rity, and partly by that of *Hyrcanus*, from whom he brough letters to the *Jews*, prevailed on them to embrace *Cæſar*' party. Their example was followed by the *Jews* of *Memphis* and *Mithridates* being plentifully ſupplied by both, advanced t the *Nile*, where he defeated the *Egyptians*, who had endeavoure to oppoſe his paſſage. *Ptolemy* immediately advanced with hi whole army againſt *Mithridates* and *Antipater*, who were in formed of his march by *Cæſar*, who had come from *Alexandri*

The king drowned in the *Nile*.

and joined them. The *Egyptian* king, riſking an engagement was totally defeated, and in his retreat drowned in the *Nile*, a he was endeavouring to make his eſcape. He had reigned from the death of his father, three years and three months Twenty thouſand *Egyptians* were killed in this battle and in th purſuit, and 12,000 were taken priſoners. On *Cæſar*'s ſid 500 only were killed, and about 1000 wounded.

Cæſar beſtows the crown on *Cleopatra* and *Ptolemy*.

Cæſar, returning to *Alexandria*, beſtowed the crown of *Egyp* on *Cleopatra*, obliging her to marry *Ptolemy* her younger bro ther, which was in effect giving the crown to *Cleopatra* alone the young prince being then but eleven years old. *Arſinoe* who was taken priſoner, was obliged to walk before the tri umphal chariot of *Cæſar*, bound with chains of gold. Afte that ſhow was over, ſhe obtained her liberty, and took up he reſidence in the province of *Aſia*, where *Anthony* afterwards, a the requeſt of *Cleopatra*, cauſed her to be put to death. *Cæſar* in acknowlegement of the aſſiſtance he had received from th *Jews*, confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed in *Alexandria* and cauſed both the privileges and his decree to be engraved o a brazen pillar. He left part of his forces in *Egypt* to protec *Cleopatra*, and with the reſt marched into *Syria*, with the deſign of making war upon *Pharnaces*, king of the *Cimmerian Boſ phorus*.

Cleopatra, after *Cæſar*'s departure, enjoyed the crown with out the leaſt diſturbance. When her brother arrived at his 14th year.

year, being apprehenſive that he would claim a ſhare in the royal authority, ſhe cauſed him to be poiſoned. Not long after, *Cæſar* being killed at *Rome*, *Cleopatra* declared for the triumvirs, *Anthony*, *Lepidus*, and *Octavius*, and ſent four legions to the lieutenant of *Dolabella*, which were the remains of the troops left by *Cæſar*, and of *Pompey*'s and *Craſſus*'s armies. Theſe four legions were taken by *Caſſius*, who threatned to invade *Egypt*, becauſe *Cleopatra* abſolutely refuſed to aſſiſt him; but was called off from that enterprize by *Brutus*. *Cleopatra* afterwards ſailed with a numerous fleet to join *Anthony* and *Octavius*, but falling ſick, was obliged to return to *Egypt*, after having loſt a great number of her ſhips by a violent ſtorm.

Cleopatra cauſes her brother to be poiſoned.

Anthony, after the battle of *Philippi*, paſſed over into *Aſia* to eſtabliſh the authority of the triumvirate there; and being informed that the governors of ſome provinces ſubject to *Egypt* had ſent ſuccours to *Caſſius*, he ſummoned *Cleopatra* to appear before him. *Cleopatra*, who was then twenty-five years of age, and with a moſt agreeable perſon, had a penetrating underſtanding and a lively wit, made no ſcruple to obey the ſummons. She provided herſelf with rich preſents, vaſt ſums of money, but above all with magnificent habits and ornaments. Her galley, which was accompanied with the reſt of her fleet, was all over covered with gold, the ſails were of purple, and the oars were plated with ſilver. A canopy of cloth of gold was raiſed on the deck, under which appeared the queen, in the ſame attire and attitude as *Venus* was then generally painted, being ſurrounded with a great many comely youths, fanning her like cupids, and beautiful virgins repreſenting ſome the nereids, and others the graces. Inſtead of trumpets were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and other ſuch inſtruments of muſic, warbling the ſofteſt airs, to which the oars kept time, ſeeming in a manner to double the harmony. Perfumes burnt on the deck, ſpread their odours to a great diſtance, and filled the air with the moſt fragrant ſcents. In this manner ſhe ſailed up the *Cydnus*, which waters the city of *Tarſus*; and her arrival was no ſooner known, than the citizens of all ranks crowded out to meet her, inſomuch that *Anthony*, who was diſtributing juſtice in the forum, ſaw his tribunal all on a ſudden deſerted, not a ſingle perſon remaining with him but his lictors and domeſtics.

Anthony ſummons her to appear before him.

She arrives at *Tarſus* in great pomp,

She was no ſooner landed, but *Anthony* ſent to invite her to ſupper; but the queen anſwered, that, according to the rules of civility, he ought to viſit her firſt, and that therefore ſhe expected to ſee him that very night in the tents, which would ſoon be ſet up on the banks of the river. *Anthony* complied with her invitation, and was received and entertained with a magnificence not to be expreſſed. He invited her in his turn for the next day, and no expence was ſpared; but in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, he owned his entertainment far inferior to the queen's. The more *Anthony* converſed with the fair *Egyptian*, the more he was charmed with her converſation, which being attended with all poſſible ſweetneſs and gaiety, had attractions

and entertains *Anthony* with the utmoſt magnificence.

He is captivated by her.

tractions ſtill more irreſiſtible than her form and features. She ſoon got ſo abſolute an aſcendancy over her judge, that, inſtead of mentioning the complaints made againſt her, he could refuſe her nothing ſhe aſked, however repugnant to juſtice, humanity, or religion. It was at this time he cauſed her ſiſter *Arſinoe* to be murdered in a ſanctuary at *Miletus*.

Cleopatra, to attach *Anthony* the more to her perſon and intereſt, made daily entertainments during her ſtay at *Tarſus*, inviting him and the chief officers of his army to partake of them, and ſpending on thoſe occaſions immenſe ſums of money. In one of theſe banquets, *Anthony*, expreſſing great ſurpriſe at the vaſt number of gold cups, enriched with jewels, which were diſplayed on all ſides, the queen told him, that ſince he admired ſuch trifles, he was very welcome to them, and immediately ordered her ſervants to carry them all to his houſe. In one of theſe feaſts happened what *Pliny*, and after him *Macrobius*, relates of the queen's profuſeneſs. The queen had at her ears two of the largeſt and fineſt pearls that ever had been ſeen, each of them being valued at 52,500 pounds ſterling; one of theſe ſhe cauſed to be diſſolved in vinegar, and then ſwallowed it, to ſhew how much ſhe could ſpend at one draught.

Anthony being obliged by his affairs to leave *Tarſus*, *Cleopatra* took leave of him at *Tyre*, whither ſhe had accompanied him.

He ſpends the winter with her at *Alexandria*.

The triumvir was now ſo taken with her charms, that he could not live without her, and appointing *Plancus* to be his lieutenant in *Aſia Minor*, and *Saxa* in *Syria*, he haſtened after her to *Alexandria*, and there ſpent the whole enſuing winter with her in ſports, banquets, and all kinds of diverſions. While he was thus amuſing himſelf with trifling diverſions, and indulging in all kinds of luxury, *Labienus*, at the head of a *Parthian* army, made great conqueſts in *Syria*, which obliged him to take his leave of *Cleopatra* early in the ſpring. As he was on his march againſt the *Parthians*, he altered his meaſures, and returned to *Rome*, where he reconciled himſelf with the young *Octavius*, and married his ſiſter *Octavia*, a woman of extraordinary merit. He ſoon, however, left his young wife, and returned to *Cleopatra*, with whom he indulged himſelf in riot and voluptuouſneſs.

His imprudent conduct.

The ſpring following ſhe went to *Syria*, to accompany him in his expedition againſt the *Parthians*, and influenced him to commit ſuch flagrant acts of cruelty, as rendered his name and government odious to the whole nation. Many *Syrian* lords were, on falſe pretences, put to death, that ſhe might have their forfeited eſtates. *Anthony* ſet out on his march without the queen; but being eager to return to her again, he conducted the affairs of the campaign with great indiſcretion, and came back to *Syria* with the loſs of 60,000 of his troops. *Cleopatra*, upon his return, went to him to *Leucecome*, a caſtle in *Phœnice*, where they ſpent their time in feaſting and revelling. She carried with her cloaths for the poor remains of his ſhattered troops, which, with a large donative in money, were diſtributed among the ſoldiers in her name, though the money was given by *Anthony*,

who accompanied her into *Egypt*, where they ſpent the winter in all manner of voluptuouſneſs.

Anthony, the following ſpring, again propoſing to march into *Parthia*, beſtowed on *Cleopatra* all *Cyrene*, *Cyprus*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Ituræa*, and *Phœnice*, with great part of *Cilicia* and *Crete*. Her boundleſs ambition, however, not being ſatisfied, ſhe ſollicited him very earneſtly to put to death *Herod* king of *Judæa*, and *Malchus* king of *Arabia Petræa*, that their kingdoms might be thereupon granted to her. *Anthony* would not, by any means, comply with her requeſt; but, to quiet her, gave her that part of the kingdom of *Malchus* which bordered upon *Egypt*, and out of *Herod*'s the territory of *Jericho*, with the baliam gardens. *Cleopatra* accompanied him in his march as far as the *Euphrates*, and on her return was ſplendidly entertained at *Jeruſalem* by *Herod*. *Anthony*, at the concluſion of the campaign, put his army into winter-quarters in *Armenia*, and haſtened back to *Alexandria*, which city he entered in a triumphal chariot, being received in the forum by *Cleopatra*, who waited for him, ſeated on a golden throne, which was placed on a ſcaffold overlaid with ſilver, and ſurrounded by the chief lords of the court in their beſt apparel. He beſtows ſeveral provinces on her.

A few days after, *Anthony* having feaſted, at an immenſe charge, all the people of *Alexandria*, ſummoned them to meet in the gymnaſium; and there, being ſeated on a throne of gold, and *Cleopatra* by him on another, he proclaimed *Cæſarion*, the ſon of *Cleopatra* and *Julius Cæſar*, king of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*, in conjunction with his mother. As he himſelf had three children by the ſame *Cleopatra*, namely, *Alexander*, *Ptolemy*, and *Cleopatra*, he gave to *Alexander Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, and all the countries from the *Euphrates* to the *Indus*, when they ſhould be conquered: to *Cleopatra*, the twin-ſiſter of *Alexander*, he gave *Lybia* and *Cyrene*; and to *Ptolemy*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the countries of *Aſia Minor* from the *Euphrates* to the *Helleſpont*, conferring on each of them the title of *king of kings*. At the ſame time he obliged *Cleopatra* to take the name of *Iſis*, aſſuming to himſelf that of *Oſiris*, and both of them affected from thenceforth to appear in public in the dreſs which was deemed peculiar to thoſe deities. His wild conduct.

The following year *Anthony*, when he had entered *Parthia*, was informed that *Octavius* had ſtirred up the people of *Rome* againſt him. Hereupon, he dropped the *Parthian* expedition, and detaching *Canidius*, one of his lieutenants, with ſixteen legions to the coaſts of the *Ionian* ſea, he haſtened after him to *Epheſus*. In this journey he carried *Cleopatra* with him, who proved his ruin. His friends earneſtly entreated him to ſend her back to *Alexandria*; but ſhe, fearing leſt in her abſence *Anthony*, by *Octavia*'s mediation, ſhould be reconciled to *Cæſar*, left no ſtone unturned to obtain leave to accompany him. At laſt gaining *Canidius*, by rich preſents, to ſpeak in her favour, he prevailed upon him to comply with her requeſt. She accordingly accompanied him to *Samos*, where the greateſt part

of their troops had their rendezvous. From thence they ſailed to *Athens*, and in both theſe places ſpent their time chiefly in luxury, pomp, and voluptuouſneſs. *Cleopatra* ſpared no pains to obtain the ſame marks of affection and eſteem from the *Athenians* that they had conferred on *Octavia*; but ſhe could only extort from them ſome forced civilities.

He declares war againſt *Cæſar*.

Anthony, after conſulting with his friends, declared war againſt *Cæſar*, and divorced his ſiſter *Octavia*. His preparations for the war were ſo far advanced, that if he had attacked his rival without loſs of time, the advantage would probably have been on his ſide; but, to gratify his luxury, he put off taking the field till next year. *Octavius*, in the mean time, aſſembled a conſiderable fleet and army, and declared war againſt *Cleopatra*. *Anthony*, after ſeveral encounters by ſea and land, was prevailed upon by *Cleopatra* to put all to the iſſue of a ſea-fight, which was the worſt counſel that could be given him, his land-forces being far ſuperior both in number and bravery to thoſe of the enemy; whereas, he had been obliged to burn many of his ſhips for want of rowers and mariners, and the reſt were but very indifferently manned.

Is totally defeated at *Actium*.

This memorable battle was fought at the mouth of the *Ambracian* gulf, near the ſmall city of *Actium*, in ſight of both armies. The victory continued doubtful, till *Cleopatra*, frightened with the noiſe of the battle, which appeared very dreadful to her, betook herſelf to flight before ſhe was in any danger, and drew after her the whole *Egyptian* ſquadron, conſiſting of 60 large ſhips. *Anthony*, ſeeing her fly, made after her as if he had been quite deſtitute of his underſtanding, and by his flight yielded the victory to *Cæſar*. As ſoon as *Anthony* came up with *Cleopatra*'s galley, he went on board it, and ſitting down in the prow, and leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, he continued in that poſture for three days, reflecting with profound melancholy on his ill conduct. Arriving on the third day at *Tenarus* in *Laconia*, he at length ſaw and converſed with *Cleopatra* as uſual. From *Tenarus Cleopatra* ſailed to *Alexandria*, whither ſhe was ſoon after followed by *Anthony*, whoſe land army under *Canidius* had ſurrendered to *Cæſar*.

Cleopatra ſailed into the harbour of *Alexandria* with crowns on the prows of her ſhips, as if ſhe had obtained ſome ſignal victory; and having, by this means, got admiſſion into her metropolis, ſhe put all thoſe to death who were any ways averſe to her, to prevent the tumults which ſhe feared they might raiſe, when the true ſtate of her affairs ſhould be known. To avoid falling into the hands of *Cæſar*, ſhe undertook the carrying of her ſhips in the *Mediterranean* into the *Red Sea* over the iſthmus of ſeventy miles that lay between them. *Q. Didius*, however, who had ſeized on *Syria* for *Cæſar*, prevailed on the *Arabians*, who inhabited the coaſts of the *Red Sea*, to burn all the ſhips ſhe tranſported over, and the others ſhe had there before. *Anthony*, on his arrival at *Alexandria*, declined ſeeing

Cleopatra

Cleopatra; but ſhut himſelf up in a houſe which he cauſed to be built on the ſhore, ſequeſtering himſelf from the company and converſation of all men. But he did not long reliſh this way of living. His paſſion for *Cleopatra* ſoon revived, and drew him from his retirement to the queen's palace, where he ſpent the remaining part of his life in his uſual exceſſes of luxury, voluptuouſneſs, and folly.

Both he and *Cleopatra* tried, but without ſucceſs, to appeaſe *Octavius*. They ſent three different embaſſies to him, and offered at length to reſign all, and live a private life in *Athens*, or any other place he ſhould appoint. The only thing they deſired was, that the kingdom of *Egypt* might be given to *Cleopatra*'s children. *Cleopatra* deſired her ambaſſadors to treat ſeparately for herſelf, and ſent privately by them to *Octavius* a ſceptre, a crown, and chair of gold, reſigning as it were all her power and authority to him. *Cæſar* accepted her preſents, and in public told her ambaſſadors, that if ſhe would lay down her arms and reſign her kingdom, he would then conſider whether ſhe ſhould be treated with rigour or mercy; but privately he promiſed her impunity, and even her kingdom, in caſe ſhe would put *Anthony* to death. He would not ſo much as ſee the ambaſſadors of *Anthony*; but being deſirous of having *Cleopatra* in his power, he ſent her ſeveral meſſages, promiſing to treat her with great kindneſs if ſhe would kill *Anthony*, who was the author of all her misfortunes. This ſhe would not aſſent to; but promiſed to deliver both him and her kingdom into his hands.

He and *Cleopatra* endeavour in vain to appeaſe *Cæſar*.

She accordingly ordered the ſtrong city of *Peluſium* to be betrayed into his hands, tho' it was in a condition of holding out a long ſiege. *Anthony*, in the mean time, had marched againſt *Peritonium*, the key of *Egypt* on the weſtern ſide, the garriſon of which conſiſted chiefly of troops which had ſerved under him. When he approached the wall to harangue them, *Cornelius Gallus*, the governor, cauſed all the trumpets to be ſounded, which prevented his diſcourſe from being heard. *Gallus* afterwards repulſed his land forces, and by a ſtratagem hemmed in his fleet, which he totally deſtroyed. After this defeat, *Anthony* hearing that *Peluſium* was taken, haſtened to the defence of *Alexandria*. On his arrival, *Cleopatra*, the better to conceal her treachery, cauſed her jewels and moſt valuable effects to be removed from the palace to a monument of a wonderful ſtructure which ſhe built near the temple of *Iſis*. Whither likewiſe ſhe conveyed a great quantity of perfumes, aromatic wood, and flax, giving out, that ſhould the town be taken, ſhe would ſet fire to that pile, and conſume herſelf and her treaſures in the flames. *Cæſar* ſoon after arrived before *Alexandria*, and encamped in the *Hippodrome*.

Cleopatra betrays *Anthony*.

Anthony, who was ignorant of the intrigues of *Cleopatra*, reſolved upon a vigorous defence, and ſallied out upon the enemy's horſe, before they had time to refreſh themſelves. Having entirely defeated them, he returned victorious into the city,

and amidſt the loud acclamations of the *Alexandrians*, threw himſelf, armed as he was, at *Cleopatra*'s feet, and kiſſed her hand. *Anthony* made another ſally, but was repulſed with great loſs; the *Egyptians* having, by *Cleopatra*'s orders, abandoned him in the heat of the engagement. Hereupon his friends told him in plain terms, that *Cleopatra* betrayed him; but inſtead of believing them, he expreſſed great wrath againſt thoſe who ſeemed to ſuſpect her. Early next morning he ſailed out with his fleet to attack that of the enemy; but the *Egyptian* fleet, in compliance with the orders of *Cleopatra*, going over to *Octavius*, he haſtened back to his land army; but was greatly ſurpriſed when he found that they had all, to a man, deſerted to the enemy. He now gave credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy, and in the height of his deſpair ſent to challenge *Cæſar* to a ſingle combat; but received for anſwer, that if he was tired of life, there were other ways to die beſides that.

Seeing himſelf betrayed by *Cleopatra*, and ridiculed by *Cæſar*, he flew to the palace, with a deſign to kill the perfidious queen; but ſhe, by a timely flight, eſcaped his fury, and ſhut herſelf up in the above-mentioned monument, with two of her maids and one of her eunuchs, cauſing it to be given out that ſhe had killed herſelf, to avoid falling into the enemy's hands. *Anthony* too credulouſly believing the news, ſhut himſelf up in his apartment with a faithful ſlave called *Eros*, who had long before promiſed to kill him when the ſtate of his affairs ſhould require that mournful office at his hands. He now put *Eros* in mind of his promiſe, and commanded him to run him thro' with the ſword he put into his hand. But the ſlave, full of affection, reſpect, and fidelity to his maſter, ſtabbed himſelf with it, and fell dead at his feet. *Anthony*, encouraged by his example, fell upon his ſword, and gave himſelf a mortal wound. As he was wallowing in his blood, *Diomedes*, the queen's ſecretary, came and informed him that ſhe was alive. He no ſooner heard the name of *Cleopatra* mentioned, than he opened his dying eyes; and ſuffering his wound to be dreſſed, cauſed himſelf to be carried to the gate of the monument, which *Cleopatra* would not ſuffer to be opened, for fear of ſome ſurprize. Some ropes, however, hanging down from the top of the monument, *Anthony* was made faſt to theſe; and *Cleopatra*, aſſiſted by her two women, with much ado drew him up. As ſoon as ſhe had taken him in, ſhe laid him on a bed, and there after having expreſſed her grief and concern in the moſt tender and affecting terms, ſhe cut off his hair, according to the ſuperſtition of the *Pagans*, who looked upon this as a relief to thoſe who died of a violent death.

Anthony gives himſelf a mortal wound, is conveyed to *Cleopatra*, and dies.

Anthony having, by a draught of wine, raiſed his drooping ſpirits, endeavoured to comfort *Cleopatra* in the beſt manner he could, and adviſed her to conſult her own intereſt to ſave her life and kingdom, provided ſhe could do it with honour, and to truſt none of *Cæſar*'s friends but *Proculeius*. With theſe words

words he expired; and the ſame moment *Proculeius* arrived at the monument, and urged the queen to ſurrender, and truſt herſelf to the generoſity of the conqueror. *Proculeius* not being able to prevail with her, *Octavius* ſent *Cornelius Gallus*, a man of great learning and eloquence, to viſit her; and while he amuſed her with fine ſpeeches, *Proculeius*, with two ſervants, ſcaled the wall with a ladder, and haſtened down to the gate where ſhe was conferring with *Gallus*. *Cleopatra*, upon ſeeing him, attempted to ſtab herſelf with a dagger, which ſhe always carried about with her; but was prevented by *Proculeius*, who wreſted it from her, and ſhook her robes leſt ſhe ſhould have any weapon or poiſon concealed in them; exhorting her at the ſame time to be of good cheer, and to confide in the goodneſs and clemency of the conqueror. *Cleopatra* taken.

Octavius, quickly after, entered *Alexandria*, talking with *Arius*, a native of the place, who had been his preceptor. He went directly to the gymnaſium, and having aſſembled a tribunal, he commanded the citizens, who in great fear and conſternation lay proſtrate at his feet, to ſtand up; and then, in an elegant harangue, told them, that he freely pardoned them; firſt, for the ſake of *Alexander* their founder; ſecondly, on account of the beauty and greatneſs of their city; and, laſtly, for the ſake of *Arius* their fellow citizen. *Cæſar* enters *Alexandria*.

Cæſar being now in poſſeſſion of *Alexandria*, ſent *Proculeius* to comfort the queen, and aſk her, in his name, whether ſhe had any requeſt to make him. *Cleopatra* begged to be allowed to bury *Anthony*; which requeſt was granted her without difficulty. She ſpared no coſt to render his interment magnificent, according to the cuſtom of *Egypt*. She cauſed his body to be embalmed with the moſt exquiſite perfumes of the eaſt, and placed it in the tombs of the kings of *Egypt*. The exceſs of her affliction, and the pain ſhe felt in her breaſt, which became inflamed and ulcerated from the blows ſhe gave it in the tranſports of her ſorrow, throwing her into a fever, ſhe reſolved, on pretence of her illneſs, to abſtain from food, and by that means put an end to her days. *Cæſar* ſuſpecting her deſign, prevailed with her to take patiently whatever food or phyſic was offered to her, by threatning, if ſhe refuſed, to treat her children with ſeverity.

When ſhe was pretty well recovered, he himſelf, after having aſked her permiſſion, made her a viſit. According to *Dio*, ſhe received him in a room magnificently furniſhed, ſhe herſelf lying on a very rich couch: but *Plutarch* ſays, that when *Cæſar* viſited her, her face was ſtrangely diſfigured, her hair in diſorder, her eyes ſunk, and her boſom covered with wounds and bruiſes; but the grace and vivacity which enlivened her beauty, were not, however, wholly extinguiſhed. She endeavoured, tho' in vain, to make a conqueſt of the young victor; but whether her charms had no longer the ſame power, or that ambition was the ruling paſſion of *Octavius*, he was not affected either with her perſon or converſation. She was far from being *Cleopatra* attempts in vain to captivate him.

ing insensible of his coldness and indifference, which she looked upon as no good omen; but dissembling her concern, she thanked him for the honour, and told him, that in token of her gratitude, she designed to deliver up to him all the treasures of the kings of *Egypt*.

Being soon after informed by *Cornelius Dolabella*, one of *Cæsar*'s favourites, who had fallen in love with her, that she and her children were to be sent away within three days, she firmly determined to avoid, by a voluntary death, the shame of being led in triumph. With this design, she begged to be allowed to pay her last duty to the tomb of *Anthony*, and take her leave of him; which request was granted. Upon her return to her apartment, she bathed, sat down to supper, and had a very magnificent repast. When supper was over, she sent a letter to *Cæsar*, and putting every body out of the monument but her two women, she fastened the doors. She then dressed herself in her royal robes, and lying down on her bed, applied an asp to her left arm. This was a kind of serpent of a very venemous nature, which, to deceive the guards, had been brought to her in a basket of figs. The bite of the serpent quickly had its effect, and she died in the arms of her maids, who likewise put an end to their life by the same means. Some writers, however, say, that *Cleopatra*, having made a deep wound in her arm with her teeth, poured the poison of the asp, which she had prepared before hand, into it, and gently expired.

She dispatches herself.

Cæsar, in the mean time, discovering by the contents of *Cleopatra*'s letter that she intended to lay violent hands on herself, as all that she begged was, that she might be buried in the same tomb with *Anthony*, immediately dispatched some of her friends, to prevent her, if still alive, from attempting any thing on her own life. These found the guards at the gate mistrusting nothing; but when they entered her apartment, they, to their great surprize, saw her lying dead on a golden bed, one of her maids likewise dead at her feet, and the other ready to expire. *Octavius*, tho' much grieved to see himself thus deprived of the chief glory and ornament of his triumph, yet granted the queen's last petition, and commanded her body to be buried with all possible pomp, and laid in the same tomb with *Anthony*.

Thus died *Cleopatra*, after she had reigned 22 years, and lived 39. She was a woman of extraordinary parts; for she is said to have been thoroughly skilled in *Greek* and *Latin*, and besides to have conversed with the *Ethiopians*, *Troglodites*, *Jews*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, in the language of each people. The most odious of vices were united in her person, professed immodesty, breach of faith, dissimulation, injustice, and cruelty. In the midst of her vicious pleasures, however, she retained a taste for polite learning, and erected in the place where the famous library stood, a new one no ways inferior to the former, enriching it with 200,000 volumes of the library of *Pergamus*, which *Anthony* had presented her with. In her

ended

ended the family of *Ptolemy Lagus*, after it had ruled over *Egypt*, from the death of *Alexander*, 294, or, according to ſome, 293 years. *Egypt*, from this time, was reduced to a *Roman* province, and governed by a prætor ſent thither from *Rome*.

Octavius cauſed *Cæſarion*, the ſon of *Cleopatra* by *Julius Cæſar*, to be put to death, becauſe he pretended to be the lawful heir: but he treated her children by *Anthony*, and all her friends and ſervants, with great kindneſs *.

Cæſarion put to death.

BOOK XI.

The Hiſtory of the GOMERIANS, SCYTHIANS, ARMENIANS, *and of the kingdom of* PONTUS.

CHAP. I.

The hiſtory of the GOMERIANS.

IT has been a diſpute among the learned, whether the *Gomerians* and *Scythians* were originally the ſame, or two diſtinct nations. Some have ſuppoſed them to have been originally the ſame, becauſe the ſacred hiſtorians make no mention of them but by the names of their ſuppoſed progenitor †. Prophane authors alſo have greatly confounded both nations, by aſcribing names, places, and exploits to the one which belonged to the other; ſo that it is extremely difficult to diſcover when they ſpeak of the *Scythians*, or when of the *Gomerians* or *Celtes*. It is evident at leaſt, that *Herodotus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Juſtin* ‡, to name no more, have called the *Scythians* who remigrated into *Aſia*, by ſome names, and attributed ſome actions and places to them, which upon cloſer examination are found to have belonged to the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, whom they had driven thither out of their *European* territories. *Strabo* tells us, that the old *Greek* hiſtorians gave the name of *Scythians*, and *Celto-Scythians*, to all the inhabitants of the northern regions; tho' it is plain, that in a conſiderable part they were inhabited by *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. Again he adds, that thoſe

The *Celtes* and *Scythians* confounded together.

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* Plut. in Anton. Dio. l. v. Eutrop. l. vii. Oroſ. l. lxi. Vell. Pater. l. ii. Sueton. Auguſt. Florus. Liv. l cxxxiii. Athen. l. iv. Diod. Sic. l. xlviii.

† Ezek. 38.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 73, 103. & 4. c. 49—52. Ptol. Geogr. l. vi. c. 11, 13. Juſtin, l. i. c. 8.

people

people inhabiting beyond the *Caſpian* ſea, who ſhould be the *Scythians*, were by the ſame *Greek* hiſtorians called, ſome *Maſagetes*, and others *Sacks*; the latter of which names at leaſt belonged only to the *Celtes*. For theſe reaſons many learned men have choſen to reckon them as one people, branched out into that variety of names and characters under which they are diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory.

The *Celtes* deſcended from *Gomer*,

However, as the ſacred books are ſilent on the ſubject, both the antient fathers and modern authors have more univerſally adopted the opinion of *Joſephus*, who affirms, that the *Celtes*, or *Gauls*, are deſcended from *Gomer*, and the *Scythians* from *Magog* his next brother. There is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of the firſt part of his aſſertion; for beſides the teſtimony of the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, we have the following proof; that notwithſtanding all the various denominations they have undergone, and which ſeem rather to have been given to them by other nations than aſſumed to themſelves, they have ſtill preſerved their original name of *Gomro*, or *Cymro*, or deſcendants of *Gomer*, and retain it to this day in all thoſe countries where the *Celtic* or *Gomerian* language is preſerved in its greateſt purity; as among the *Welſh*, who call their language *Gomeraeg*, or *Cymbraeg* *. To this may be added the concurrent teſtimony of *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, *Mela*, and others, who mention them under the names of *Comerians*, *Camarians*, *Chomarians*, *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, and ſuch like. *Cluverius* alſo proves, that the antient *Celtic* nation, which according to him included the regions of *Illyria*, *Germany*, *Gallia*, *Spain*, the *Britannic* and other northern iſles, did all ſpeak the ſame language, which could be no other than the *Gomeraeg* or language of *Gomer*, preſerved univerſally among all his deſcendants †.

and the *Scythians* from *Magog*.

Were we as well acquainted with the *Scythian* nation, it would not be difficult to trace it to its fountain head, and to diſpel that obſcurity we find in antient authors concerning them. However, we are not without ſome additional proofs to the teſtimony of *Joſephus*. Firſt, we find ſome antient monuments of the patriarch *Magog*, and of his two brothers *Meſhech* and *Tubal*, in the regions of leſſer *Aſia*, where they firſt planted themſelves after the diſperſion eaſtward from their brother *Gomer* ‡. The deſcendants of this patriarch turning northweſt, and entering *Europe*, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that thoſe of *Magog*, inſtead of coaſting along the *Euxine* ſea, and gleaning ſettlements after them, proceeded north-eaſtward betwixt the *Euxine* and *Caſpian*, and in proceſs of time penetrated into both the *Scythias*, the *Muſcovites* and *Tartarians* being antiently called *Mogli*, which ſeems only a corruption or abbreviation of *Magogli*, the ſons of *Magog*. To theſe we

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* Lluid, Pezron, Lewis, &c. † Clav. antiq. Germ. & introd. ad Geogr. ‡ Bochart, Phaleg.

may

may add, that there is ſcarce a nation under Heaven that ſo fully anſwers the warlike, bloody and dreadful character which the Scriptures give us of *Gog* and *Magog*, as that of the barbarous *Scythians*.

Thus was all *Europe*, and the northern and far greater part of *Aſia*, peopled by thoſe two famous nations, the *Celtes* or *Gomerians* inhabiting the former, and the *Scythians* the latter eaſtward, as far as the territories of *China*. It appears then, upon the whole, that the firſt rank belongs to the noble *Celtic* nation, as deſcended from the elder brother; tho' the preference has been given to the *Scythians* by the univerſal vote of profane authors, who knew not that their progenitor was *Gomer*'s younger brother.

To begin, therefore, with the *Gomerians* or *Celtes*. As *Moſes* relates that the iſles of the *Gentiles*, by which is underſtood *Europe*, were divided amongſt the poſterity of *Japhet*, the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*, *Beroſus* and ſome others have, contrary to probability, planted *Gomer*'s children in *Italy*, *Aſturia*, *Biſcay*, and other parts of *Europe*, even ſo early as 142 years after the flood. Others have ventured to bring *Gomer* himſelf into *Gaul*, *Tubal* into *Spain*, *Aſkenaz* into *Germany*, and *Magog* into *Sweden* and *Denmark*; which premature and precipitate migrations ſtand ſufficiently confuted by their palpable impoſſibility, were there nothing elſe to diſprove them. *Gomer*, as we have formerly mentioned, is moſt probably ſuppoſed to have ſettled in *Phrygia*, and his children in his neighbourhood. As their poſterity encreaſed, it was natural for them to proceed ſtill further weſt, the deſcendants of *Magog* having already occupied the countries caſt from them.

They accordingly ſpread themſelves by degrees through *Thrace*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *Gaul*, *Italy*, even to the utmoſt borders of *Spain*. Thro' this extenſive tract, in proceſs of time, they became a powerful nation under ſeveral leaders; but thoſe who ſpread themſelves on both ſides the *Rhine*, and thence towards the ſouth and weſt as far at leaſt as the *Pyrenees* and *German* ocean, became the moſt famous of all, their country acquiring the name of *Gallia* and *Galatia*, while they themſelves ſtill retained their antient name of *Gomero*, or *Gomerians* *. The names *Cimmerians* and *Cymbrians*, which ſeem only a corruption of their original name, it is obſervable were given to none of the *Celtes* but thoſe who inhabited the more northern regions of *Europe*. In leſſer *Aſia* they were called *Titans* and *Sacks*, which laſt name ſignifies thieves and plunderers. In *Europe* they ſeem generally to have been known by the names of *Celtes* and *Gauls*, that of *Gomero* or *Cymro* being only preſerved among a few of themſelves. The name of *Galatians* was given them alſo by the *Greeks*; but it is plain it meant the ſame

The *Celtes* enter *Europe*.

* Pezron, Antiq. Celt.

with

with *Gauls*, and accordingly antient authors make them descended from the same father *.

Before they left *Asia*, it appears that they distinguished themselves by their exploits; but these are so darkly and differently related, so intricate, and built so much upon conjecture, that the accounts can hardly be relied upon. As to their actions in *Europe*, we can speak with much greater certainty; however, we may observe that the posterity of some of them seem to have continued in *Asia*, *Ezekiel* threatning the *Jews* with bringing *Gomer* and his armies upon them from the north quarters, and *Ptolemy* placing the *Chamarians* and *Gomarians* the one on the river *Oxus*, and the other in the province of *Sogdiana* †.

Some of them still remain in *Asia*.

The *Celtes* in *Europe* spread themselves from *Thrace* and the river *Danube*, to the western parts of *Spain*. It is difficult to ascertain how far they extended themselves northwards, whether to the *Hyperborean* ocean, or only to the *Baltic*. It seems most probable, that the latter was their northern boundary for many centuries; but it is certain, that in the time of *Julius Cæsar*, not only *Sweden* and *Denmark*, but the northern islands of *Britain*, *Ireland*, and even *Iceland*, were inhabited and made part of the *Celtic Gallia*. Accordingly *Cluverius*, tho' he hath reduced its extent within narrower bounds than *Ortelius*, who supposes the general name of antient *Europe* to have been *Celtica*, proves it to have contained the countries of *Illyricum*, *Germany*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and the *British* islands; and adds, that they had all the same language, tho' split into various dialects, and made but one large nation, tho' divided in process of time into a great multitude of tribes ‡.

In the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, the *Celtic* nation, tho' greatly abated of its former grandeur, and shrunk into more narrow limits, was, however, so considerable, that it contained no less than 60 great people distinguished by the names of cities or districts, according to *Strabo*. *Tacitus* says 64; but this is nothing to *Josephus*, who reckoned the number of these nations about 315, or to *Appian*, who made them amount to 400, and their cities, if the greatest part of them were not really villages, to 1300.

Italy first peopled by *Gomer*'s descendants.

It has been disputed whether *Italy* was first peopled by the *Celtes*. Some suppose that the sons of *Javan* first came hither by sea from *Greece*. On the other hand, it is alleged, that the *Umbrians* are by many antient authors esteemed the most antient people in *Italy* ||. *Pliny* particularly tells us, that when the *Hetrurians* entered that country, and made war against the *Umbrians*, they destroyed 300 of their cities; which proves that they must have been there a considerable time. Again, the

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* Idem Joseph. Antiq. l. i. Eustat. Comment. in Examen. Hierom. tradit. Hebr. in Gen. 9.

† Ptol. l. vi. Mela. l. i. Strab. l. ix.

‡ Antiq. Germ. l. i.

|| Flor. l. i. Plin. l. iii, Dion. Halic. l. iii. Serv. in Virgil.

Umbrians

Umbrians are affirmed by other antient hiſtorians to have been the deſcendants of the *Gauls* or *Celtes* *; from whence it may be concluded, that the *Celtes*, in the moſt early times, had penetrated into *Italy*, before we can ſuppoſe the *Arcadians*, or deſcendants of *Javan*, were acquainted with navigation. *Plutarch* indeed tells us, that the *Celtes* or *Gauls* inhabiting between the *Alps* and the *Pyrenees*, having taſted of the wine that came out of *Italy*, marched over the *Alps* under the conduct of a malcontent named *Arron*, and conquered thoſe territories, which had been till then held by the *Tuſcans*. But this muſt be looked upon as a late tranſaction, when compared to the early migrations of the *Celtes*, and does not invalidate what has been ſaid concerning their firſt peopling of *Italy*. Tho' their manners, religious cuſtoms and language might be nearly the ſame thro' all the wide territories poſſeſſed by them, yet, as we have juſt obſerved, they compoſed a great number of independant political ſocieties, which, without doubt, frequently made war on each other. In *Spain* and *Italy*, as well as in ſeveral other countries in *Europe*, there are multitudes of names of cities, towns, rivers, mountains, capes, promontories, *&c.* met with in antient geographers, and many of them even extant to this day; all which are plainly of *Celtic* origin. For the many examples of this kind, and the ſurprizing propriety and aptneſs of the etymologies, we muſt refer our readers to the authors quoted in the margin †.

Celtic territories.

Tho' the *Celtes*, in the moſt early ages, retained an uniformity of manners, and nearly the ſame language in all their different ſettlements; yet, in proceſs of time, from various accidents, they by degrees loſt their original name, their language altered, and they began to be diſtinguiſhed by new and different appellations. *Cæſar*, we find, confines thoſe who were called *Celtes* in his time into very narrow limits, their country, according to him, being bounded on the north by the *Seine*, on the ſouth by the *Loire*, and on the eaſt and weſt by *Burgundy* and Low *Britany*. Whether this country was called *Celtica* by way of excellence above the reſt, as the province of *Holland* is generally taken for all the ſeven, and whether the other *Celtes* were unknown to *Cæſar*, we will not pretend to determine. *Dio Caſſius*, however, tells us, that all the inhabitants on each ſide the *Rhine* were ſtill called *Celtes*; and according to *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, the *Celtic* territories extended from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps*, quite to the *Scythians* ‡.

By the conqueſt of the *Romans*, the *Celtes* in *Gaul* gradually loſt their antient name, and by future conqueſts were confounded with the *Franks*. Thoſe *Celtes* who inhabited *Britain*, how-

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* Solin. ex Bochart. Iſidor & al. ap. Pezron. † Wott. Archeol. Lluid. lexic. Pezron. Lewis hiſt. Mag. Brit. Hackew. original. Septen. Breerward de orig. ling. Pelontier. hiſt. de Celtes. ‡ Dio. l. xxxix. Diod. l. v.

ever,

ever, did not ſhare the ſame fate, eſpecially thoſe of the inland country, who were a diſtinct people, *Cæſar* tells us, from thoſe on the coaſts. Theſe inland inhabitants are ſuppoſed to have come originally from *Cambray*, and to have been driven from the coaſts more weſtwards and northwards by future adventurers with whom they refuſed to aſſociate. The *Romans* having poſſeſſed the iſland but a ſhort time, never made an entire conqueſt of the antient inhabitants, who abhoring to live in ſubjection, retired to the weſtern mountains, ſtill retaining the original language of the *Celtic* nation, and the moſt antient name of *Gomerians*. By others they were called *Gauls*, by which name thoſe in the Highlands of *Scotland* ſtill call themſelves. The *Engliſh*, by the change of the letter *G* into *W*, which among them is very common, have given them the appellation of *Welſh* *.

Tho' the *Celtes* exceed all other nations in antiquity, their deſcent being, as we have ſeen, from *Gomer* the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet*, the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*, yet we have but a very imperfect knowlege of their government, laws, religion, &c. *Pezron* hath attempted to prove, that the deſcendants of *Gomer* very early entered *Europe*, under the conduct of *Acmon*, and afterwards of his ſon *Uranus*, two warlike princes, the laſt of whom led colonies even into *Spain*. *Chronus*, *Jupiter*, and *Mercury* were their three next ſucceſſors, and the laſt, according to our author, ſettled the *Gomerians* in *Europe*, then called *Titans*, into a regular government, and gave them laws, their name being then changed into that of *Celtes*.

All this our author brings proof for from antient authors; and in a letter to the abbot *Nicaiſe*, diſplays a noble and elaborate plan of *Celtic* antiquities, which had he lived to have finiſhed, might have afforded us a much greater number of proofs. Nothing, indeed, is more likely, than that the *Celtic* government was originally monarchical, as well as that of other nations. In *Cæſar*'s time, their monarchs ſeem to have been under great reſtrictions, and the people to have poſſeſſed true notions of liberty.

What their laws were, whether reduced into a body, or depending upon the will of their ſovereign, we cannot find. *Pezron*, indeed, tells us, that *Mercury* civilized them, and gave them laws; and we are informed by others †, that *Samothes*, otherwiſe called *Dis* and *Diſcelta*, a man of ſingular learning and wiſdom, and the firſt founder of the *Celtic* monarchy, gave them a body of laws and diſcipline, which he wrote in the *Hebrew* tongue, but in the *Phœnician* character. He may be ſuppoſed, perhaps, to have wrote in *Hebrew*, from the great affinity between that tongue and the *Celtic*; and the *Phœnician* character, which he is ſaid to have uſed, was antiently the moſt univerſal, and is

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* Lhuid. Lewis ut ſupra. Maitland's Hiſt. of Scot. vol. i. † Lewis & aut. ab eo citat.

now

now allowed to have been the ſame with the *Samaritan* or antient *Hebrew*. But if ever he wrote ſuch a body of laws, it is certain we have nothing left of them. However, as they very much deviated from the ſimplicity of their brethren the *Scythians* in their manner of life, they can no more be ſuppoſed to have been without ſome laws for the preſervation of property, than their warlike genius could be without martial diſcipline. The *Curetes*, and afterwards the *Druids* and *Bards*, were the interpreters of their laws, and judged all cauſes whether criminal or civil. Their ſentence was reckoned ſo ſacred, that whoever refuſed to abide by it, was by them excluded from aſſiſting at their ſacred rites; after which no man dared to converſe with him, ſo that this puniſhment was reckoned even ſeverer than death itſelf. Their government.

Their religion was very like that of the *Scythians*, that is, they neither built temples, nor reared ſtatues to the deity; which they eſteemed ſo derogatory to it, that they even demoliſhed them wherever they could. They worſhiped under large groves of oaks, and had a particular reverence for the oak, attributing ſeveral ſupernatural virtues both to its wood, leaves, fruit, and miſeltoe; all which were made uſe of in their ſacrifices and other parts of their worſhip. After they had adopted the idolatrous ſuperſtition of the *Romans* and other nations, and the apotheoſis of their heroes and princes, they came to worſhip them much after the ſame manner. *Jupiter* they called *Taran*, which in *Celtic* ſignifies thunder; *Mercury Heus*, or *Heſus*; probably from the *Celtic Huadh*, which ſignifies a dog, and might be the *Anubis Latrans* of the *Egyptians*. *Mercury* was held in the greateſt veneration by traders, and *Mars* by their warriors. Theſe gods, according to *Pezron*, had formerly been their kings, and after they came to deify them, they became addicted to all kind of ſuperſtition, divination, aſtrology, magic, and other kinds of witcheries. The care of religion antiently was committed to the curetes, to whom the education of *Jupiter* was committed, and *Cres*, one of his ſons, was of their ſociety. It is not eaſy to trace their original. Some derive their name from the *Celtic* word *Curo*, to ſtrike or beat one thing againſt another; becauſe when they kept young *Jupiter* concealed in a cave, they ſtruck their ſhields with their javelins, that his jealous father might not hear his cries*. Some ſay they went to the wars, and encouraged the warriors; but others affirm, that they, as well as the *Druids*, were exempt from that duty †. The *Bards*, however, who were in all other reſpects of the ſame order, were obliged to go and encourage the people to war with their poetic and muſical compoſitions. Religion.

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* Apollod. Bibl. l. i. c. 1. ap. Pezron. Strab. l. x. † De bell. Gal. Lewis ut ſup. Pezron. Heylen & al.

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The *Druids* and *Bards*, *Cæsar* tells us, were the performers of sacrifices and all religious rites, and the expounders of religion to the people. They also instructed youth in all kind of learning, such as philosophy, astronomy, astrology, the immortality and transmigration of the soul from one body into another; which was both an incitement to virtue, and an antidote against the fear of death. These they taught their disciples by word of mouth, esteeming them too sacred to be committed to writing; and it was the labour of twenty years to get all their hymns and doctrines by heart. *Diodorus* speaking of the *Celtes*, tells us farther, that their *Bards* used to accompany their songs with instrumental music, such as organs, harps, and the like; and that they were had in such veneration, that if two armies were engaged in battle, they instantly ceased fighting if one of the poets or bards appeared, their fury giving way to wisdom, and *Mars* to the Muses. But the true reason was, that they were universally believed to be prophets as well as poets; so that it was thought dangerous, as well as injurious, to disobey what they supposed came from the gods.

Learning. These prophetic philosophers kept academies, which were resorted unto by a great number not only of their own youth, but even of other countries; so that *Aristotle* says, *Greece* had its philosophy from them, and not they from the *Greeks*. *Diodorus* mentions another circumstance in their praise from *Hecateus*, namely, that their *Druids* or learned men had some kind of instruments, by which they could draw distant objects nearer, and make them appear larger and plainer, and by which they could discern even seas, mountains, and valleys in the moon; which shews that they must have made some great progress in that sort of learning above other nations. Other authors add many things in praise of their virtue and morality. *Suetonius* and *Lucan*, however, call their religion an impious one.

Their cruel customs. It must, indeed, be owned, that in process of time they adopted several barbarous customs, such as sacrificing human victims to their gods, as more acceptable to them than the sacrifices of brute animals. *Diodorus* also mentions another inhuman custom they used in their divinations, especially in great matters. They killed some of their slaves, or some prisoner of war, if any they had, with a scimiter, to draw their augury from the running of his blood from his mangled limbs.

At first they were above minding any thing of agriculture, and when they came to it in time, they commonly left the care of it to their wives and children. In time they degenerated from a plain and simple life, and suffered drunkenness and luxury to creep in among them, after they were settled in towns and cities; which last they fortified, and adorned with spacious walls, towers, and sumptuous edifices. The *Romans* upbraided them with the unjust maxim, which gives to the

Their bravery. strongest what the weakest cannot defend. This they acknowleged and gloried in, and indeed were so greedy of conquest and plunder, and of defending what they had gained, that they

even

even fought with ſuch ſtrength and fury that nothing could withſtand them. They ſeldom gave quarter to their enemies, which made them be looked upon as a cruel people. Thoſe priſoners they ſpared they ſold to their great men, who made ſlaves of them, and appointed the moſt ſightly of them for their retinue. They were expert horſemen; ſo that conſidering their martial genius and diſcipline, their cavalry ſeldom failed of doing execution. They were no leſs famed for their armed chariots, and their dexterity in managing of them. Their other arms were bows and arrows, darts, javelins, ſcymetars and daggers. They likewiſe wore ſhields and head-pieces, and as they were divided into petty kingdoms or tribes, they divided their armies in the ſame manner in time of war, that the valour and merit of every tribe might be the better known. As a further encouragement to their bravery, it was the buſineſs of their poets to record the actions of thoſe that ſignalized themſelves in ſongs and ſtories, which were afterwards ſung at their games and other ſolemnities. It was alſo their cuſtom before a battle to obſerve the moon, and if poſſible to avoid fighting till after the full of it, from a ſuperſtitious belief that it would prove more fortunate. They uſed alſo, like other nations, to conſult their prieſts or augurs upon all emergencies, but eſpecially before an engagement; and nothing but abſolute neceſſity could prevail on them to fight if the augury was not favourable. Their martial laws uſed likewiſe to be couched in verſe, and ſet to ſome warlike tunes, which they were obliged to learn by heart, and to ſing upon proper occaſions.

Their language was the old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*, and almoſt the very ſame that is ſtill preſerved by the *Welſh*, which has been ſufficiently proved by numberleſs antiquarians, who alſo make it evident that it was univerſally ſpoken thro' *Europe* and beyond, except that thro' length of time, diſtance of place, and intermixture with the *Scythians* and other nations, it had ſplit itſelf into a great variety of dialects, which ſtill retained the plain marks of their original mother *. Even the *Galatians* ſettled in Leſſer *Aſia*, many centuries before the age of St. *Jerom*, are affirmed by that father to have ſpoken the ſame language with the inhabitants of the province of *Triers*, which was a mixture of old *Celtic* and *Teutonic*, then common to *Gaul* and *Germany*. This city is only mentioned by that father, as being in his time the metropolis of *Gaul*, in which he had made ſome abode. Thoſe who are beſt acquainted with their language readily acknowlege, that no tongue, either antient or modern, carries greater marks of antiquity than the *Gomraeg*. Language.

* Camb. Brit. Joach. Perion. orig. ling. Celt. Brierward. inquir. orig. ling. Lluid. Davies & Robert. Gram. Wotton. Hick. lexic. Lewis & Pezron, Hottoman. Franco Gallia, c. 11. Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. l. i. Pelloutier ut ſupra.

Tho' it muſt be ſuppoſed, in proceſs of time, to have been very much blended with the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *German*, yet it retains ſtill ſo much of the admirable ſimplicity of the *Hebrew* grammar and conſtruction, that one would be apt to conclude them only dialects of the ſame tongue from which the languages above-mentioned, and even the *Arabic*, ſeem to have ſprung. It is ſo near akin to the *Hebrew*, that an antiquary, who was maſter of both, has given the learned world a ſpecimen of a conſiderable number of phraſes out of the Old Teſtament, which are ſo like in both, that they ſeem to have been originally the ſame, and their difference to be only owing to diſtance of time and place, and other ſuch like cauſes by which a language is naturally altered. It diſtinguiſhes caſes like the *Hebrew*, by prepoſite articles. It often changes the radical primitive letter of a word according to the prepoſition, adverb, pronoun, or article it is affixed to. In verbs it retains the root in the third perſon ſingular, and it hath its aſpirations and gutturals more or leſs denſe, like thoſe of the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, &c. That is was the mother of the *Arabic*, *Greek*, *Latin*, and *German*, *Pezron* has endeavoured to prove from a great number of etymologies, and to confirm alſo by hiſtorical facts. He has at laſt given a moſt rational account for that ſurprizing affinity which the learned have found between the *Celtic*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *Arabic*, *Perſian*, High *Dutch*, and ſome other *European* and *Aſiatic* languages, which had never till then been tolerably accounted for *. That the *Gomerians* have ſtill preſerved their tongue in its original purity, is doubtleſs owing to their little intercourſe with foreign nations, they having choſen, rather than ſubmit to a conqueror, to leave their fertile abodes, and retire among mountains almoſt inacceſſible. The little refinements they have made in civil life, in the ſciences and arts, and their averſion to novelty and attachment to their antient cuſtoms, doubtleſs contributed to the permanency of their language.

It were labour loſt to endeavour to find what their antient poetry was, in which their *Curetes*, *Druids*, and *Bards* recorded all the exploits of their heroes. As to their muſic, they are ſuppoſed to have brought it from *Crete*, where it is ſaid to have been invented by reflecting on the different ſounds of the hammers on a ſmith's forge. But as the invention of muſic, according to *Moſes*, is much more antient, they probably received the knowlege of the art by tradition. As their warlike diſpoſition did neither hinder them from building cities and magnificent edifices, nor from affecting ſome grandeur in their equipages, dreſs, and houſhold furniture, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe all thoſe arts and manufactures that tended to it, to have been likewiſe encouraged among them. Whatever luxury

* Pezron ant. ling. Celt. paſſim. Pelloutier.

they

they might be guilty of with reſpect to dreſs and equipage, we do not find they uſed any in their food. Pulſe was their common diet, eſpecially that which the *Greeks* called *Elimos*, probably the ſame with *Lim*, which in the *Celtic* ſignifies millet. Milk was alſo a conſiderable part of their diet; but as to fleſh, they eat very ſparingly of it, if we except that of ſwine. Their food.

Concerning their antient traffic, little can be ſaid. *Mercury* is ſuppoſed to have made great improvements in trade and commerce; on which account his name ſeems to have been given him from the *Celtic Merc*, merchandiſe, and *Ur*, a man. After his death, he was worſhiped as the patron and protector of trades, and had every where ſtatues reared to his honour, as *Cæſar* aſſures us. Their traffic.

The antients, in their character of them, recount, among their virtues, their extreme love of liberty, which made them prefer the worſt of deaths to an ignominious ſlavery; their faithfulneſs and love of juſtice, for which ſeveral *Roman* emperors choſe them for their life-guards, and moſt nations courted them for their allies; their extraordinary hoſpitality, which obliged them to have their houſes and tables free to all ſorts of ſtrangers; their conjugal fidelity, reſpect to their parents, to their princes and chiefs; their unanimity, courage, and hardineſs under all difficulties; and other ſuch-like ſocial virtues. Among their vices they reckoned their cruelty, ſuperſtition, fondneſs for and extravagance in their feaſting, contempt of learning, and looking upon all thoſe with contempt that could either write or read; their degenerating into downright drunkenneſs, gluttony, and ferocity, and ſuch like. Their character.

All that has been ſaid concerning the time of their migration from *Aſia*, as well as of their famous exploits in that part of the world, it muſt be acknowleged, is built upon mere conjecture; and it would be a mad attempt to ſettle it upon a better foot. Sir *Iſaac Newton* thinks, that both the *Celtes* and *Scythians* had ſpread themſelves over Upper *Aſia* and *Europe* long before the year of the flood 1220; that is, about the latter end of the *Iſraelitiſh* judges. But before that time, according to *Pezron*, they had ſignalized themſelves in *Aſia* under the names of *Sacks* and *Titans*, and had a ſucceſſion of kings. The firſt of thoſe princes, according to him, was cotemporary to, if not before, *Terah* the father of *Abraham*; that is, about the year of the flood 1070, according to the chronology of his hiſtory. Tho' this learned author, in many places, has laid too great a ſtreſs upon conjectures, yet it muſt be owned he adduces ſurprizing teſtimonies from antiquity, and that his hiſtory of the *Celtes* carries a greater ſhare of probability, than any that has been attempted concerning this antient and populous nation. His notion, that the heathen deities were *Celtic* princes reigning in *Aſia* about the times of *Terah* and *Abraham*, ſeems to carry much more evidence from antient writers, than the ſyſtem of biſhop *Cumberland*, who ſuppoſes the *Chronus* or *Saturn*

turn of the *Phœnician* hiſtorian *Sanchoniatho*, to have been *Ham* the ſon of *Noah*. Here the reader will find a probable hiſtory, at leaſt of thoſe heroes and of the *Celtic* and *Titanic* nations, diveſted as much as poſſible from fable; and there is at leaſt more reaſon to believe that there really were ſuch men and nations, than to reject them as altogether fabulous.

We ſhall begin with mentioning the migrations and exploits of the *Gomerians* in the ſeveral parts of *Aſia*, before their ſpreading into *Europe*. Tho' they are mentioned by antient geographers and hiſtorians under the names of *Titans*, *Sacks*, *Parthians*, *Celtes*, and the like, yet it is plain they were really the ſame people, and the deſcendants of *Gomer*; for they themſelves not only preſerved the name of their progenitor, but were even known by it to thoſe very authors who mention them under their other names, the name of *Titans* excepted. Thus *Ptolemy* tells us, that the *Saccæ* were of the *Curetes* and *Chomarians*; and obſerves elſewhere, that the *Chomarians* in *Bactriana* were more civilized than the *Scythians*, and had a capital city called *Chomer*. *Pliny* alſo ſays, that the *Perſians* called the *Scythians Sacks*, from their next neighbouring nation, which nation could be no other than the *Celtes*. Thus it is plain, that bating their confounding them with the *Scythians*, they were not ignorant of their primitive name of *Gomerians*, tho' they uſed in the main other appellatives. As to the name of *Titans*, our author thinks the *Celtes* aſſumed it to themſelves, ſome deriving it from the *Celtic Tit*, which ſignifies earth, and implies the ſame as *Terrigenæ*, or *earth born*: but his arguments in ſupport of this are merely conjectural.

From *Phrygia* then, the place of their firſt ſettlement, we find them under the name of *Chomarians* and *Sacks*, fixed along the river *Jaxartes*, beyond the *Caſpian* ſea quite up to the province of *Bactria**. And as we find the *Saccæ* in the more fruitful plains of *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Gallogræcia*, and all thoſe provinces that lie along the *Euxine* ſea, we may from hence form a kind of route how they ſpread themſelves thro' all that part of *Aſia* till their courſe was ſtopt by the *Sogdians*, who being of *Scythian* race, had probably poſſeſſed themſelves of that province long before the *Chomarians* had reached that of *Bactria*. Some of them, he ſuppoſes, alſo paſſed over the vaſt mountains that lie on the ſouth of *Margiana*, and entered the country of the *Median Arii*; where having made a ſettlement, and being as it were divided from or exiled by the reſt, they were called in ſcorn *Parthians*, which ſignified in the *Celtic*, parted or divided from. This origin of the *Parthians* is confirmed by *Arrian*, *Jornandes*, and other authors, particularly *Juſtin*; only with this difference, that he makes them of *Scythian* extraction, according to the vulgar error of the antient *Greek*

* Mela. l. i. c. 2. Ptol. Geogr. l. ii. & vi.

writers;

writers, who, as *Strabo* tells us, called all the nations towards the north of *Asia*, *Scythians* and *Celto-Scythians* *.

That the *Saccæ* possessed themselves of at least the best part of *Armenia*, is affirmed by *Strabo*; who adds, that they called the country by their name. It appears also from the same author, that they penetrated into *Cappadocia* towards the coasts of the *Euxine* sea †. This expedition, he supposes, was undertaken under the conduct of *Acmon* the father of *Uranus*, and of his brother *Dæas*, where they gave their name, the former to the capital city called *Acmonia*, in which we are also told was a grave dedicated to him after he was deified ‡, and the latter to the spacious *Doean* plains near the city of *Themiscyra*, along the river *Thermodon*. Proceeding to the *Palus Meotis*, they crossed into *Europe*, and gave their name to the *Cymbrian* or *Cimmerian Bosphorus* ‖. It is not, however, improbable, that some of them, before this time, as we have already observed, had entered *Europe* by crossing the *Hellespont*.

Acmon, with those under his command, is supposed to have settled in *Phrygia*, where monuments are found both of him and his brother; namely, another city called *Acmona*, said by the same authors to have been founded by him, likewise another sacred grave, and some spacious plains called *Doeantes*. He supposes, that the *Gomerians*, at this time, dropt the name of *Sacks*, and assumed the name of *Titans*, signifying earth born, or by another *Celtic* derivation, sons of the sun. As for the *Celtes* being descended from them, we find it expressly affirmed by a very antient author §, who was no friend to the *Celtes* or *Gauls*, and yet he says, that the [illegible] were [illegible], the descendants or late posterity of the *Titans*. If it be objected that the *Druids* in *Cæsar*'s time did boast themselves descended from *Dis* or *Pluto*, he was also, he says, a *Titan* prince, who had the western part of the empire, that is, *Europe*, to his share, whilst *Jupiter* kept the eastern part to himself; so that both *Cæsar* and *Callimachus* agree in the main point.

Acmon, the first prince of note of the *Gomerian* or *Titanic* race, was the son of *Mon*, *Man*, or *Maneus*; which seems to be implied in his name *Acmon*, or perhaps rather *Ac-man*. Including *Maneus* in the list, he gives us a succession of six *Titan* princes; namely, *Maneus*, *Acman*, *Uranus*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Theutat*, whose government, according to him, lasted about 300 years, *Acmon*, the second prince, reigning in the days of *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*.

By enquiring with the utmost pains into antient authors, he says, he finds that *Jupiter* began to reign when *Isaac* had attained The time of *Jupiter*'s reign.

* Arrian in Parthic. Jornand. de reb. Get. c. 6. Justin, l xii. Strab. l. xi. † Strab. l. xi. ‡ Appollon. Argon. l. ii. Steph. Byzant. voc. Acmon. ‖ Pezron. § Callimach. hymn. in Delum. v. 170, 171. Cæsar. Com. l. vi.

tained one half of his age, which may be made out from *Evemerus*, *Ennius*, *Thallus*, and ſome others, who all agree, that *Jupiter* reigned in the time of *Belus*, the firſt king of *Aſſyria*. The *Sybillan* verſes expreſly ſay, that *Saturn*, with his brothers *Titan* and *Japhet*, began to reign with the 10th generation after the deluge. They were thoſe whom the people called the children of heaven and earth, becauſe they excelled all others in virtue and ſtrength. Now the 10th generation from the deluge exactly anſwers to the time of *Abraham*; *Uranus*, the father of *Saturn*, muſt therefore have been potent both in *Aſia* and *Europe* in the time of *Terah*, *Abraham*'s father. Beſides other monuments of antiquity, the chronicle of *Euſebius*, which has been regulated from antient hiſtories, and eſpecially thoſe which related to the iſland of *Crete*, he ſays, leaves us no room to doubt of this matter. We are there informed, that about theſe times, that is, between the 50th and 60th year of *Abraham*'s life, *Cres*, one of the *Curetes*, reigned in *Crete*, gave name to the iſland, and took care of *Jupiter*'s education. *Jupiter*, according to this calculation, muſt have begun his reign about the latter end of *Terah*'s life. Nevertheleſs, for many reaſons, he thinks *Jupiter* ought not to be placed higher than the middle of *Iſaac*'s life.

Maneus. Nothing is recorded concerning *Maneus*, but that he is reported to have been the father of *Acmon* *. *Acmon* is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the *Elion* of *Sanchoniatho*, and is ſaid to have had a ſon named *Epigeus Autochton*, called afterwards *Ouranus*; and that, being killed by a wild beaſt, whom he too eagerly encountered, he was afterwards deified, and worſhiped by his deſcendants †.

Acmon.

Uranus. *Uranus*, according to the ſame antient author, ſucceeded his father, and married his own ſiſter [illegible], *Ge*, or the earth, who is even ſometimes called by the *Greeks Titea*, which in *Celtic* has the ſame ſignification. The name *Ouranus*, which, he ſays, was not given him till after his death, and for which he could give no reaſon, appears to be derived from the *Celtic*, *Ur* man, and *En* heaven, and he probably was called *Ouren*, a man of heaven, from his being addicted to the ſtudy of aſtronomy and aſtrology. How long he reigned we are not told. Beſides the account of his being killed by a wild beaſt, he is ſaid to have been dethroned and impriſoned by his unnatural ſon *Saturn*, who uſurped the throne.

[illegible] by his *Saturn.*

Saturn, afterwards ſurnamed *Chronos*, by *Sanchoniatho* is ſaid to have been the eldeſt ſon of *Uranus*; but, according to others, he was the fourth and youngeſt, and his eldeſt brother, who was called *Titan*, did for a long while conteſt the crown with him, but was at length overpowered. *Saturn* is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt who took upon him the regal dignity, all his

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* Byzant. ſub voce Acmon.

† Sanchon. lib. iii.

pre-

predeceſſors having contented themſelves with the title of princes *. *Tertullian*, upon the authority of *Pherecides*, relates, that he was the firſt who wore the diadem, whence he is ſuppoſed to have been ſurnamed *Chronos*, which in the *Celtic* ſignifies crowned, and his other name, *Saturn*, is moſt naturally deduced from the *Phrygian Sadorn*, which ſignifies ſtrong and potent. *Tertullian* alſo ſays, that he much delighted in wearing a red cloak, or ſhort coat of the *Galatic* dye, from which perhaps came the royal purple of the antients, which colour, *Pezron* ſuppoſes, the *Greeks* called *Coccos*, from the *Celtic*, *Coch*, which ſignifies *red*.

Uranus, who had ſome ſuſpicion of *Saturn*'s treaſonable deſigns, wanted to anticipate him, and ſent his daughter *Rhea* to put him to death. *Saturn*'s mother, *Titea*, however, having forſaken her huſband, becauſe he had taken many other wives, informed her ſon of his father's deſign, who not only diverted *Rhea* from her enterprize, but brought her over to his ſide.

Having, after a conteſt of ſeveral years, driven his father from the throne, he ſucceeded to his kingdom, aſſumed the title of king, and married his ſiſter *Rhea*, which name, in *Celtic*, ſignifies a lady, as *Rhey* ſignifies a lord. His mother and wife, and another great philoſopher and conſummate politician, named *Hermes Triſmegiſtus*, who was councellor, prevailed on the grandees of the court, and eſpecially his other brothers, to ſubmit to him, and acknowlege him; ſo that his dominions and conqueſts vaſtly exceeded thoſe of his predeceſſors. His happineſs, however, was ſoured many different ways; being extreamly diſtruſtful of his children, who, he was apprehenſive, would ſerve him as he had ſerved his father, he even deſtroyed ſome of them. His brother *Titan* at length ſurpriſed him and his wife *Rhea*, and kept them in cloſe confinement in ſome province of *Aſia*, till *Jupiter* came with a conſiderable army of *Cretans*, and reſtored his captive parents to their liberty and kingdom. This remarkable tranſaction is preſerved to us by *Lactantius*, who produced it, to prove againſt the heathens, that the gods they worſhipped had been mere men, declaring, that he ſcorned to have recourſe to the fables of the poets, but would urge nothing but what was recorded as truth by hiſtorians. *Saturn*'s jealous temper was probably the reaſon why *Rhea* took ſuch pains to preſerve her youngeſt ſon *Jupiter*, by concealing her pregnancy from him, by being delivered of him in one place, and ſending him privately to be educated in another. According to *Callimachus*, he was born on mount *Lycæus* in *Arcadia*; and it is generally ſuppoſed, that he was educated by the *Curetes* in *Crete*. This pious and generous action did rather increaſe, than diſpel, the jealouſy of his father, who, being alarmed to find a ſon that he did not know of before, not

Saturn is taken priſoner by *Titan*. Reſcued by *Jupiter*.

* Enn. ap. Lactan. lib i.

only grown into years, but of courage and ſtrength ſufficient to overcome his enemies, was apprehenſive leſt he ſhould, in time, deprive him with the ſame facility of his kingdom and life. *Lactantius* adds, that being warned by the oracle and diviners, whom he conſulted, to beware of his ſon *Jupiter*, who would be likely to dethrone him, he invaded *Crete* with an army, where his ſon had again taken up his reſidence. Finding that the *Cretans* were all in his ſon's intereſt, and that he was more likely to be entrapped by them than obeyed, he returned into the *Peloponneſe*, whither *Jupiter*, enraged at his cruel deſign againſt him, followed him with an army, and forced him to retire into *Italy*, where he was kindly received, and was admitted by *Janus*, king of the country, into a kind of partnerſhip with him in the kingdom, the place where he reigned adjoining to the *Tiber*, being from him ſince called *Saturnia*. His tomb being ſhewn in *Sicily*, it is ſuppoſed he went and ended his days in that iſland *.

War betwixt him and *Jupiter*.

He retires into *Italy*.

Jupiter was properly called *Jou*, from his being the youngeſt of *Saturn*'s children, the word *Jou*, which in *Celtic* ſignifies young, being preſerved, according to *Pezron*, in the *Latin* inflexion *Jovis*. He did not enjoy his kingdom peaceably. His uncle *Titan*, or perhaps one of his ſons, raiſed a war againſt him, which continued full ten years, and was carried on with the utmoſt fury on both ſides both by ſea and land, and did not end but with the total overthrow of *Titan* and his army. This war ſeems to be the trueſt original of the fabulous war of the giants or *Titans* againſt the gods; and it muſt be owned, that this ſyſtem of hiſtory, for we dare not venture to give it a ſtronger name, not only gives a greater light to the darkneſs of fabulous times, but is corroborated by a much greater number of antient authors, heathens as well as chriſtians, than that of the learned *Cumberland*. *Jupiter* gave the final defeat to the *Titans* near the antient city of *Tarteſa* in *Spain*, not far from *Cadiz*, whither, it ſeems, he went in perſon with a great fleet and powerful army, which ſeems confirmed by *Juſtin* †. Having gained this ſignal victory, by bringing over the confederates of the enemy, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life.

Jupiter wars with the *Titans*.

After the example of his predeceſſors, he married his ſiſter *Juno*, ſo called probably from the *Celtic*, *Ghuin*, which ſignifies fair, white, and beautiful. As he was ſeldom without ſome amorous intrigues with other women, by whom he had a numerous iſſue, he was forced to bear with many rubs and mortifications from his jealous and revengeful queen. He carefully attended to the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the many provinces of his kingdom, and was diligent in rooting out robbers and banditti, who ſheltered themſelves in the foreſts of *Theſſaly*, *Macedonia*,

Marries his ſiſter *Juno*.

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* Tertull. Apollog. Clem. Alex. admonit. ad Gentes. † Juſtin. lib. xliv. chap. 4.

and

and *Illyria*. As he had made mount *Olympus*, one of the moſt delightful parts of *Theſſaly*, his chief reſidence, he was under a neceſſity to clear thoſe countries of the robbers, that his ſubjects might have freer acceſs to his court.

Before his death, he is affirmed to have divided his kingdom, and to have given the weſtern, or *European*, part of it to his uncle *Dis*, or *Pluto*, ſurnamed alſo *Ageſilaus* and *Ageſander*, whilſt himſelf kept the *Aſiatic* or eaſtern part of it. He is ſaid alſo to have given the northern coaſt of *Africa* to his nephew *Atlas*; but having afterwards either conceived ſome jealouſy of him, or detected him in ſome criminal deſign againſt him, he is reported to have cauſed him to be put to death. Diviſion of his kingdom.

Atlas was called alſo by the *Greeks Talamon*, from the *Celtic*, *Tellman*, on account of his high ſtature, and was alſo a great aſtronomer. He had a daughter named *Maia*, who, being married to *Jupiter*, bore him a ſon named *Mercury*, or *Theutat*. *Juno*, enraged at this marriage, plotted continual ſeditions againſt her huſband, who is accuſed, by reaſon of the frequent revolts, which he was always ſo ſucceſsful as to diſcover, to have degenerated into a tyrant.

On the other hand, the *Cretan* hiſtorians extolled his virtues to the ſkies. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Ennius*, upon their authority, beſtow the greateſt encomiums upon him for his ſtrength, valour, prudence, juſtice, for his encouraging learning and virtue, and puniſhing injuries, violence, and robberies, and for his many wholſome laws for the public good. He lived 120 years, of which he reigned 62. He was buried in the iſland of *Crete*, in the city of *Gnoſſus*, and the ſtately monument, erected for him by his ſons, was ſhewn many ages after by the inhabitants. *Cres*, one of his ſons, who, at his father's death, was chief of the *Curetes*, took the government of that iſland, the reſt of the large empire being divided among his friends and relations. In what manner the diviſion was made is not to be gueſſed at, only we find that his ſon *Theutat*, or *Mercury*, had the weſtern part aſſigned to him, probably after the death of his uncle *Dis*, or *Pluto* *. The character of *Jupiter*. His death.

Mercury, the ſon of *Jupiter* by *Maia*, was likewiſe called by the *Greeks Hermes*, and by the *Latins Faunus*, the firſt appellation being derived from the *Celtic Armes*, which ſignifies divination; but no etymon is found in the *Celtic* for the latter. He was famed for his learning and wiſdom, and eſpecially for his ſkill in auguries, magic, and philoſophy. Being active, couragious, and eloquent, and always attached to his father's intereſt, he became his chief favourite and councellor, and was alſo, by the fabulous writers, affirmed to be the interpreter of the gods. *Mercury*.

An antient father tells us, that he went down into *Egypt*, to penetrate further into their myſterious arts and ſciences, and into *Egypt*. He goes

* Suid. ſub voce Πλουτος. Chron. Alex.

that

that at his return he assumed the name of *Teutat*, which in the *Celtic* signifies *the father of his people*, though the author thinks he assumed it from the *Thout* or *Mercury* of the *Egyptians* *. It was probably from the *Egyptians* that he learned the art of melting, refining, casting, and working of metals, which art he is said to have first brought into *Europe*. Having also instructed his subjects in the arts of commerce, and compiled for them a body of laws, he, by degrees, polished that rude and savage nation, which till then seems to have made the trade of war and plunder their chief study and delight. On these accounts his memory was still held dear to them in *Cæsar*'s time, who tells us, that he was held in veneration above all the other Gods.

Introduces traffic among the *Celtes*.

Some attribute the invention of the *Olympic* games to him, others to *Hercules*; but if *Pausanias* be right, they must have been much older, since he tells us that *Saturn* and *Jupiter* had wrestled together at them †. He reigned, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle, thirty-four years; but whether or not his life ended with his reign is not easy to say. According to *Suidas* and the above-mentioned chronicle, his brothers, being grown jealous of his superior power and merit, formed such a conspiracy against his life, that he was obliged to retire into *Egypt*, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace. On the other hand *Livy* acquaints us, lib. xxii. chap. 24. that there was a large tomb near *New Carthage*, in the time of *Hannibal*, which was called the tomb of *Mercury Theutat*, which would incline one to think he died in his own dominions. There is no mention of the princes that reigned after *Mercury*, or the state of the *Celtic* nation after his death, till the time of the conquest of the *Celtic* nation in *Gaul* by *Julius Cæsar*. Long before that time, the *Carthaginians* had taken possession of *Spain*, and the *Romans* had extended their conquests over the *Alps* into *Gallia*, where they had formed a province called *Gallia Narbonensis*, besides the other provinces beyond the *Alps*. The *Scythians*, it is likely, did also encroach upon them on the north side, and very probably seized upon that part of their territories which was afterwards called *Scythia* in *Europe*. Whether those encroachments of their neighbours, or intestine divisions among themselves, forced them to look for new settlements, sure it is, that several powerful colonies of these *Celtes* and *Gauls* returned into lesser *Asia*, where, finding almost every where some antient monuments of their progenitors, they settled themselves there in several parts by main force, and gave some of their new-gotten names to them, such as that of *Galatia*, *Parthia*, *Saccacene*, and others.

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* Cyril. Alex. cont. Jul. † Lib. viii.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The hiſtory of the antient SCYTHIANS.

ACCORDING to *Herodotus*, *Scythia* was ſo called from a ſon of *Hercules*, which was born to him in that country by a monſter half woman and half ſerpent. Rejecting this fabulous account, ſome derive the name from the *Greek* σκυζεσθαι, which expreſſes the fierceneſs of their countenances and natural temper; and others derive it from the *Teutonic* word *Scheten* or *Shuten*, to ſhoot, in which art this nation is affirmed to have been ſo ſingularly expert, by *Herodotus*, *Lucian*, and others, that this name is ſuppoſed to have been emphatically given them on that account, the word *Scythian*, according to this ſuppoſition, ſignifying a great ſhooter or archer. The *Tartars* and *Moſcovites*, however, as we have obſerved, called themſelves *Mogli*, ſuppoſed to have been an abbreviation of *Magogly*, the ſons of *Magog*. The name *Scythian* might be either given to them by other nations, or perhaps by the *Celtes*, whoſe language originally differed little either from the *Scythian* or *Teutonic*. *Scythia*, whence ſo called.

The vaſt territory which the *Scythians* inhabited was divided into *Scythia* in *Europe* and *Scythia* in *Aſia*, including alſo the two *Sarmatias*, or *Sauromatias* according to the *Greeks*, now the *Circaſſian Tartary*, which lay between the two *Scythias*. *Sauromatia* was alſo divided into *European* and *Aſiatic*: but the *Sarmatians* differed ſo little from the *Scythians* in their language, religion, and cuſtoms, if we may believe *Herodotus*, that they may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been originally a branch of them, if not their very deſcendants by the *Amazons*, with whom, that author tells us, they having intermarried, begot the *Sarmatian* offspring. We may therefore ſay, that the two *Scythias* were only parted by the boundaries of *Europe* and *Aſia*, that is, by the river *Tanais*, which empties itſelf into the *Palus Mœotis* *. The *Aſiatic Scythians* extended northward to the *Hyperborean* or frozen ſea, called alſo the *Amalchian* or *Almachian*, *Cronian*, and dead ſea. On the ſouth they were bounded by the *Caſpian* ſea, mount *Caucaſus*, and the *Eoum* or *Indian* ſea; and on the eaſt they extended to the *Caſſian* mountains, which parted *Scythia* from the kingdom of *Seres*, now *Callai* or northern *China*, and even this, by ſome of the antients, was taken for part of eaſtern *Scythia*. The notion of the antients, that *Scythia* was bounded on the north by the *Hyperborean* ocean, ſeems founded rather on conjecture than experience; Its vaſt extent.

* Herod. lib. iv. Ptol. Mel. Strab. Cluver. Bochart. Phaleg. & al.

for

for the country was wholly unknown to them beyond the 70th degree of north latitude. The ſouthern regions they divided into three parts, namely, *Scythia* within, and *Scythia* without, or beyond the *Imaus*, and *Sarmatia*, which lay between the former and the *European Scythia*. The *Scythia* on this ſide *Imaus*, according to *Ptolemy*, contained thirty-ſeven nations; but among them all he mentions but one city, namely, *Dahava*. In the *Scythia* beyond the *Imaus* he mentions only ſeven nations. *Sarmatia* contained *Albania*, *Iberia*, and *Colchis*, which now make the *Circaſſian Tartary*, and the province of *Georgia*.

Scythia in *Europe*, which was bounded on the eaſt by the river *Tanais*, to the ſouth had part of the *Euxine* ſea, the *Iſter* or *Danube*, the *Alps*, and the *Rhine*. But with regard to its ſouthern limits, they muſt be ſuppoſed to have been in a conſtant fluctuation, the *Celtes* and *Scythians* having conſtantly encroached upon each other, whenever they had power and opportunity for it. As to its northern limits, though it is not eaſy to gueſs at them, they have been ſuppoſed to ſtretch from the ſpring heads of the *Boryſthenes*, or *Nieper*, to thoſe of the *Tanais* and *Wolga* *.

The antients divided this country into *Scythia Proper*, and *Scythia Arimaſpea*, which lay eaſtward adjoining to *Scythia* in *Aſia*, and had on the weſt *Sarmatia Europeana*; but where theſe two countries were divided, it is not eaſy to find out. In *Scythia Proper* were on the north the *Arimaſpæi*; on the ſouth, along the *Danube*, the *Getæ* or *Dacians*; and between thoſe two the *Neuri*. *Sarmatia* is ſuppoſed to have reached northward, to that part of *Swedeland* called *Feningia*, now *Finland*, which they divided from northern *Germany*, now the weſt part of *Sweden* and *Norway*, by the *Mare Sarmaticum* or *Scythicum*, which they ſuppoſed to run northwards into the *Hyperborean* ocean. *Finland* alſo they ſuppoſed was cut off from the continent by the gulph of that name.

We may plainly perceive the antients were but little acquainted with thoſe countries, from their account of the inhabitants. In *Finland* they placed the *Oænes*, ſo called from their living moſtly upon the eggs of ſea-fowl, which they eat with oaten cakes; and the *Hippopodes*, ſo named from their having feet like horſes, or from their going barefoot. The *Panoti* were ſo called, from the largeneſs of their ears, which was ſuch that they could cover their whole body with them. The mountaineers were affirmed to have been bald from their infancy. The *Arimaſpians* got their name from the *Scythian Arima*, which ſignifies one, and *Spon* eye, not, as was believed by many, becauſe they had but one eye; but, according to *Bochart*, becauſe they were excellent archers, by taking aim with one eye. Some of the inhabitants were reported to have goats feet, not unlike the fabulous ſatyrs; and among them they had monſtrous ani-

* Mel. lib. ii. Cluver. Cellar. and others.

mals,

mals, particularly the griffins, which digged up and guarded the golden ore and duſt.

According to *Herodotus*, the *Hyperboreans* were not of *Scythian* race, but another kind of people, one ſort of which were *Androphagi*, or men-eaters, fierce and cruel, and another the bald heads, or *Agrippeans*, a wiſe and peaceable people, eſteemed ſacred by all their neighbours. But he ſpeaks of all thoſe remote nations only by report, and with ſuch diffidence, that he rather confirms what we ſaid before, that thoſe regions were moſt likely unknown, if not even uninhabited *.

Of the antiquity of the *Scythians*, and of their progenitor, we have already treated. How ſoon they began to ſettle themſelves into a regular government is equally impoſſible to gueſs, as to conjecture of what kind it was. It appears, however, from *Herodotus*, that one or two tribes at leaſt, that is, the royal and free *Scythians*, were under a monarchical government, and that theſe two made a much greater figure than all the reſt †. The tribe, to which the royal dignity was confined, probably retained a kind of authority over thoſe who were ſettled near it, while thoſe, who were moſt remote from the center, had lords, laws, and cuſtoms of their own, eſpecially thoſe who inhabited the farther parts of it eaſtward and northward. Thus, when the *Scythians* were threatned with an invaſion from *Darius*, *Herodotus* tells us, the king invited all the *Scythian* princes to come to his aſſiſtance; the reſult of the ſummons was, that three of the nations joined with the king of *Scythia*, but the others refuſed to aſſiſt him, under pretence that he was the firſt aggreſſor. Government of the *Scythians*.

Though we have no ſyſtem of the *Scythian* laws, yet, from the juſtice, temperance, contempt of riches and luxury, and the ſimple and primitive way of living, that prevailed among the *Scythians*, we may conclude, that their laws would not need to be numerous. The *Scythians*, according to *Juſtin*, were a nation, which, though inured to labours, fierce in war, and of prodigious ſtrength, yet could ſo well maſter their affections, that they made no other uſe of their victories than to increaſe their fame. Theft, among them, was reckoned ſo great a crime, and was ſo ſeverely puniſhed, that they could let their numerous flocks wander from place to place without danger of loſing them. Theſe they eſteemed their greateſt wealth, living upon their milk and cloathing themſelves, with their ſkins. Inſtead of uſing houſes, they conveyed their families from place to place in covered waggons, made capacious enough to carry alſo all their furniture for bedding, and for the kitchen. Gold, ſilver, diamonds, pearls, and other coſtly ſtones, were as much deſpiſed by them, as they were eſteemed by other nations. Thoſe virtues, which the *Greeks* did in vain endeavour to attain by learning and philoſophy, were natural to them; ſo much Their character.

* Mel. lib. ii. Herod. lib. iv.

† Herod. ibid.

more

more effectual and advantageous was the ignorance of vice in the one, than the knowledge of virtue in the other.

Laws. To a nation of this character and way of life few laws would be neceſſary to ſecure their property. Some they had with relation to religion, cuſtoms, and polity, which forbad, under pain of death, any alteration being made in either; which excluded their women the benefit of marriage, and the men that of aſſiſting at the royal feaſt, till they had killed an enemy. Some hiſtorians give a very different character of the *Scythians*, and repreſent them as a fierce and barbarous nation, who even devoured the fleſh of their enemies. This contrariety is a manifeſt proof, that thoſe different characters are to be applied to different nations of *Scythians*, all comprized in that vaſt tract of country.

If we may gueſs by ſome ſucceſſions mentioned in hiſtory, their crown ſeems to have been hereditary. Their kings, however, were ſometimes depoſed, and even put to death, for the violation of their laws.

When any of their monarchs fell ſick, it was their cuſtom to ſend immediately for three of their moſt famous prophets (E) who commonly told him, that ſome *Scythian*, whom they named, had perjured himſelf by ſwearing by the royal throne, which, it ſeems, was their moſt ſolemn oath. The accuſed perſon was thereupon ſeized, and accuſed before the king of having brought this diſtemper upon him by his perjury. If he denied the fact, more prophets were ſent for, and if they confirmed the evidence, the man was immediately beheaded, and his goods were divided among the three firſt accuſers; if they acquitted him, a new ſupply of prophets was ſent for, and if the majority of them did abſolve him, the firſt accuſers were tied hand and feet, and ſet in a cart loaded with faggots, and drawn by oxen. Having then ſtopped the mouths of the falſe prophets, they ſet fire to the wood, which conſumed the cart, the men, and the oxen. Our author adds, that the male children of thoſe whom the king condemned to death, ſeldom eſcaped the ſame fate *.

Another inſtance of their great reſpect to their monarchs is the pompous ſolemnity of their funerals. When their king died, they embalmed his body, and placing it in an open chariot, carried it from city to city, expoſing it to the view of all

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* Herod. lib. iv.

(E) Theſe were only a kind of pretended conjurers, who made a ſhew of divining by willow ſticks, gathered up into bundles. The women had much the larger ſhare in this trade, and were held in the greateſt reverence, as they pretended to prognoſticate, not by means of theſe wands, but by immediate inſpiration. In general, all the old women were held in great reverence among the *Scythians*, and other northern nations. *Keyſler. Antiq. Septen.*

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the people under his dominion. Wherever the funeral proceſſion was received, the people were obliged to imitate the royal *Scythians* in their mournful ceremonies, which conſiſted in cutting off part of the ear, ſhaving their heads, wounding themſelves in their forehead, noſe, and arm, and piercing their left hand with an arrow. When the circuit was finiſhed, they depoſited the body among the *Gerrians*, on the banks of the *Boryſthenes*, upon a bed, raiſed in the middle of a large ſquare hole made in the earth. In the vacant places they placed one of his favourite concubines, his head cook, groom, a waiter, a meſſenger, ſome horſes, all ſtrangled, and a number of neceſſary utenſils, particularly golden cups. This being done, they threw the earth upon it, and endeavoured to raiſe the mound as high as they could. This was not all: when the anniverſary of his interment came, they ſtrangled fifty of the dead king's officers, who were perſons of quality, and likewiſe fifty horſes, and ſet the bodies of the young men aſtride upon the horſes, faſtening them together by an iron ſtake.

The *Scythians* worſhiped a plurality of gods and goddeſſes: but that which they reckoned their principal deity was *Veſta*, whom they called *Tabiti*. The two next were *Papeus*, or *Jupiter*, and *Apia*, or the earth, which they eſteemed his wife. *Jupiter*, it ſeems, they challenged for their progenitor, and *Veſta* for their queen *. Beſides theſe, they worſhiped *Apollo*, the celeſtial *Venus*, and *Neptune*, under the names of *Oetoſyrus*, *Strippaſa*, and *Thammimaſades*; but their favourite god ſeems to have been *Mars*, to whom alone they dedicated temples, altars, and images. As to their temples, *Herodotus* is the only author who mentions them. They were, indeed, famous for erecting ſumptuous groves, and in theſe they affected to have one, or more oaks, of a monſtrous ſize, which were accounted ſo ſacred, that it was death to lop ſo much as a branch or ſprig off them, or even to wound their bark. Theſe they never failed to ſprinkle plentifully with the blood of their victims, inſomuch that the rind of ſome of the oldeſt of them was covered, or even incruſted with it †. Their religion.

Some of them are ſaid to have worſhipped the fire, as the principle of all things, under the name of *Vulcan*. *Zamolzis* was alſo one of their deities, to whom they committed the ſouls of the dead, and offered ſacrifices on their behalf. They uſed to ſwear by the wind and the ſword, the one as the author of life, and the other of death.

The ſpaciouſneſs of their groves may be conjectured from the vaſt extent of the altars, one of which at leaſt they were obliged to have in every precinct. The altar was made of ſmall wood, tied up into bundles, and covered three ſtades of land in length and breadth, though it was not of a proportionable height.

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* Herod. lib. iv. chap. 59. Alex. adhort. Lucian. Toxar.

† Keyſler. Antiq. Septent. Clem.

Three

Three of its ſides were built up perpendicular, but the fourth had a gradual declivity to render the top of it eaſy of acceſs. An old iron ſcimitar was erected on the top of each altar, as an image or emblem of the deity, to whom, beſides all other cattle in common with their other gods, they ſacrificed horſes, and what was moſt ſhocking, every hundredth man they took priſoner from their enemies. With reſpect to the other victims which they ſacrificed either to *Mars*, or to any other deity, they obſerved the ſame rites every where without variation. Of all the beaſts, the horſe was eſteemed the nobleſt, and conſequently the moſt acceptable victim. As for ſwine, they deteſted them, not only as unfit to be eaten, but even to be ſuffered to live among them. They were careful to offer to their gods the firſt fruits of their cattle, ground, and of the ſpoil they took in war; and ſome conſiderable part of the latter they were wont to ſend to the *Delphic Apollo*, a number of their honourable virgins accompanying it thither, under a ſufficient eſcort; but the length and difficulty of the journey obliged them to diſcontinue it.

As to the account of their manners and cuſtoms, which we have from the *Greek* hiſtorians, our readers may obſerve, that as the *Scythians* had often invaded and ravaged *Greece*, the *Greek* writers were probably not well affected to them, and have related many things to the diſhonour of that antient and warlike nation, ſome of them of ſo horrid a nature, as to exceed our belief, eſpecially as the excellent character given them by *Juſtin* has been learnedly vindicated by *Bochart*. Some mixture of barbarity is, indeed, found in all their cuſtoms.

Contracts. They ratified alliances and contracts in the following manner. Some wine being poured into an earthen veſſel, the contracting parties mingled ſome of their own blood with it, and dipped into the mixture the point of ſome warlike weapons. The parties then uttered ſome dire imprecations on the firſt breaker of the covenant, and having taken each of them a draught of the liquor, deſired ſome of the moſt conſiderable among the by-ſtanders to pledge them, and to be witneſſes of the contract.

Valour. They were greatly celebrated by the antient writers for their valour, and no nation is ſo famous in hiſtory for conquering wherever they carried their arms, themſelves remaining ſtill unconquered. According to *Thucydides*, no nation, either in *Europe* or *Aſia*, could equal them for ſtrength, valour, or conduct in war, nor indeed could any thing reſiſt their power, provided they were but unanimous among themſelves. Their women, as we obſerved, were even inſpired with this warlike temper; and their youth, if *Herodotus* may be relied on, were wont to drink the blood of the firſt priſoner they took, and to preſent the heads of all the men they took in fight to their monarch. The worth and merit of a man riſing in proportion to the number of enemies ſlain by him, they uſed to preſerve the ſkins of the ſlain, to tan them, and then hang them to the horſes bridles,

Barbarous cuſtoms.

bridles, where they ſerved both for trophies and napkins to the owner. Their pride, or rather, barbarity, went ſo far with ſome of them, that they covered both their quivers and horſes, and ſometimes decked their own bodies, with the ſkins of the ſlain, nay, even turned their ſkulls into drinking cups *.

As they are affirmed to have lived moſtly upon plunder, it is probable, that the different tribes were continually making incurſions againſt each other, without, however, forgetting their affinity ſo far, as not to join their forces againſt a common enemy or invader, whenever neceſſity required it. They themſelves too ſeldom either invaded their ſouthern neighbours, or were invaded by them, to give their young women opportunities of ſignalizing themſelves in that kind of warfare.

Their freedom from care and ambition, as well as the plainneſs of their diet, and the coldneſs of their climate, gave ſuch plumpneſs to their fleſh, that, to prevent their growing too unwieldy by it, they not only uſed a great deal of the hardeſt exerciſe, but, to diminiſh in part their ſuperfluous radical moiſture, they are affirmed to have cauterized their arms, ſhoulders, backs, breaſts, and the palms of their hands, which, our author ſays, rendered them more ſtrong and expert at the uſe of their miſſive and other weapons. They were remarkable for their faithfulneſs and friendſhip, but ſeldom engaged in a ſtrict friendſhip with above two, or at moſt three, perſons, eſteeming it very difficult, if not impoſſible, to keep it inviolate with a greater number. When ſuch a friendſhip was once contracted, there was no danger or death which they would not expoſe themſelves to for one another. Their revenge and reſentment were no leſs ardent and perſevering than their friendſhips.

How populous the *Scythians* were, is not agreed. Suppoſing that they made frequent and bloody inroads upon each other, ſuch hoſtilities muſt have thinned them exceedingly. On the other hand, conſidering their plain and laborious way of living, their climate, conſtant exerciſe, hardineſs, and other ſuch like advantageous circumſtances, which rendered them luſty and ſtrong, prolific, and long-lived, one can hardly conceive they could be other than a populous nation, though not to be compared to thoſe kingdoms, which abounded with large and flouriſhing cities, and where agriculture and the refinements of civil life were known. If they invaded their neighbours with numerous armies, this was owing, probably, not ſo much to the populouſneſs of their country, as to the wide extent of territory from whence the forces were raiſed, as is the caſe in the modern empire of the *Ruſſians*. When they took the field, they muſtered their fighting men, according to *Herodotus*, by making each man throw the head of an arrow into one common heap; and he gives us the following inſtance of the largeneſs of their armies. One of their kings, obſerving the brazen heads of the

* Strab. lib. vii.

arrows thrown together at a muſter to form a large heap, cauſed them to be melted, and caſt into the form of a bowl, which, he ſays, remained in his time, was ſix inches thick, and contained 600 amphoras, that is 50 hogſheads.

Manufactures.

The arts and ſciences are ſaid to have been wholly neglected by them. Some rude efforts probably they made, like the *American Indians*, by which they might ſupply themſelves with a few mean utenſils. They do not ſeem to have known any thing of writing till they brought it with them from *Aſia*; neither are there any footſteps of their having had ſuch poetic hiſtorians, as were the *Curetes*, bards, and druids among the *Celtes*; ſo that the fragments of hiſtory, collected by *Herodotus*, muſt have been merely traditional.

Their language.

Their language is ſtill more unknown to us, whatever diſcoveries ſome modern antiquarians may fancy to have made about it. The difference of their tribes, and their intermixture with other nations, muſt, in proceſs of time, occaſion a vaſt number of dialects, from which, moſt probably, have ſprung the *Muſcovitiſh*, *Sclavonic*, *Poliſh*, *Daniſh*, *Swediſh*, *Saxon*, and many others; between which there is barely diſcovered ſuch an affinity, as makes them appear to have ſprung from the ſame mother. Beſides, from a viſible vein of the *Celtic*, which runs through all thoſe various languages, it may alſo be concluded, that they did not antiently differ much more from it, than the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac*.

Their weapons, which were probably made by themſelves, were ſcimitars, javelins, axes, but eſpecially bows and arrows, at which they are ſaid to have been ſo expert, that their very children were trained to ſhoot at a mark, even as they rode on horſeback, inſomuch that it became a common proverb, *That the* Scythians *were as dextrous at their bows as the* Greeks *at their lyre*. They were no leſs expert horſemen, and their very women are affirmed to have been ſo well inured to riding and ſhooting, that they did not come one jot behind the men *.

Agriculture neglected by them.

All the *Scythians*, excepting one tribe mentioned by *Herodotus*, on the north ſide of the *Boryſthenes*, ſeem wholly to have neglected agriculture. They rather choſe to roam where they found the beſt paſture for their cattle, and contented themſelves with the ſpontaneous product of the earth. As their cloathing is ſaid to have been the ſkins of beaſts, we may conclude, the wool of their flocks was not manufactured by them. Smiths they muſt have had; both for their various arms, making their waggons, and other neceſſary tools. They wore ſtandards of a particular make, which, when blown open with the wind, reſembled ſerpents and dragons of ſeveral ſhapes, and theſe were commonly borne by men on horſeback †.

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* Herod. lib. i. Lucian in Toxar. & Hermot. Mela. lib. i. Bochart.

† Suid. in voc.

Their

Their chief riches and food conſiſting in their numerous herds, they entruſted the care of them to ſhepherds, who were a rank of *Scythians* below the martial men, and had ſlaves and captives under them. Theſe moving about from paſture to paſture, with the perſons and families which were unfit to go to the wars, chiefly lived upon honey, cheeſe, and milk, and more eſpecially that of their mares; but their choiceſt food was the veniſon they killed. Shepherds and martial men.

From the practice of one or two of their kings, it ſeems as if they had allowed of polygamy, and been not very ſtrict in their marriages. *Plato* ſeems even to intimate, that they had their women in common *; though this cuſtom, if there was any ſuch, muſt have been only among the more ſavage ſort, for the royal and free ones had wives. We do not find that they were much given to feaſting; *Plutarch*, in his banquet of the ſeven wiſe men, ſays, that they neither had vines, nor players on inſtruments, nor public games. One wine feaſt, however, they had once a year in every diſtrict, for thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves by killing one or more of their enemies; and another we read of, which was uſed at funerals. Some others they might have, but in general they were abſtemious to a wonder, except in their affections for their favourite women. They talked little, but conciſely and ſtrongly, eſpecially about their warlike affairs. When they travelled, they carried with them a certain compoſition in ſmall pieces, like pills, one of which, upon occaſion, would yield ſufficient nouriſhment for ſeveral days. *Pliny* ſays, they likewiſe carried ſome compoſition for feeding their horſes, upon the ſtrength of which they could travel ten or twelve days without eating or drinking. Polygamy.

We ſhall now mention a few particulars, in which other petty kingdoms of *Scythia* differed from the royal *Scythians*. The *Sarmatians* are ſaid to have been the offſpring of the *Scythians* by the *Amazons*, who, in their flight from the *Grecians*, landed near the precipices of the *Palus Meotis*, and marrying to the *Scythians*, perſuaded their huſbands to paſs into *Sarmatia*, on the other ſide the *Tanais*. The *Sarmatian* women retained ſtill the *Amazonian* temper and way of life, and here chiefly it was that virgins were unqualified for matrimony till they had diſpatched an enemy in the field. *Sarmatians.*

The *Taurians* had this inhuman cuſtom, that they ſacrificed to a virgin demon whom they worſhipped all that were ſhipwrecked, and all the *Grecians* which they caught upon their coaſts. They lived chiefly by war and rapine, and were very cruel to thoſe who fell into their hands. *Taurians.*

The *Agathyrſians* are ſaid to have had their women in common, in order to link the men more ſtrongly together, and to prevent jealouſies. *Agathyrſians.*

* De Repub.

Neurians. The *Neurians*, leaving their own province on account of dangerous ſerpents, fixed in that of the *Budians*. They pretended to great ſkill in magic, and were reported to be tranſformed into wolves for ſome part of the year, which is ſuppoſed to mean no more but their wearing of ſkins, with the fur outward, during the cold weather. The worſt of all were the *Androphagi*, or men-eaters, who obſerved neither law nor juſtice, and had nothing in common with the reſt, but their dreſs,

Budians. and breeding of cattle. The *Budians* were a populous nation, famed for blue eyes and red hair. In this province, above all the reſt, they built themſelves a city, and called it *Gelonus*, the houſes and high walls of which were of timber, and the walls on each ſide were 300 ſtades in length. It had temples and chapels, dedicated to the *Grecian* gods, and here they celebrated the *Bacchanalia* triennially. Our author, however, is

Geloni. of opinion that the *Geloni*, who followed agriculture, were really a different kind of people from the *Budians*, their language and manners being different, though in time they were greatly blended with the *Budians*, and learned the cuſtom of painting their bodies from them, whence *Virgil* calls them *Picti Geloni* *.

The *Nomades* and *Maſſagetes*.

The laſt two nations, or tribes, of the *Scythians*, worth our notice, were the *Scythian Nomades*, inhabiting the north-weſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, and the *Maſſagetes* on the eaſt. The *Nomades* were ſo called from the *Greek* Νομη, paſture, which expreſſed their kind of life. They differed little from the royal *Scythians*, and like them followed a wandering life, and when called to the wars, left their families and flocks with their ſhepherds till their return.

Maſſagetes. The *Maſſagetes* did likewiſe imitate the free *Scythians* in their habit, manner of living, arms, and warlike genius; they uſed beſides bows and arrows, javelins and ſcimitars. Braſs ſerved them inſtead of ſteel for making their offenſive weapons, and to thoſe that were defenſive they added ſome ornaments made of gold, eſpecially in their helmets, belts, and armour. Their horſes were likewiſe fenced with a breaſt-plate of braſs, whilſt their bridles and other furniture were adorned with gold. Though every man was obliged to marry a wife, yet they held them all in common; ſo that when a man met with a woman to his liking, he took her into his chariot or waggon, and lay with her, without any further ceremony than the hanging up his quiver at the head of the waggon. A more inhuman cuſtom than this the ſame author tells us they had, namely, when a man had once attained to old age, which was not ſo much admitted by law, as inferred by concurring ſymptoms, all his relations met and ſacrificed him, together with a number of cattle of ſeveral kinds, and having boiled the fleſh all together, they ſat down to it as a feaſt. This kind of death was accounted by

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* Herod. l. iv. Mela ubi ſupra. Plin. l. iv. Steph. Byzant.

them

them the moſt happy, as that of dying by ſickneſs was reckoned the moſt unfortunate. The ſun was the only deity they worſhiped, and to him they ſacrificed horſes.

As to the *Amazons*, tho' what the antients have related concerning them may juſtly be reputed in many things fabulous, yet it were unreaſonable to reject their accounts of them altogether, as tho' they were guilty of wilful forgery or too great credulity. The *Scythian* women in general, and more particularly the *Sarmatian* women, were noted for their warlike genius; and both among the *Scythians* and *Celtes* they had great authority, and were admitted to courts of judicature, and other aſſemblies, where they frequently preſided *. The *Amazons*.

According to *Juſtin*, (l. ii.) the occaſion of this new female government was as follows: Some *Scythians*, about the time of *Seſoſtris* king of *Egypt*, having been expelled their country by a contrary faction, took poſſeſſion of the region of *Thermoſciria* on the river *Thermodon*, and having for ſeveral years infeſted their neighbours by their continual incurſions, they were at length all ſurpriſed and treacherouſly murdered. Their wives, partly thro' fear of ſlavery, and partly thro' deſire of revenge, immediately took arms; and that nothing might obſtruct their fury, renounced all future marriages with mankind, calling that ſtate an unworthy kind of ſlavery. By their valour and ſucceſs, they ſoon obliged their neighbours to ſue to them for peace, which they granted; and one of the conditions was, that they ſhould yearly have a month's intercourſe with each other, to keep up the breed, the girls only being brought up by the mothers, and the boys murdered, according to *Juſtin*, but *Herodotus* ſays they were ſent to their fathers. The right breaſt of the girls was ſeared in their infancy, to prevent it from growing, that they might have no obſtruction in drawing the bow; and they were from thence called *Amazons*. Having conquered great part of *Europe* and of *Aſia*, their kingdom continued till the time of *Alexander* the Great.

Some of them having been once conquered and taken priſoners near the river *Thermodon* by the *Greeks*, who were carrying them off in three ſhips, they roſe upon their conquerors and put them all to death; but being altogether unacquainted with navigation, they were driven by the wind and tide to the precipices of the *Palus Meotis*, where ſome *Scythian* youths married them, and were prevailed on by them to proceed northward to *Sarmatia*, where they continued ſtill in our author's time †.

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* Tacit. de mor. Germ. Polyæn, Stratag. Plut. de Virt. Mulier. Keyſler antiq. Septent. Cæſar, l. i. Strab. Geograph. † Herod. l. iv.

SECT. II.

The history of the SCYTHIAN *kings.*

AS the *Scythians* were quite deſtitute of records, their ancient tranſactions are involved in an impenetrable obſcurity. The names and exploits of their kings lie occaſionally ſcattered in *Herodotus* and other more recent hiſtorians, without any order of time, or any hint to form a conjecture of their chronology, at leaſt till their invaſion of *Aſia*.

The following is a liſt of the *Scythian* kings, as we find them mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Juſtin*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Mela*; but without any note of time either about the beginning or end of their reign; neither can we affirm that they ſucceeded one another in the order we have ſet them down, or even whether they all reigned over the ſame nations.

Kings of SCYTHIA.

1. *Scythes*. 2. *Napis*. 3. *Phithra*. 4. *Sagillus*, or *Protothyas*. 5. *Madyes*. 6. *Thomynis*. 7. *Jancirus*. 8. *Indatyrſus*. 9. *Targitaus*. 10. *Calaxais*. 11. *Scholypethes*, or *Scythopetes*. 12. *Panaxagoras*. 13. *Tanais*. 14. *Saulius*. 15. *Spargapiſes*. 16. *Aripithes*. 17. *Scyles*. 18. *Octamaſades*. 19. *Ariantes*. 20. *Atheas*. 21. *Lambinus*.

Scythes. *Scythes* is that fabulous ſon of *Hercules*, begotten on a monſter, whom we have formerly mentioned. The *Greeks* make him the progenitor of the *Scythians*, and ſeem to have invented the hiſtory for no other end than to ſully the origin of the noble and warlike *Scythians*, the beginnings of their own nation being obſcure and barbarous.

Sagillus. *Sagillus* is ſaid to have ſent his ſon *Panaſagorus*, the ſame perhaps with *Prototbyas* the father of *Madyes*, with an army of horſe to the aſſiſtance of *Orithya* queen of the *Amazons*, againſt *Theſeus* king of *Athens*. Preſently after his arrival, the prince, upon ſome diſguſt he took at thoſe brave heroines, left them to the mercy of their enemies, who ſoon after gained the victory over them.

Madyes. *Madyes*, who is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with the *Indathyrſus* of *Strabo*, tho' different from that of *Herodotus*, was the ſon of *Prototbyas*, and a warlike prince. Under his conduct the *Scythians* drove the *Cimmerians*, or northern *Celtes*, out of *Europe*, and purſuing them into *Aſia*, invaded the country of the *Medes*, and held the greater part of Upper *Aſia* in ſubjection 28 years. As we have mentioned in the hiſtory of the *Medes*, they carried their victorious arms to the borders of *Egypt*, took the city of *Bethſhean* from the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on this ſide *Jordan*, which they called *Scythopolis*, and plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Aſcalon*; for which ſacrilege, the

Phœnicians

Phœnicians say they and their posterity were punished with emroids. *Cyaxares*, king of the *Medes*, put an end to their dominion in *Asia* in the manner we have related in that history. Many of those who survived the slaughter, might submit themselves to the *Medes*, and continue there. A much greater number of them went, as is supposed, and served *Nebuchadnezzar*; but the greatest part, according to *Herodotus*, marched towards *Scythia*, where they met with an unexpected reception from their slaves. *Justin*, who calls this their third expedition, says, it lasted but eight years; during which time their wives having given them over for lost, married their slaves, who marched out to oppose the return of their masters. But *Herodotus*, who speaks of this expedition as their first into *Asia*, and affirms it to have lasted 28 years, adds, that their wives had taken their slaves to their beds, from whom this new generation had sprung who wanted to obstruct the return of their masters; which account seems confirmed by those writers who relate, that the *Scythians* held the dominion of *Asia* for 28 years. After the *Scythians* had been repulsed in one or two skirmishes, they went to the attack, not armed with bows and arrows, but with horse-whips; which so terrified the slavish race, that they immediately threw down their arms and fled. Those who were caught were put to the most cruel deaths, while their mistresses, conscious of their guilt, sought to avoid their husbands resentment by hanging or some other speedy death. This story, tho' attended with some difficulties, is so far from being a fiction, or doubted of by the *Novogrodians*, whose city stands in the *Sarmatian Scythia*, that they caused a coin, which they called a *Dingoe Novogradskoi*, to be stamped in memory of it, which had a man on horseback shaking a whip aloft in his hand, and which has been current ever since throughout all *Russia*. The *Muscovite* women too, whether in remembrance of this transaction is uncertain, present their future spouse, even in the time of their courtship, with a whip wrought with their own hands*. After this signal victory over their rebellious slaves, the *Scythians*, according to *Justin*, enjoyed a long and unmolested peace till the days of *Jancirus*.

Tamyris.

We must, however, except the invasion which happened under *Thomyris*, or *Tamyris*, who reigned when *Cyrus* the Great wanting a pretext to invade the *Massagetes*, sent an embassy to her to treat of a marriage. She prohibiting the ambassadors to advance on their journey, *Cyrus* entered her territories with an army; but was cut off with all his forces. What credit ought to be given to this account, we have formerly remarked.

Jancirus.

Jancirus, a magnanimous and haughty prince, is famed for the noble answer which he sent to *Darius* king of *Persia*, when he demanded of him presents of earth and water in token of subjection. The occasion of the war is variously related by

* Fletch. Russ. Commonwealth, b. 4. ap Rawl. lib. x. 628.

Juſtin and *Herodotus*, who ſeems to diſtinguiſh this prince with the name of *Indathyrſus*. *Juſtin* ſays, the *Scythian* monarch had exaſperated *Darius*, by refuſing to give him his daughter in marriage; whereas, according to *Herodotus*, *Darius* only intended to retaliate the invaſions and depredations of the *Scythians*.

After *Darius* had entered the *Scythian* territories, and made the demand of earth and water, *Jancirus*, inſtead of complying as he expected, anſwered, that he acknowleged no lord but his progenitor *Jupiter*, and *Veſta* queen of the *Scythians*; and ſoon after ſent him a bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows. *Darius* interpreted this preſent in his own favour, and looked upon it as ſent in token of ſubmiſſion. But *Gobrias*, who knew the *Scythians* perhaps better than his maſter, comparing the anſwer and the preſent together, interpreted the latter quite otherwiſe; namely, that the *Perſians* muſt not hope to avoid the effects of the *Scythian* valour, unleſs they could either fly like birds, plunge like frogs, or bury themſelves in the ground like mice.

The king of *Scythia* was then joined by the *Gelonians*, *Budians*, and *Sarmatians*, and perhaps ſome other tribes; but the *Agathyrſians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melanchlenians*, and *Taurians* refuſed to join in the alliance, accuſing the *Scythian* king of having been the firſt aggreſſor. *Indathyrſus*, or *Jancirus*, to be revenged on the five tribes that refuſed to join him, reſolved to draw *Darius* into their territories, by continually retreating before him; having ſent away their wives and children towards the northern parts, and filled up all the wells and ſprings, and deſtroyed all the graſs and proviſion as they went. *Darius*, notwithſtanding the difficulties of the march, purſued them through *Sarmatia*, till he came to a deſart of about ſeven days march, where he ſtopped, and ſet himſelf about building ſome ſpacious cities at equal diſtances from each other. However, he left his cities unfiniſhed, to purſue again after the *Scythians*; but at laſt his army being drawn into great diſtreſs, he was convinced of the fruitleſſneſs of his undertaking, and marched back with all ſpeed to the *Iſter*, the *Scythians* haraſſing him on his march, and ſoliciting the *Ionians* to break down the bridge on the river. The *Ionians*, however, at the perſuaſion of *Hyſtiæus* of *Miletus*, preſerved the bridge, by which means *Darius* eſcaped with the ſmall remains of his army. The *Scythians*, to make themſelves amends for the ravages they had been forced to make in their own country, ſoon after invaded *Thrace*, and having laid it waſte as far as the *Helleſpont*, repaſſed the *Iſter*, loaded with the immenſe ſpoils of that province.

Saulius. *Saulius*. All that is related of this prince is, that he killed *Anacharſis*, a prince of the blood, for having ventured to introduce into *Scythia* the nocturnal rites of the mother of the gods, which he had ſeen uſed among the *Grecians*.

Aripithes

Aripithes had a numerous iſſue, but particularly one ſon named *Scythes*, by an *Iſtrian* woman, who brought him up in all the *Grecian* cuſtoms and learning. *Aripithes.*

Aripithes being afterwards killed by the treachery of the king of the *Agathyrſians*, *Scythes* found means to poſſeſs himſelf of his father's kingdom, and married one of his wives, who was a *Scythian*. Being chiefly attached to the *Grecian* cuſtoms, in which he had been brought up by his mother, he led his army to the capital of the *Boriſthenians*, which is reported to be a colony of the *Mileſians*, and entering alone into the city, continued there a whole month, conforming to the *Grecian* worſhip, cuſtoms and dreſs; after which he reſumed his *Scythian* habit and departed. Not content with often repeating the ſame practice, he built a palace in that city, and married a native of it. As he was going to be initiated in the rites of *Bacchus*, the outward court of his ſumptuous palace, which he had adorned with marble ſtatues repreſenting ſphinxes and griffins, was demoliſhed with thunder. This did not, however, deter him from accompliſhing his initiation; but a *Boryſthenian* acquainting the *Scythians* with it, and introducing ſome of their chiefs into the city, in hopes of making converts of them likewiſe, they having ſeen the king celebrating *Bacchanalian* rites, perſuaded the *Scythians*, upon their return home, to revolt from him, and chuſe his brother *Octomaſades* in his room. *Scythes* flying into *Thrace*, his brother purſued him with a numerous army as far as the banks of the *Iſter*, where he found *Sitalces* king of *Thrace* advancing to oppoſe him. The brother of *Sitacles*, who was at the ſame time uncle to *Octomaſades*, being then a refugee in *Scythia*, the two kings, inſtead of engaging, reſtored to each other their brothers, and *Scythes* was immediately put to death *. *Scythes.* *Octomaſades.*

Ariantes was that prince who cauſed a large braſen bowl to be made out of the heads of the arrows thrown together by his army at a muſter. *Ariantes.*

Not to take notice of the bare names of ſeveral other kings, the next prince we ſhall mention is *Atheas*, or as he is called by others, *Matheas* and *Machæas*. This prince being engaged in a war with the *Iſtrians*, a people of *Meſia* near the mouth of the *Iſter*, aſked the aſſiſtance of *Philip* king of *Macedon*; and upon his complying with his requeſt, promiſed to make him his heir to the crown of *Scythia*. The *Iſtrians*, at news of this powerful ſuccour, immediately retiring, he ſent another meſſage to *Philip*, telling him flatly, that he had neither ſent for his aſſiſtance, nor promiſed him his crown. *Philip*, who was then beſieging *Byzantium*, ſent to deſire him at leaſt to remit him ſome money to defray part of the expences of the ſiege; but *Atheas* eluded this reaſonable demand, by urging the inclemency of their climate, and the barrenneſs of their ſoil, which *Atheas.*

* Herod. lib. iv.

he

he ſaid, ſcarcely afforded them ſufficient ſuſtenance. *Philip*, to retaliate this trick, ſent the *Scythians* word, that he had vowed to erect a ſtatue to *Hercules* at the mouth of the *Iſter*. *Atheas*, who ſmelt his deſign, ſent and told him, that he need but ſend the ſtatue, and he would take upon himſelf the care of erecting it; but that he would by no means ſuffer him to bring his army into his territories. *Philip* not minding his prohibition, raiſed the ſiege of *Byzantium*, and marched againſt him; and a bloody battle enſuing, the *Scythians*, tho' ſuperior in number, were defeated.

Tho' ſeveral antient authors make mention of *Philip*'s war with the *Scythians*, yet it muſt be allowed, however, that ſome of them take no notice of this victory. However it be, the *Scythian* nation afterwards diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their exploits againſt the *Macedonians*, *Romans*, and other nations.

Lambinus. Their laſt king is ſaid to have been *Lambinus*; but the reaſon why the ſucceſſion of their princes ſhould have ended in him, is not ſaid *.

CHAP. III.

The Hiſtory of the ARMENIANS.

THE country commonly called *Armenia* is ſuppoſed by the *Greeks* to have received its name from *Armenus*, one of the *Argonauts*, who ſettled there. Others derive its name from *Aram* the ſon of *Shem*, or from a king of *Armenia* of that name. According to *Bochart*, *Armenia* is a compound of *Aar*, ſignifying in *Hebrew* a mountain, and *Mini*, the name of a province in this country mentioned by *Jeremiah*. The word *Meni*, or *Menni*, which was at firſt peculiar to one province, is thought to be originally derived from a *Hebrew* word ſignifying metal, ſeeing *Armenia* abounded with mines.

The diviſion of *Armenia.* It was antiently divided into the greater and leſſer, or *Armenia Major* and *Minor*. *Armenia Major*, according to *Strabo*, was bounded on the ſouth by mount *Taurus*, on the eaſt by both *Medias*, on the north by *Iberia* and *Albania*, and on the weſt by *Armenia Minor*, ſome *Pontic* nations, and the *Euphrates*. *Ptolemy* divides all *Armenia* into three diſtricts; the firſt comprehending that part which lies between the *Cyrus* and the *Araxes*; the ſecond, thoſe provinces that extend weſtward to the bending of the *Euphrates*; and the third, all the country lying between the ſprings of the *Tigris* and that part of the

Its cities. *Euphrates* which ſeparates *Commagene* from *Armenia Major*. In theſe diviſions he enumerates many cities, among the chief of

* Heyl. l. iii. p. 172. Juſtin, l. ix. & xxviii. Herod. l. i. ii. iv.

which

which was *Artaxata*, the capital of all *Armenia*, built by *Artaxias*, by the advice of *Hannibal*, in a plain bounded all round, except at a ſmall iſthmus, by the river *Araxes*. It was levelled with the ground by the *Romans* in the time of *Nero*, who, however, allowed *Tiridates* to rebuild it, and ſupplied him with workmen; on which account it was called *Neronia*. Other cities of note were *Sebaſtia*, ſeated on the banks of the *Euphrates*, not far from mount *Taurus*; *Armoſata*, or *Arſamoſata*, the next city of note to *Artaxata*, and ſituated between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; *Tigranocerta*, built by *Tigranes*, and ſituated in the ſouthern part of *Armenia*, on the top of a ſteep hill, between the ſprings of the *Tigris* and the mountain *Taurus*; *Artagera*, *Carcathiocerta*, *Colonia*, *Theodoſiopolis*, and others.

Rivers, and mountains.

Strabo mentions ſix rivers of great note in this country; namely, the *Lycus* and *Phaſis* falling into the *Pontus*; the *Cyrus* and *Araxes*, diſcharging themſelves into the *Caſpian* ſea, and the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The moſt conſiderable mountains of this country are the *Moſchick* mountains, ſeparating the weſtern parts of *Armenia* from *Colchis*; the *Paryadræ*, extending from the *Moſchick* mountains to the borders of *Armenia Minor* and *Pontus*; the *Maſius*, bounding the province of *Sophene* to the ſouth; the *Niphates* and *Abus*, from the former of which ſprings the *Tigris*, and from the latter the *Euphrates*; the *Gordyæan* mountains, and the mountains of *Ararat*.

The country is in general very hilly and mountainous, but is interſperſed with fertile and moſt beautiful dales and valleys. All ſorts of grain are but very indifferent in *Armenia*. In moſt places it yields but four fold; and if the inhabitants were not very induſtrious, and had not the conveniency of watering their lands, they would be almoſt barren. The cold is ſo extraordinary here, that fruits of all kinds are more backward than in moſt of the northern countries. The hills are covered with ſnow the whole year round, and it ſometimes falls even in the month of *June*. *Tournefort* informs us, that even in the middle of *July* he often found ice about the ſprings before the riſing of the ſun, notwithſtanding it was exceeding hot in the day time.

The origin of the antient *Armenians*.

Herodotus, and after him *Stephanus*, derives the antient *Armenians* from the *Phrygians*, on account of ſeveral *Phrygian* words in the *Armenian* language. *Strabo* takes them to be originally *Syrians*, or rather conſiders the *Syrians* and *Armenians* to be two tribes of one and the ſame nation; which opinion *Bochart* looks upon as moſt probable, finding a great agreement between theſe two nations both in manners and language.

Kingly government ſeems to have prevailed very early in *Armenia*. Their ſecond king *Barzanes*, according to *Beroſus*, was conquered and driven out by *Ninus*; but according to *Diodorus*, *Barzanes* made an alliance with *Ninus*, and aſſiſted him againſt the *Bactrians*. After the death of *Barzanes*, *Armenia*, it is ſaid, was divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, which is vouched by *Pliny*, lib. vi.

The

Their early history.

The *Armenians*, in process of time, were subdued by the *Medes*, whose king, *Astyages*, as we read in *Xenophon*, made them tributaries; tho' they still continued to be ruled by kings of their own country. During the whole time they continued subject to the *Persian* empire, there is mention made of prefects appointed by the kings of *Persia*. *Alexander* the Great having possessed himself of *Armenia*, made *Mithrines* governor of both *Armenias*. His successors were *Phrataphernes* and *Orons*, both appointed by *Perdiccas*. After the death of *Orons*, the *Armenians*, according to *Diodorus*, set up kings of their own. However this may be, they were again brought under subjection by the *Macedonians*, there being nothing more certain than that *Armenia* was held by *Antigonus*, and after him by *Seleucus* and his posterity to the time of *Antiochus* the Great, when they again rendered themselves independant.

Tanais and *Baris* their chief deities.

Strabo tells us, that the *Armenians*, *Medes* and *Persians* worshiped the same deities. However, the chief deity of the *Armenians* seems to have been the goddess *Tanais*, or as some stile her, *Anaitis*. To her several temples were erected all over *Armenia*, but more especially in the province of *Acilesina*, where she was worshiped in a most particular manner, and had a most rich and magnificent temple, with a statue of solid gold, and inestimable workmanship. In honour of this goddess, and in her temple, the *Armenians* used to prostitute their daughters, it being a custom among the young women to consecrate their virginity to *Tanais*, that is, to her priests. *Baris* was another deity peculiar to the *Armenians*, and had a stately temple erected to him, as *Strabo* informs us.

Their language.

The language of the antient *Armenians* was, according to *Strabo*, much the same with that of the *Syrians*, at least from *Polyænus* it appears that they used the *Syriac* characters. The modern *Armenians* use two languages, the vulgar and the learned; which last, if we believe them, has no affinity with the other oriental languages, is very expressive, and enriched with all the terms of religion and of arts and sciences. This language is to be found only in their antient manuscripts, and is used in divine service, being studied by their *vertabiets* or doctors, whose province is to preach, and to instruct the people.

Tho' the modern *Armenians* are very extensive traders, yet we find no mention of any commerce carried on by the *Armenians* in antient times. *Sha Abbas* the Great, king of *Persia*, is said to have been the first who considered the œconomy and the indefatigable industry of this people.

Armenia divided into greater and lesser.

The history of the *Armenians*, till they shook off the *Macedonian* yoke in the reign of *Antiochus*, is quite involved in obscurity. During the minority of *Antiochus*, *Zadriades* and *Artaxias*, governors of *Armenia*, joining their forces together, seized on the countries they had been set over, and erected two kingdoms, namely, that of *Armenia Major*, which *Artaxias* kept for himself, the other of *Armenia Minor*, which fell to *Zadriades*. As *Antiochus* was at this time very young, and his troops

troops employed againſt other rebels, they invaded with a conſiderable army the neighbouring countries, and took from the *Medes* the provinces of *Caſpiana*, *Phaunitis*, and *Baſoropida*; from the *Iberians*, *Chorzena* and *Gogarena*, and from the *Chalybes* and *Moſſynæci*, *Pareneta* and *Xerxena*, which bordered on *Armenia Minor*. By theſe new acquiſitions, *Armenia* became all on a ſudden ſo conſiderable a kingdom, that *Juſtin*, in enumerating thoſe of his time, gives it the preference in wealth, power, and extent to any other, that of *Parthia* alone excepted. *Antiochus* did not fail to lead a powerful army againſt the two governors: but not being able to recover one ſingle province of the many they had uſurped, he at length concluded a peace with them, deſigning to fall upon them again after he had ſettled the affairs of his kingdom. They, in the mean time, however, by entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, ſecured to themſelves and their poſterity the provinces which they had uſurped. *Artaxias*, being defeated by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, was made priſoner, and put in irons. Four years after this misfortune, he ſent an embaſſy to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, ſoliciting him to put to death *Mithrobuzanes*, one of the two ſons of *Zadriades*, who had fled to him for ſhelter, and to beg his aſſiſtance in the recovery of his own kingdom. *Ariarathes* ſharply rebuked the ambaſſadors, and declaring that he would give no aſſiſtance to one who could think him capable of committing ſuch an infamous piece of treachery, reſtored *Mithrobuzanes* to his father's kingdom *.

Artaxias king of *Armenia*.

By whom *Artaxias* was ſucceeded is uncertain, there being a chaſm of about 70 years in the *Armenian* hiſtory at this period. All that we know of this time is, that *Tigranes* was by his father delivered up to the *Parthians* as an hoſtage. The *Parthians* ſet *Tigranes* at liberty upon the news of his father's death, having firſt obliged him to yield up to them a conſiderable part of his kingdom by way of ranſom.

Tigranes being thus reſtored to his father's kingdom, was prevailed upon by *Mithridates Eupator* to enter into an alliance with him againſt the *Romans*. *Mithridates* giving his daughter *Cleopatra* to *Tigranes*, the latter, after celebrating the marriage with all poſſible pomp and magnificence, ordered his two chief commanders, named *Bagoas* and *Mithridates*, to fall upon *Cappadocia*; which they reduced without the leaſt oppoſition. *Tigranes* having thus got poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia*, enriched himſelf with the booty, but yielded the country to *Ariarathes* the ſon of *Mithridates*, whom he cauſed to be proclaimed with great pomp and univerſal ſatisfaction of the people.

Tigranes 95. Bef. Chr.

Invades *Cappadocia*.

Tigranes, not long after, accepted of the crown of *Syria*, which was offered him by the *Syrians*, who were grievouſly diſtreſſed by the civil diſſenſions which had continued for many years with great animoſity and much blood-ſhed among the

Is choſen king of *Syria*.

* Appian. Syriac. Porphyr. ap. Hier. in Dan.

deſcendants of *Seleucus*. At this time he muſt have been at peace with the *Romans*, as the *Syrians*, when they conſulted which king to chuſe, rejected *Mithridates*, for no other reaſon but his being at war with the *Romans*.

Reduces ſeveral neighbouring countries.

The acquiſition of *Syria* was only a ſpur to the ambition of *Tigranes*, who ſoon after invaded *Armenia Minor*, killed the king *Artanes*, and in one campaign reduced the whole kingdom. He next invaded the *Aſiatic Greeks*, the *Adiabenians*, the *Aſſyrians*, and the *Gordians*, carrying all before him, and obliging the people wherever he came to acknowlege him for their ſovereign. Soon after he again invaded *Cappadocia* at the inſtigation of *Mithridates*, who had been obliged by the *Romans* to withdraw his forces from thence. From *Cappadocia Tigranes* brought into *Armenia* no fewer than 300,000 captives, whom, together with the priſoners, he employed to build, and afterwards to people, a large and noble city which he founded in the place where the crown of *Armenia* had been firſt put upon his head, calling it from his own name *Tigranocerta*.

Tigranes was ſolicited not long after by *Mithridates*, to join him againſt the *Romans*. The chief ambaſſador from *Mithridates* was a philoſopher named *Metrodorus Scepſius*, whoſe probity and integrity had ſo recommended him to the king, that he had appointed him a judge, and ordered, that there ſhould be no appeal from his ſentence, even to himſelf. *Metrodorus* being deſired by *Tigranes* to tell him honeſtly whether he thought it adviſeable for him to enter into a war with the *Romans*, heſitated at firſt, but being urged ſeveral times, at laſt replied, *As an ambaſſador, I adviſe you to join your father-in-law againſt the* Romans; *but as a counſellor, I am for your living at peace and amity with ſo powerful a people.* *Tigranes* informed the king of what he had ſaid, which it is ſuppoſed loſt him the friendſhip of *Mithridates*; for he died on the road as he was returning home, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. *Tigranes*, to expreſs his concern, cauſed his body to be interred with the utmoſt magnificence, and at the importunity of his wife *Cleopatra*, afterwards ſent conſiderable ſupplies to *Mithridates*, who was nevertheleſs totally defeated by *Lucullus*, and obliged to fly for ſhelter into *Armenia*, where he was allowed by his ſon-in-law a princely retinue, and a table ſuitable to his former condition. While the *Romans* were purſuing their conqueſts, *Tigranes* marched at the head of a numerous army againſt the *Parthians*, with a deſign to recover the 70 vallies which that people had extorted from him before they ſet him at liberty. Having eaſily retaken theſe, he added to them all *Meſopotamia*, the countries that lay about *Ninus* and *Arbela*, and the fruitful province of *Migdonia*, with the great and ſtrong city of *Niſibis*, called by the *Greeks Antiochia Mygdonica*. He then took his march towards *Syria*, to quell a rebellion which had been raiſed there by *Cleopatra*, ſurnamed *Selene*, who reigned jointly with her ſons in that part of *Syria* which *Tigranes* had not ſeized on. The rebels were quickly reduced, their country conquered, and

Cleopatra

Cleopatra herſelf taken priſoner and confined to the caſtle of *Seleucia*, where ſhe was ſoon after put to death by the order of *Tigranes*. The *Armenian* king having afterwards ſubdued *Phœnice* entirely or in great part, all the princes of *Aſia*, except thoſe that were joined in alliance with the *Romans*, ſubmitted, and paid homage to him either in perſon or by their deputies *.

His great inſolence and pride.

Tigranes, elated with a long and uninterrupted ſeries of victories and proſperous events, began at length to look upon himſelf as invincible. He aſſumed the haughty title of *King of Kings*, and had many kings waiting upon him in the nature of menial ſervants. He never appeared on horſeback without the attendance of four kings running by his horſe in a ſingle veſt; and when he gave public audience, they ſtood on either ſide the throne with folded hands, that attitude, of all others, being accounted by thoſe people the greateſt acknowlegement of vaſſalage and ſervitude.

Lucullus ſeeks a pretence for making war upon him.

Lucullus, in the mean time, having entirely reduced the kingdom of *Pontus*, and wanting a pretence to fall upon *Tigranes*, ſent *Appius Claudius*, his wife's brother, to him with the character of ambaſſador, to demand *Mithridates*. *Claudius*, upon his arrival at *Antioch* near *Daphne*, being ordered to wait there for *Tigranes*, employed that time in ſoliciting the neighbouring cities to ſhake off the *Armenian* yoke. *Tigranes* being at laſt returned to *Antioch*, *Claudius*, in the audience which he had, told him abruptly, that he was come to demand *Mithridates* as belonging to *Lucullus*'s triumph; and in caſe he did not readily comply with the demand, to proclaim war againſt him. *Tigranes*, tho' no ways accuſtomed to ſuch freedom of ſpeech, anſwered calmly, that he would not deliver up *Mithridates*, and that if the *Romans* began the war, he was in a condition to defend himſelf. After the departure of *Appius*, *Tigranes* being informed that *Zarbienus* king of the *Gordians* had entered into a private alliance with the *Romans*, put him, his wife and children to death. He alſo conſented at laſt to ſee his father-in-law, whom he kept in a manner a priſoner, tho' the unhappy prince had reſided a year and eight months in his dominions. They held ſeveral private conferences, and in the end *Mithridates* was ſent back into *Pontus* with 10,000 horſe, to raiſe there what diſturbances he could.

He invades *Armenia*.

Lucullus being informed by *Appius* that he muſt prepare for war, left *Epheſus*, and marched back into *Pontus*; and having reduced the ſtrong city of *Sinope*, which had been ſeized by the *Cilicians*, he began his march to *Armenia* with two legions only, and 3000 horſe, leaving *Sornatius* in *Pontus* with 6000 men, to keep that kingdom in awe, and defeat the deſigns of *Mithridates*. When he had paſſed the *Euphrates*, and entered *Armenia*, a certain perſon informed *Tigranes* of his arrival, and

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* Appian. in Syriac. Eutrop. l. vi. Joſeph. Ant. l. xiii. Plut. in Lucul. Strab. l. xvi.

on

on that account was put to death by the king, who being intoxicated with his felicity, was perſuaded by his courtiers, that *Lucullus*, inſtead of invading his dominions, would abandon *Aſia* upon his approach. Having thus rewarded the firſt perſon who brought him intelligence, all others feared to give him any information; ſo that while the enemy waſted and burned the country all round, he remained ignorant of what paſſed. *Mithrobarzanes*, one of the king's friends, at length venturing to inform him of the truth, was ſent out with 3000 horſe, and a numerous body of foot, to bring *Lucullus* alive to the king; but was defeated and ſlain by the *Romans*.

The imprudent conduct of *Tigranes*.

Immediately upon this *Tigranes* repaired to mount *Taurus*, and ſummoned his forces from all quarters to come and join him. He quickly aſſembled a powerful army, which conſiſted, according to *Plutarch*, of 20,000 archers and ſlingers, 55,000 horſe, of whom 17,000 were compleatly armed, 150,000 foot, and 35,000 pioneers. *Mithridates*, however, entreated him by letters not to hazard an engagement, but to diſtreſs the enemy by cutting off their convoys. *Tigranes* deſpiſed this advice, and marched directly to the relief of *Tigranocerta*, which was beſieged by *Lucullus*. Upon the approach of the king's army, *Lucullus* left *Muræna* with 6000 men before the city, and marched againſt the barbarians with 10,000 foot only, and about 1000 ſlingers and archers, and all his cavalry. *Tigranes*, when he ſaw the *Romans* encamped, ſaid, jeeringly, *If they come as ambaſſadors, they are too many; if as ſoldiers, too few*: but next day, to his great ſurpriſe, when he thought them flying, they paſſed a ſmall river that ran betwixt the two armies, and attacked him before he had leiſure to draw up his forces.

He aſſembles an immenſe army,

The barbarians were quickly thrown into diſorder and fled, being purſued for ſeveral miles by the *Romans*, who cut great numbers of them to pieces. Such was their conſternation, that they were overthrown before any wound was given; and tho' the ſlaughter did not begin till they fled, yet, according to *Plutarch*, above 100,000 foot were loſt, and few of their horſe eſcaped. *Tigranes* fled one of the firſt, with a few of his attendants; and obſerving his ſon in the ſame diſtreſs, he took the crown from his head, and with tears in his eyes preſented it to him, conjuring him to direct his flight ſome other way. The young prince delivered the crown to a truſty friend, who was taken by the *Romans*. In this battle only five of the *Romans* were killed, and 100 wounded.

but is totally defeated by the *Romans*.

Mithridates, who was on his march to join *Tigranes*, received the diſmal news of his overthrow from ſeveral naked and wounded *Armenians*, and ſoon after met the king himſelf quite diſheartned and abandoned. He no ſooner ſaw him, than alighting from his horſe, he condoled with him upon their common misfortunes, and reſigned to him his own retinue and royal apparel. He encouraged him to raiſe new ſupplies, and renew the war with freſh vigour. *Tigranes* was ſo taken with this obliging deportment, that he committed the whole manage-

Mithridates encourages him to purſue the war.

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ment of the war to the conduct of *Mithridates*, owning him fitter to deal with the *Romans* than himself. He then dispatched messengers to all the præfects, enjoining them to raise what forces they could. *Megdales*, who had been governor of *Syria* for the space of fourteen years together, was ordered to hasten with his army to the king's assistance: and ambassadors were sent in the joint name of *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* to the neighbouring princes, particularly to *Arsaces* king of *Parthia*, soliciting them to rise up in arms against the common enemy.

Lucullus, in the mean time, taking advantage of a violent dissension in *Tigranocerta* betwixt the *Greeks* and barbarians, made himself master of the place by storm, part of the inhabitants favouring his design. He seized to himself the royal treasury, and abandoned every thing else to the pillage of the soldiers, and moreover gave to each of them 800 drachmas. He allowed the *Greeks*, and as many of the barbarians as had been forced by *Tigranes* to settle in *Tigranocerta*, to return to their respective homes, giving them also money for their journey. *Lucullus* being more desirous to be praised for his justice and humanity than for his martial exploits, soon gained the hearts of the barbarians. Accordingly, the kings of the *Arabians* came and submitted to him. The whole nation of the *Sophenians* followed their example, and he gained so much on the *Gordyenians*, that they offered to quit their habitations and follow him with their wives and children. In the granaries of the late king *Zarbienus*, whose funeral obsequies he now celebrated with the utmost magnificence, he found such stores of provisions, as enabled him to pursue the war without putting the republic to any manner of charges.

Lucullus reduces *Tigranocerta*.

The following summer he again marched against *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, who were encamped in the plains on the south side of mount *Taurus*. *Lucullus* having attempted in vain to draw them to a general engagement, began his march for *Artaxata*, where *Tigranes* had left his wife and children, with the greater part of his treasures. *Tigranes* was solicitous to prevent him; but no sooner appeared within sight of the *Romans*, than he was attacked by them, and again shamefully defeated, many of his troops turning their backs as they were marching up to the charge. *Mithridates* being under great apprehension of falling into the hands of the *Romans*, fled in the beginning of the battle, and his example was soon followed by *Tigranes*.

Lucullus gains another victory over *Tigranes*.

Lucullus now determined to march into the upper provinces; but the country being exceeding woody, and very marshy in many places, and great quantities of snow falling, tho' it was not yet the autumnal equinox, his soldiers mutined; so that he was forced to lead them back. Having repassed the *Taurus*, he led his army into the temperate and fertile province of *Mygdonia*, and laid siege to *Nisibis* the capital. *Geras*, the brother of *Tigranes*, had the title of governor, but *Callimachus* actually commanded, by reason of his great experience in war, and his capacity as an engineer. *Lucullus*, after the siege

ſiege had continued ſome time, took the place by ſtorm, and treated *Guras* with great humanity; but ordered *Callimachus* to be put in chains, becauſe, rather than deliver a city which he had defended ſome years before, he had choſen to ſet it on fire.

The *Roman* army refuſes to obey *Lucullus*.

The following ſpring, the legions having been tampered with by *P. Clodius*, brother to *Lucullus*'s wife, a man of a reſtleſs diſpoſition and infamous character, abſolutely refuſed to take the field; ſo that *Lucullus* not being able to act, *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* recovered in great part the countries they had loſt. The *Roman* ſoldiers, knowing that *Lucullus* was blamed by a ſtrong party at *Rome*, expected every moment the arrival of a new general, and behaved to *Lucullus* in the moſt diſreſpectful manner. At laſt news arriving that *Mithridates*, who had returned to *Pontus*, had defeated *Fabius*, and was in full march againſt *Sornatius*, then out of ſhame they ſubmitted to follow *Lucullus*. Soon after, however, they again mutinied, and when *Lucullus* went from tent to tent, entreating them to follow him, they threw their empty purſes at his feet, and bid him *go and fight the enemy alone, ſince he alone was to be the gainer*. They conſented, however, at laſt to continue with him during the ſummer; but ſo great was their inſolence, that he durſt not lead them againſt an enemy. *Pompey*, in the mean time, by the artful practices of the tribunes, and the favour of the people, having been declared general againſt *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, arrived in *Aſia* with an army, and required *Lucullus* to deliver up his troops to him.

Mithridates and *Tigranes* gain ſeveral advantages.

Mithridates and *Tigranes*, in the mean time, had over-run *Cappadocia*, and recovered all *Armenia*, with great part of *Pontus*, and would have gained greater advantages, had not the ſon of *Tigranes*, by name alſo *Tigranes*, taken up arms againſt his father. *Tigranes* the ſon being defeated by his father, fled to *Parthia*, where being joined by the diſcontented *Armenians*, he perſuaded *Phrahates* king of the *Parthians* to invade *Armenia*.

They are again unfortunate.

The *Parthians* beſieging *Artaxata*, *Tigranes* the king was obliged to ſave himſelf in the mountains, whence ſoon after, when great part of the *Parthians* were retired, he unexpectedly fell upon the beſiegers, whom he diſperſed with great ſlaughter. The young *Tigranes* fled to *Mithridates*; but finding him reduced to great ſtraits, as he was a few days before defeated by *Pompey*, with the loſs of 40,000 men, he went over to the *Romans*, and led them into *Armenia* againſt his father.

Tigranes ſubmits to *Pompey*,

Tigranes hearing that *Pompey* was marching againſt his capital, ſent deputies to him, and offered to ſurrender the city upon certain conditions; which w re rejected at the inſtigation of *Tigranes* the younger. The king being quite diſpirited, and not in a condition to oppoſe the victorious *Romans* after the revolt of his ſon, went and threw himſelf at the feet of *Pompey*; who raiſing him up, put, with his own hands, the diadem upon his head, which he himſelf had taken off when he came into his preſence. He afterwards conducted him to his tent, where he gave him audience, and invited both him and his ſon to ſupper.

ſupper. The ſon, however, abſenting himſelf, *Pompey* began to conceive ſome jealouſy of him. *Tigranes* appealing to *Pompey* for juſtice againſt his ſon, the next day the *Roman* general, after hearing both parties, reſtored the kingdom of *Armenia* to who re- the father, with the greateſt and beſt part of *Meſopotamia*; ſtores him but ſet a fine upon him of 6000 talents for making war upon to the the people of *Rome* without cauſe. To the ſon he gave the kingdom provinces of *Gordiene* and *Sophene*; but adjudged the treaſures of *Ar*- that were kept in the latter to the father, becauſe without them *nia*. he could not pay the fine. *Pompey*, however, ſoon after diſcovering that the ſon was endeavouring to ſtir up *Phrahates* the *Parthian* king againſt the *Romans*, and had formed a conſpiracy againſt his father, ſent him in chains to *Rome*. *P. Cladius*, not long after, being bribed with a large ſum of money, ſet him at liberty, in ſpite of *Pompey* and the ſenate.

Tigranes willingly yielded to the *Romans Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and that part of *Phœnice* which he poſſeſſed, and not only payed the fine laid upon him, but made large preſents to *Pompey* and all the officers of his army; which gained him the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people. He afterwards waged war with the *Parthians*, by whom he was overcome, and would have been driven out of the kingdom, had not a peace been concluded by *Pompey*'s mediation. His ſecond ſon, by name *Soriaſter*, alſo took up arms againſt him; but by the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, that rebellion was ſoon quelled. *Tigranes* died in the 85th year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Artuaſdes*, who is alſo called *Artabazus*, *Artabanes*, and *Artoadiſtes*. *Tigranes* yields ſeveral provinces to the *Romans*. His death.

Artuaſdes, out of a private grudge he bore to *Artavaſdes* king of *Media*, adviſed *Marc Anthony* to invade that kingdom, offering to ſerve him in perſon as a guide, and to aſſiſt him with all his forces. *Anthony* followed his advice; but *Artuaſdes* being privately reconciled to the king of *Media*, led the *Roman* army through ſuch difficult roads, that they were obliged to leave behind them the greateſt part of their baggage and all their warlike engines. For this piece of treachery, *Anthony* afterwards loaded *Artuaſdes* with chains, and having obliged him to diſcover his treaſures, ſeized them for himſelf. *Artuaſdes*. Bef. Chr. 37. Treacherouſly ſeized by *M. Anthony*.

The *Armenians*, upon the news of the king's captivity, placed his eldeſt ſon *Artaxias* on the throne; who being defeated by the *Romans*, was obliged to ſhelter himſelf among the *Parthians*, *Anthony*, in the mean time, pillaging his kingdom, and carrying his father *Artuaſdes*, with his wife and children, captives to *Alexandria*, where they were led in triumph in golden chains. *Artuaſdes*, not long after, was put to death by *Anthony*, and his head ſent to his rival the king of *Media*. *Artaxias*, after the departure of *Anthony*, returned to *Armenia* with an army of *Parthians* and *Armenians*, and having defeated the *Medes*, recovered his paternal kingdom; which, however, he did not long enjoy, being ſtrangled, according to *Tacitus*, by the treachery of his neareſt friends, or driven from the throne, *Artaxias* II.

as we read in *Joſephus*, by *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, and *Claudius Tiberius Nero*, afterwards emperor.

Tigranes II. *Auguſtus*, the *Roman* emperor, having ſent *Tiberius* to ſettle the affairs of the eaſt, he beſtowed the kingdom of *Armenia* on *Tigranes* the younger brother of *Artaxias*; but after a ſhort reign, was put to death by the orders of *Tiberius*, for keeping a private correſpondence with the enemies of *Rome*. He was ſucceeded, if we believe *Tacitus*, by his ſons, who performed nothing worth mentioning.

Artuaſdes II. After the death of *Tigranes* and his ſons, the kingdom of *Armenia* was given by *Auguſtus* to *Artuaſdes*; but the *Armenians*, already tired of the *Roman* yoke, drove him out, and called in *Phrahates* king of *Parthia*. This revolt gave uneaſineſs to *Auguſtus*, who ſent againſt them *Caius*, a youth of 19 years of age, whom he had adopted. On the approach of the *Roman* army *Phrahates* withdrew from *Armenia*, and ſued for peace; which *Caius* readily granted him, on condition that he ſhould not aſſiſt *Tigranes*, who had aſſumed the title of king of *Armenia*. *Caius* having quickly expelled *Tigranes*, reſtored *Artuaſdes*, and marched into *Syria*.

Tigranes III. *Artuaſdes* dying ſoon after, *Tigranes* ſent ambaſſadors to *Auguſtus* with rich preſents, begging of him the kingdom of *Armenia*. *Auguſtus* accepted the preſents, and enjoined him to wait upon *Caius* in *Syria*: but *Tigranes* relying on his ſword, raiſed a conſiderable body of *Armenians*, and took poſſeſſion of great part of *Armenia*. *Caius*, however, returning with the *Roman* army, ſoon drove out *Tigranes*, and at the requeſt of the *Armenians*, conferred the crown on *Ariobarzanes*, a *Mede* by birth.

Ariobarzanes. *Ariobarzanes* did nothing worth mentioning, and was ſucceeded by *Vonones*, whom the *Armenians* choſe for their king, he being driven out by his own ſubjects from the kingdom of *Parthia*.

Vonones. *Artabanus*, king of the *Parthians* and *Medes*, ſoon expelled *Vonones* from *Armenia*, and conferred the crown on his own ſon *Orodes*, who was not long after overcome by *Germanicus*. The next king of *Armenia* was *Zeno*, the ſon of *Polemo* king of *Pontus*, who when he was crowned by *Germanicus*, aſſumed the name of *Artaxias* III. He enjoyed the crown for ſixteen years, and was ſucceeded by *Arſaces* the ſon of *Artabanus*, who by the aſſiſtance of the *Medes* and *Parthians*, eaſily conquered the kingdom; but was treacherouſly murdered in the firſt year of his reign. *Orodes*, the brother of *Arſaces*, upon the news of his death, came with a numerous army into *Armenia*; but was routed by *Pharaſmenes* king of *Iberia*, whoſe brother, *Mithridates Iberus*, was declared king of *Armenia* by *Tiberius Cæſar*. *Mithridates* had not long enjoyed the throne, when *Artabanus* having recovered his own kingdom, invaded *Armenia* the third time; but he was quickly driven from thence by the governor of *Syria*. *Caligula* ſoon after ſucceeding *Tiberius*, and conceiving ſome jealouſy of *Mithridates Iberus*, cauſed him to be brought in chains to *Rome*. The emperor *Claudius*, however, reſtored him to his kingdom, ordering the *Roman* legions

Orodes.

Artaxias. III.

Arſaces.

Mithridates Iberus.

gions to assist him in expelling the *Parthians* and reducing the *Armenian* malecontents.

After he had obtained the quiet possession of the throne, his nephew *Rhadamistus*, the son of the king of *Iberia*, came to his court as a refugee, pretending to have fallen out with his father *Pharasmenes*; but in reality, having concerted a scheme with him for expelling his uncle from the throne. *Mithridates* received his nephew with the greatest kindess, while the young man entered into intrigues with the malecontents, and disposed them to revolt. He then feigned to be reconciled to his father, returned home, and raising a powerful army, invaded *Armenia*, under pretence that *Mithridates* had dissuaded the *Romans* from lending his father any aid against the *Albanians*. This unexpected irruption, and the revolt of several chief lords of *Armenia*, obliged *Mithridates* to shut himself up in the castle of *Gorneas*, which was defended by a *Roman* garrison. *Cælius Pullio*, the governor, being bribed by *Rhadamistus*, prevailed on *Mithridates* to go out of the castle to an interview with his nephew, who met him in the most respectful manner, and falling down at his feet, embraced them, and gave him the title of father. He afterwards invited him into a neighbouring grove, pretending that he had caused a sacrifice to be got ready there, that their antient friendship might be confirmed in the presence of the gods. *Mithridates* no sooner entered the grove, than he, his wife and his children were seized and put into covered waggons, where they were kept till the pleasure of *Pharasmenes* was known. That wicked prince ordering his brother and daughter, who was wife to *Mithridates*, to be put to death without delay, *Rhadamistus*, without remorse, executed the orders, and also slew the children of *Mithridates*, because they bewailed their father's misfortunes.

The treacherous conduct of *Rhadamistus*.

The whole family of *Mithridates* being extinct, *Rhadamistus* took possession of the kingdom of *Armenia*. *Quadratus*, the *Roman* governor of *Syria*, who very well knew by what means he had raised himself to that throne, consulted with his officers whether he ought not to punish him. It was judged most expedient by the *Romans* to promote the dissensions among the barbarians: however, lest they should forego their right to the disposal of *Armenia*, they dispatched messengers to *Pharasmenes*, enjoining him to withdraw his troops from that kingdom. In the mean time *Julius Pelignus*, governor of *Cappadocia*, a noted coward, and infamous for his vices, encouraged *Rhadamistus* to assume the title of king, and even assisted at his coronation, having received large bribes from him for that purpose. *Vologeses* king of *Parthia*, hearing in what manner *Rhadamistus* had raised himself to the throne of *Armenia*, entered that country with a powerful army, made himself master of *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta*, which voluntarily submitted. He was, however, prevented from prosecuting his enterprise by the rigorous season, which introduced a mortality among his troops, and obliged him to return home. Upon their departure, *Rhadamistus* again

who usurps the crown.

invaded *Armenia*, and behaved in a moſt tyrannical manner to the inhabitants, who entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, and forced him to abandon the kingdom.

Not long after he returned again to *Armenia*, at the head of a powerful army of *Iberians*, but was a-new driven out by the *Parthians*. They being ſoon obliged, by their inteſtine broils, to return home, *Rhadamiſtus* invaded *Armenia* the fourth time; but the ſame year was forced by the *Parthians* to abandon it,

Tiridates. when *Tiridates*, the brother of *Vologeſes*, was declared king. The *Armenians*, being haraſſed both by the *Parthians* and *Iberians*, begged the protection of the emperor *Nero*, who appointed *Domitius Corbulo* to ſettle the affairs of *Armenia*, *Quadratus*, governor of *Syria*, being ordered to aſſiſt him. *Vologeſes*, being unprepared for war, delivered up the moſt illuſtrious of the family of the *Arſacides* as hoſtages to the *Romans*; but after he had aſſembled his troops, he openly declared, that he would neither ſuffer his brother *Tiridates* to be driven from a kingdom which he himſelf had conferred upon him, nor to hold it as a gift from any other power.

Corbulo invades Armenia. *Corbulo*, being reſolved to recover, if poſſible, what had been formerly gained by *Lucullus* and *Pompey*, was very aſſiduous in reſtoring diſcipline among his troops, and for that purpoſe kept them encamped during the whole winter, though many of them periſhed by the extremity of the cold. Early in the ſpring he invaded *Armenia*, but could by no means draw *Tiridates* to a battle. He therefore divided his forces, ordering them to attack the *Armenians* in different quarters at once, which orders were accordingly executed, while the king of *Iberia*, and ſome others, at the ſame time invaded *Armenia*. *Tiridates* having remonſtrated to *Corbulo* againſt the hoſtilities committed by the *Romans*, that general adviſed him to recur to the emperor, and acknowlege his ſovereignty, by accepting the crown as a gift of the people of *Rome*. This counſel being rejected by *Tiridates*, *Corbulo*, and the officers who commanded the *Roman* detachments, renewed their hoſtilities, and ſoon conquered great part of *Armenia*. *Corbulo* marched againſt *Artaxata*, which he took, and razed to the ground. *Tigranocerta* alſo ſubmitted; but the inhabitants preſenting *Corbulo* with a golden crown as a token of hoſpitality, he ſpared the city, and left them in the full enjoyment of their former privileges.

Tigranes, the grand ſon of Herod the Great, obtains the crown of Armenia. All *Armenia* being thus ſubdued by *Corbulo*, *Nero* conferred that kingdom on *Tigranes*, who was the grandſon of *Herod* the Great by his ſon *Alexander* and *Glaphira*, the daughter of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*. As he had lived many years at *Rome* in the quality of a hoſtage, he was entirely addicted to the *Roman* intereſt, and aſſumed no more power than if he had been one of their deputies. Several parts of *Armenia* were ſubjected to the neighbouring kings, *Pharaſmenes*, *Polemon*, *Ariſtobulus*, and *Antiochus*, by way of reward for their ſervices againſt *Tiridates* and the *Parthians*.

Vologeſes

Vologeſes, in the mean time, hearing that his brother was driven from the throne, ſent a powerful army into *Armenia*, under the conduct of *Moneſes*, while he, at the head of another army, intended to make an inroad into *Syria*. *Moneſes*, however, being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Tigranocerta*, and *Vologeſes* being prevented from paſſing the *Euphrates*, the *Parthians* ſued for peace. Soon after *Vologeſes* concluded a peace with the *Hyrcanians*, and turned all his forces againſt the *Romans*, with a deſign to recover *Armenia*. *Cæſennius Pætus* marched with two legions to the aſſiſtance of *Tigranes*, but was ſoon obliged to retire for want of proviſions. *Vologeſes*, in the mean time, being prevented from entering *Syria* by *Corbulo*, who had guarded the paſſage of the *Euphrates*, marched againſt *Pætus*, whom he beſieged in his winter-quarters. *Pætus* agreed, on condition the ſiege was raiſed, to evacuate *Armenia*, and to deliver up all his ſtores, and the fortreſſes in his poſſeſſion to the *Parthians*, who accordingly allowed him to withdraw into *Cappadocia*.

After the defeat of *Pætus*, *Corbulo* withdrew his ſeveral garriſons from beyond the *Euphrates*, as *Vologeſes* had agreed to evacuate *Armenia*. Thus the *Armenians* were left, both by the *Parthians* and *Corbulo*, to their own diſpoſal, *Tigranes* having died ſoon after the invaſion of the *Parthians*. About the ſame time, ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from *Vologeſes*, who requeſted the kingdom of *Armenia* for his brother; but the *Romans*, inſtead of granting his requeſt, ordered *Corbulo* to make war on the *Parthians*, commanding all the kings and tetrarchs in the eaſt, and the governors of the neighbouring provinces, to pay entire obedience to the orders of *Corbulo*.

The *Roman* general invaded *Armenia* the following ſpring with a powerful army, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into the whole country, that *Tiridates* ſent ambaſſadors to demand a ceſſation of arms, and a day and place for a conference. At this interview it was agreed, that *Tiridates* ſhould reſign the royal diadem before the image of *Cæſar*, never to reſume it more, except from the hand of *Nero*. *Tiridates*, having accordingly reſigned his crown, and left his daughter as a hoſtage, proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received by *Nero* with the utmoſt magnificence, and entertained, during his ſtay in that city, at the expence of above 6000 pounds a day.

The *Romans* again invade *Armenia*.

On the day appointed for his inauguration, the emperor appeared at the *Roſtra*, ſitting in a curule chair, attired with a triumphal habit, and ſurrounded by his guards, and the cohorts. *Tiridates* falling down at his feet, was immediately raiſed by the emperor, who honoured him with a kiſs. The *Parthian* prince then addreſſing himſelf to *Nero*, and begging him to beſtow upon him the kingdom of *Armenia*, which he ſhould always acknowledge as a gift of *Rome*, *Nero* with his own hand placed the diadem on his head. From the *Roſtra* they proceeded to the theatre, where the emperor placed *Tiridates*, after he had renewed his ſupplication, on his right hand. *Nero*, when *Tiridates*

Tiridates crowned by the emperor *Nero*.

dates left *Rome*, preſented him with a ſum, to the amount of near 800,000 pounds, to defray the expences of his journey. He not only allowed him to rebuild the city of *Artaxata*, but ordered ſuch *Roman* builders and artificers as the king deſired, to attend him into *Armenia*. By the direction and aſſiſtance of theſe, the king reſtored that city to its former ſplendor, and by way of acknowlegment called it *Neronia*. *Tiridates* was ever afterwards faithful to the *Romans*, who aſſiſted him in recovering great part of his kingdom, taken from him by the *Albani*. He reigned nine years after his return from *Rome*, and was ſucceeded by ſeveral kings, who held the crown as vaſſals of the *Roman* empire.

Armenia made a *Roman* province.

The emperor *Trajan* adding *Meſopotamia* to the *Roman* dominions, reduced the antient kingdom of *Armenia* to the form of a province; but it ſoon recovered its liberty, and was again governed by its own kings in the reigns of *Conſtantine* the Great and his ſucceſſor, to whom the kings of *Armenia* were feudatories. In the reign of *Juſtin* II. the *Saracens* ſubdued and held it till the irruption of the *Turks*, who poſſeſſed themſelves of this kingdom, and gave it the name of *Turcomania*. While the *Turks* were engaged in a war againſt *Perſia*, the *Armenians* again ſet up kings of their own, by whom they were governed, till the country was ſubdued by *Occadan*, or *Heceata*, the ſon of *Cingis*, the firſt cham of the *Tartars*. *Armenia*, however, was not ſo abſolutely conquered by the *Tartars*, but that ſome of the race of their kings ſtill remained, as we find mention made of *Leo*, king of *Armenia*, who, in the reign of *Richard* II. came into *England* to ſue for aid againſt the *Turks*. In the year 1472 of the chriſtian æra, *Uſſan Caſſanes*, king of *Armenia*, ſucceeding to the crown of *Perſia*, made *Armenia* a province of that empire, in which ſtate it continued till the year 1522, when it was ſubdued by *Selim* II. and made a province of the *Turkiſh* empire. Since that time it has ever remained ſubject to the *Turks*, except the caſtern part, which the *Perſians* are maſters of at this day.

A ſhort account of *Armenia* the leſſer.

Armenia Minor was parted from *Armenia Major* by the *Euphrates*, and was bounded on the ſouth by mount *Taurus*, being ſeparated on the weſt and north from *Cappadocia* by a long chain of mountains, called in different places *Mons Scordiſcus*, *Amanus*, and *Antitaurus*. This country, which is very mountainous, though here and there interſperſed with pleaſant and fruitful vales, was a part of *Cappadocia* till the reign of *Antiochus* the Great, when *Zadriades* and *Artaxias*, ſeizing on *Armenia*, and adding to it ſome of the neighbouring provinces, introduced the diſtinction of *Armenia* the greater and leſſer. In the time of the *Romans* it was divided into theſe four provinces, *Laviana*, *Mariana*, *Aravena*, and *Melitene*, each of which had their ſeveral cities, all mentioned by *Ptolemy*.

The firſt that reigned in *Armenia Minor* was *Zadriades*, who, entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, was maintained by them on the throne which he had uſurped. His poſterity held

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the kingdom till the reign of *Tigranes* I. king of the greater *Armenia*, by whom *Artanes*, the laſt king of the *Zadriadan* race, was ſlain in battle. *Tigranes* was ſoon driven out by *Pompey*, who beſtowed *Armenia Minor* upon *Dejotarus*, tetrarch of *Galatia*, for his eminent ſervices during the *Mithridatic* war. *Dejotarus* lived in great intimacy with *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, *Muræna*, *Cato*, *Cicero*, and *Brutus*. He proved very ſerviceable to *Cicero* in the *Cilician* war, and in the civil war ſided with *Pompey*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battle of *Pharſalia*. During his abſence, *Pharnaces*, king of *Pontus*, conquered *Armenia Minor*; but he was ſoon driven out by *Cæſar*, who, at the requeſt of *Brutus*, pardoned *Dejotarus*, and reſtored *Armenia* to him, obliging him, however, to pay a large ſum of money, and to quit *Galatia*. He was afterwards accuſed at *Rome* by *Caſtor*, his daughter's ſon, as if he and his ſon had formed a deſign to murder *Cæſar* during his ſtay in *Galatia*; but was cleared from that charge by *Cicero*. *Dejotarus* revenged this calumny with the death of his daughter and her huſband. After *Cæſar*'s death, having bribed *Fulvia*, the wife of *Mark Anthony*, he recovered whatever he had forfeited for ſiding with *Pompey*. He ſoon after ſent a body of troops to join *Brutus*; but *Amyntas*, who commanded them, went ſtreight to *Anthony*'s camp, whereupon, after the defeat of *Brutus*, *Dejotarus* was allowed to hold *Armenia*. After his death, the tetrarchy of *Galatia* was beſtowed upon *Amyntas*. *Dejotarus* II. reigned together with his father, and was no leſs addicted to the *Romans* than he, having been brought up by *Cato*, as *Plutarch* informs us. Upon his death, the family of *Dejotarus* being extinct, the kingdom of *Armenia Minor* was firſt given to *Artuaſdes*, king of *Media*, and afterwards by *Mark Anthony* to *Polemon*, king of *Pontus*, whoſe ſucceſſors were *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian*, and *Cotys* of *Boſphorus*. *Nero* beſtowed this kingdom on *Ariſtobulus*, great grandſon of *Herod* the Great, upon whoſe death it fell to *Tigranes*, his near relation. He dying without iſſue, *Armenia Minor* was, by *Veſpaſian*, made a province of the *Roman* empire, and continued ſo till the diviſion of the empire, when it was ſubjected to the emperors of the eaſt. On the decline of their power, it was firſt ſubdued by the *Perſians*, and afterwards by the *Turks*, who gave it the name of *Gerech*, and have held it ever ſince.

CHAP. IV.

The hiſtory of the kingdom of PONTUS.

THIS country is ſuppoſed to have derived its name from the neighbouring ſea, which, being the greateſt that was known to the antient inhabitants of that country, was called *Pontus*,

Pontus, or the ſea, by way of excellency; whence the whole country extending along the coaſt was formerly, as *Strabo* informs us, called *Pontus*.

The bounds of *Pontus*.

The proper *Pontus* was bounded by the *Euxine* ſea on the north, by *Armenia Minor* on the ſouth, by *Colchis* on the eaſt, and by the river *Halys* on the weſt. *Ptolemy* divides this country into three parts, namely, *Pontus Galaticus*, *Pontus Polemoniacus*, and *Pontus Cappadocius*.

Its chief cities.

The chief cities of the firſt diviſion were *Amiſus*, *Amaſia*, ſeated among mountains at three miles diſtance from the river *Iris*; *Themiſcyra*, now *Fanagoria*, ſeated on the ſea-coaſt ſixty miles north-eaſt of *Amaſia*; *Cabira*, memorable for the defeat of *Mithridates* by *Lucullus*, and afterwards called *Dioſpolis*; and *Comana Pontica*, ſeated near the ſouth borders of this province. In *Pontus Polemoniacus*, which extended from the river *Thermodon* to the country of the *Chalybes*, ſtood *Neocæſaria*, *Sebaſtia*, *Zela*, ſeated near the river *Lycus*, and afterwards called *Megalopolis*, and *Polemonium*, a famous town and harbour built by *Polemon*. In *Pontus Cappadocius*, which was ſo called from adjoining to *Cappadocia*, the chief cities were *Ceraſus*, whence cherries were firſt brought into *Italy* by *Lucullus*; *Tripoli*, about three miles from the coaſt, and *Trapezus*, or *Trebiſond*, called now *Taraboſan*. This laſt, which was ſeated in a peninſula on the ſea-coaſt, and ſurrounded by ſteep mountains, was a *Greek* city, and antiently of great note. In the middle ages it became famous for the court of the *Greek* emperors, of the family of the *Commeni*, who retired thither when the *Latins* reduced *Conſtantinople*.

The chief rivers of *Pontus* are the *Halys*, which divides *Pontus* from *Paphlagonia*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Euxine* ſea, not far from *Amiſus*; the *Iris*, now *Caſalmae*; and the *Thermodon*, a river famous among the antients for watering the little empire of the *Amazons*. The air of this country is reckoned very wholeſome, and the ſoil in many places fruitful. The hills are, for the moſt part, covered with olive or cherry trees, and the plain abounds with all ſorts of grain.

The firſt inhabitants of *Pontus*. Their arts, &c.

The antient inhabitants of this country are commonly believed to have been the deſcendants of *Tubal*; but, in proceſs of time, *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Greeks*, and other foreign nations, mixt with them. All we know, as to their arts and manufactures, is, that the inhabitants of *Pontus Cappadocius*, called *Chalybes*, are celebrated by the antients for their extraordinary ſkill in working of iron, and making of ſteel armour, whence they are ſaid to have had their name. They were likely a trading people, having many convenient harbours in the *Euxine* ſea, and great ſtore of timber, proper for building of ſhips, growing on the coaſts. Their chief deities were *Ceres*, *Jupiter*, and *Neptune*, to whom they offered burnt ſacrifices, pouring on the fire honey, milk, oil, and wine.

The petty kings, who governed antiently in this country, were firſt ſubdued, according to *Diodorus*, by *Ninus*. The *Medes* and *Perſians* were, in their turns, maſters of this and all the

the countries bordering on the *Euxine* ſea. The *Perſians* divided *Cappadocia* into ſatrapies or governments, and beſtowed that ſatrapy, afterwards named *Pontus* by the *Macedonians*, on one of the anceſtors of *Mithridates*. This is ſuppoſed to have happened in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, who conferred this new kingdom on one *Artabazes*, of the royal family of *Perſia*. The *Pontic* kings paid tribute to the *Perſians*, and were in a manner their vaſſals, till the reign of *Ariobarzanes*, who ſhook off the *Perſian* yoke, and greatly enlarged his ſmall kingdom. *Mithridates* VII. was afterwards looked upon as one of the moſt powerful princes that ever reigned in the eaſt, having held out for forty years together againſt the *Romans*.

Artabazes, whom *Darius Hyſtaſpes* preferred to the crown of *Pontus*, is ſaid to have been a deſcendant of one of the ſeven competitors for the kingdom of *Perſia*, upon the death of *Cambyſes*. *Artabazes Pontus.*

The next king of *Pontus* mentioned by hiſtorians is *Rhodobates*, who is ſaid to have reigned in the time of *Darius Nothus*, whence it is plain, that he was not the immediate ſucceſſor of *Artabazes*, as *Darius Nothus* was about eighty years later than *Darius Hyſtaſpes*. *Rhodobates.*

Rhodobates was ſucceeded by *Mithridates* I. who refuſing to pay the uſual tribute to *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, king of *Perſia*, was by him overcome in battle; but a peace was ſoon after concluded between them by the mediation of *Tiſſaphernes*. Having entered into an alliance with *Clearchus*, afterwards tyrant of *Heraclea*, he was treacherouſly ſeized by him in that city, and detained priſoner, till ſuch time as he paid a large ſum for his ranſom. *Mithridates* I.

Mithridates was ſucceeded by *Ariobarzanes*, who, being appointed governor of *Lydia*, *Ionia*, and *Phrygia* by *Artaxerxes*, employed the forces that were under his command againſt his prince, and to the kingdom of *Pontus* added great part of the neighbouring provinces. *Autophrades*, ſent againſt him by *Artaxerxes*, laid ſiege to *Aſſos*, while *Cotys*, king of *Paphlagonia*, ſat down before *Seſtos*; but they were both obliged to withdraw by *Ageſilaus*, and *Timothæus* the *Athenian*, whom *Ariobarzanes* had with great promiſes invited to his aſſiſtance. The king rewarded *Ageſilaus* with a great ſum of money, and beſtowed on *Timothæus* the cities of *Erithon* and *Seſtos*. He uſed his utmoſt endeavours, as *Demoſthenes* informs us, to reconcile the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans*; but not being able to bring the *Thebans* to any reaſonable terms, he aſſiſted the *Lacedæmonians* with immenſe ſums of money. He was murdered, as we read in *Ariſtotle*, (Polit. lib. v.) in the 28th year of his reign by one *Mithridates*. *Alexander* the Great, being then in *Aſia*, ſeized the kingdom of *Pontus*; but after his death it was recovered by *Mithridates* II. ſon to *Ariobarzanes*. *Antigonus*, in whoſe retinue he was, having reſolved to cut him off in conſequence of a dream, *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Antigonus*, warned him to fly. He accordingly withdrew into *Paphlagonia*, where he poſſeſſed himſelf *Ariobarzanes.* *Mithridates* II.

himself of a strong hold named *Ciniatum*. His army growing daily stronger, he made an irruption into *Cappadocia*, and from thence entered his paternal kingdom, which, in spite of all the efforts of *Antigonus*, he held for 26 years, and transmitted to his posterity. He is said to have lived to the age of eighty-four years, and was succeeded by his son

Mithridates III. who added to the kingdom of *Pontus* all *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*. After several unsuccessful attempts upon *Heraclea*, he entered into an alliance with the inhabitants of that city. He reigned thirty-six years, and left the kingdom to his son

Ariobarzanes II. who made war on the *Galatians*, but with what success is uncertain.

Mithridates IV. succeeded his father *Ariobarzanes* II. As he was then very young, the *Galatians* invaded his kingdom; but being frustrated in an attempt against *Heraclea*, they returned home, and gave *Mithridates* an opportunity to recover what they had seized.

Mithridates V. the son and successor of *Mithridates* IV. made war on the inhabitants of *Sinope*, a *Greek* city on the coast of *Paphlagonia*, but afterwards abandoned that enterprize. He entered into a strict alliance with *Antiochus* the Great, who married one of his daughters, by name *Laodice*.

His son, *Pharnaces* I. who succeeded him, took the city of *Sinope* by storm, and afterwards invaded the territories of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, a great friend and ally of the *Romans*. *Eumenes* having secured his dominions against any further attempts of *Pharnaces*, by entering into an alliance with *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, the king of *Pontus* sent deputies to *Rome* to complain of *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes*, as if they had been the aggressors. Hereupon *Marcius*, and other *Roman* citizens of great integrity, were sent into *Asia* as umpires between the contending parties; but the ambassadors sent by *Pharnaces* to the conferences started so many difficulties, that nothing could be settled.

Marcius and the *Romans* returning to *Rome*, *Eumenes* again took the field, and *Pharnaces* sent *Leocritus*, his commander in chief, with 10,000 men to lay waste *Galatia*. *Leocritus*, on his march, besieged the city of *Teios*, and the garrison capitulating, he promised to convey them, with their arms and effects, to what place they should chuse; but after their departure having received orders from *Pharnaces* to put them to the sword, he pursued them, and slew them all to a man. *Seleucus*, king of *Syria*, had engaged to assist *Pharnaces*; but the *Roman* ambassadors reminding him of the articles stipulated between his father *Antiochus* and their republic, he thought it prudent not to pass mount *Taurus*. The kings of *Pergamus* and *Cappadocia*, in the mean time, being supported by the *Romans*, *Pharnaces* was soon obliged to sue for peace, which was granted him on the following conditions: That he should evacuate *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*, restore to *Ariarathes* all his subjects whom he had carried

carried into captivity, and all the places he had taken during the war; that he ſhould reſtore to *Morzias*, a petty king in thoſe parts, and to *Ariarathes*, the 900 talents which he had ſeized in the war, and pay down 300 more to *Eumenes*. *Artaxias*, king of *Armenia*, who had aſſiſted *Pharnaces*, was obliged to pay 300 talents to *Ariarathes*. In this treaty were compriſed *Artaxias*, king of *Armenia*, *Gatalus*, king of *Sarmatia*, *Acuſilochus*, another petty king, and the free cities of *Heraclea*, *Meſembyra*, *Cherſoneſus*, and *Cyzicus* *. The city of *Sinope* remained to *Pharnaces*, who died ſoon after the peace; and left his kingdom to his ſon *Mithridates*.

Mithridates VI. was the firſt king of *Pontus*, who entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, and ſent them a conſiderable ſupply of ſhips in their third war with the *Carthaginians*. He likewiſe proved a faithful ally to them in the war which they carried on againſt *Ariſtonicus*, who, upon the death of *Attalus*, claimed the kingdom of *Pergamus*. On this conſideration, he was rewarded with *Phrygia Major*, and honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. After a long and proſperous reign, he was treacherouſly murdered by ſome of his intimate acquaintance. He left two ſons, the elder of whom, named alſo *Mithridates*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom of *Pontus*, and is generally counted one of the greateſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre.

Mithridates VI. — Is treacherouſly murdered.

Mithridates VII. ſurnamed the Great, was, according to *Strabo*, eleven years old, according to *Eutropius* twelve, and according to *Memnon* thirteen, when he came to the throne. His father, by his will, appointed him and his mother, joint heirs to the kingdom; but he claiming the whole, threw his mother into priſon, where he kept her under cloſe confinement, till, through hard uſage, ſhe ended her days. Thoſe to whom the care of his education was committed, obſerving him to be of a cruel and unruly temper, made various attempts on his life; but he was always on his guard againſt all manner of treachery, without ſhewing the leaſt diffidence. From his infancy he ſo accuſtomed himſelf to take poiſon, that in his old age no poiſon could hurt him. In his youth, to inure his body to hardſhips, he applied himſelf to the manly exerciſe of hunting, paſſing whole months in the open fields, and often taking his reſt amidſt the frozen ſnow. When he came of age, he married his own ſiſter *Laodice*, and had by her a ſon named *Pharnaces*.

Mithridates VII. Bef. Chriſt 124.

He inures himſelf to hardſhip in his youth.

As he aſpired to the empire of all *Aſia*, he now undertook a progreſs through the various kingdoms of that great continent, with a deſign to obſerve the cuſtoms, laws, and manners of the inhabitants, to learn their different languages, whereof he is ſaid to have ſpoken twenty-two, to take an eſtimate of their ſtrength, and above all, to view narrowly their ſtrong holds and

Makes a progreſs through the kingdoms of *Aſia*.

* Polyb. legat. 99.

fortified

fortified towns. Having ſpent in this journey three years, his wife *Laodice*, upon a falſe report of his death, gave herſelf up to all manner of lewdneſs, and, to conceal her guilt, welcomed him, on his return, with a poiſoned potion, which had no other effect than to incenſe him more againſt her. He cauſed her, and all thoſe who were any ways acceſſary to her incontinence and diſloyalty, to be put to death.

He invades *Paphlagonia*, and *Galatia*.

He began to put his vaſt deſigns in execution, by invading the neighbouring kingdom of *Paphlagonia*, which he divided with his friend and ally, *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*. As the *Romans* had not long before declared *Paphlagonia* a free ſtate, they ſent ambaſſadors to both kings, enjoining them to withdraw their forces, and reſtore that nation to its former condition, threatning war in caſe of refuſal. *Mithridates*, inſtead of minding their threats, marched directly into *Galatia*, which he made himſelf maſter of, though it was at that time under the protection of the *Romans*. He next hired one *Gordius*, who privately diſpatched *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, who had married his ſiſter. Upon the death of *Ariarathes*, *Nicomedes* invaded *Cappadocia*, drove out the ſon of the deceaſed king, and married his widow, in hopes of eſtabliſhing himſelf by that means on the throne.

He drives *Nicomedes* out of *Cappadocia*.

Mithridates, under pretence of reſtoring his nephew, made war upon *Nicomedes*, and drove him quite out of *Cappadocia*. As it was not known that he had any hand in the murder of *Ariarathes*, and he had gained the reputation of humanity by the war, out of a regard to public fame, he reſtored the kingdom of *Cappadocia* to its lawful owner; but ſoon after repenting of what he had done, he began to ſeek ſome pretence of quarrelling with his nephew.

With this view, he preſſed him to recal his father's murderer from baniſhment; but the young prince refuſing to comply with that requeſt, matters by degrees were brought to that paſs, that both princes took the field. *Mithridates* entered *Cappadocia* with a moſt powerful army; but finding his nephew prepared to oppoſe him, he invited him to a conference, in which he ſtabbed him with a dagger, in the preſence of both armies. The *Cappadocians* were ſtruck with ſuch terror and amazement at this barbarity, that they immediately threw down their arms, and ſuffered *Mithridates* to take poſſeſſion of their kingdom, which he conferred on his ſon, a child but eight years old, appointing *Gordius* governor of the kingdom, and guardian of his ſon. The *Cappadocians*, diſdaining to be ruled by a public aſſaſſin, ſhook off the tyrannical yoke, and placed on the throne the brother of their late king; but they were ſoon after again brought under ſubjection by *Mithridates*. The young prince, who was the laſt of the family of *Pharnaces*, which had reigned in *Cappadocia* from the time of *Cyrus* the Great, died of grief *.

He murders his nephew, and ſeizes *Cappadocia*.

* Appian. Mithridat. Juſtin. lib. xxxvii. xxxviii.

Nicomedes

Nicomedes, being now very jealous of the enterprizing ſpirit of *Mithridates*, ſuborned a youth, of a comely and majeſtic aſpect, to paſs himſelf upon the *Romans* for the ſon of *Ariarathes*, as if he had left three ſons, and not two only. The youth, being well inſtructed how to behave himſelf, and what he ſhould ſay, ſet out for *Rome*. *Laodice* depoſing that the youth was her youngeſt ſon by her huſband *Ariarathes*, the ſenate, after hearing the young man, promiſed to eſpouſe his cauſe, and never to forſake him till he was reinſtated in the kingdom of his forefathers. The cheat, however, being ſoon after diſcovered by *Gordius*, whom *Mithridates* had ſent to *Rome*, the ſenate began to ſuſpect both kings, and commanded *Mithridates* to relinquiſh *Cappadocia*, and *Nicomedes Paphlagonia*, both which ſtates were declared free. The *Cappadocians*, however, proteſting that they could not live without a king, were allowed to chuſe one of their own body, and accordingly conferred the crown on *Ariobarzanes*.

L. Cornelius Sylla was ſoon after ſent by the *Romans* into *Cappadocia*, under pretence of an embaſſy, but in reality to watch the motions of *Mithridates*. *Sylla*, with a handful of men, defeated *Gordius*, and ſettled *Ariobarzanes* on the throne. Upon the departure of *Sylla*, *Mithridates* ſtirred up *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, againſt *Ariobarzanes*, who was obliged to fly to *Rome*. *Tigranes* placed a-new on the throne *Ariarathes*, ſon to *Mithridates*, and reſtored all things to the ſtate they were in before the arrival of *Sylla*. *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, dying about the ſame time, *Mithridates* invaded that kingdom, and placed on the throne his own brother *Socrates*, ſurnamed *Chreſtus*, or the *Thrifty*. *L. Sylla* arrives in *Aſia*. Bef. Ch. 91.

The natural ſon of the late king, who was alſo named *Nicomedes*, flying to *Rome*, the *Romans* decreed that both he and *Ariobarzanes* ſhould be reſtored to their kingdoms. In purſuance of this decree, the two kings were reinſtated in their dominions by *Manius Aquilius* and *Marcus Aitinius*, two *Roman* legates, who charged them to make frequent inroads into the neighbouring territories of *Mithridates*. This king, not thinking himſelf then a match for the *Romans*, ſuffered his brother and his ſon to be driven out of the kingdoms which they had uſurped, and allowed *Nicomedes* to ravage his dominions, without making any oppoſition, that he might not ſeem the aggreſſor in his war with the *Romans*. Having complained of the hoſtilities of *Nicomedes* to the *Roman* legates, who returned a contemptuous anſwer, he immediately ſent his ſon with a powerful army into *Cappadocia*, and again drove out *Ariobarzanes*. Having at the ſame time ſent an embaſſy to *Rome* to complain of *Nicomedes*, the *Roman* ſenate, in their anſwer, juſtified the proceedings of the king of *Bithynia*, and ordered *Mithridates* to reſtore *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*. The *Romans* ſtrive to provoke *Mithridates*.

The legates in *Aſia*, in the mean time, drawing together what forces they could in *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Galatia*, and being joined by *Caſſius* governor of *Aſia*, took the field againſt him.

the field without waiting for the determination of the ſenate. *Caſſius* encamped on the confines of *Bithynia* with 40,000 men; *Aquilius*, with an equal number of men, poſſeſſed himſelf of the avenues leading from *Pontus* into *Bithynia*; and *Q. Oppius*, with other 40,000 men, ſecured the entrance into *Cappadocia*, while the *Roman* admirals lay with a fleet of 300 ſail at *Byzantium*. *Nicomedes* marched alſo to their aſſiſtance with 50,000 foot and 6000 horſe.

Mithridates aſſembles a numerous army.

Mithridates, on the other hand, having enticed many of the neighbouring nations to join him againſt the *Romans*, found at the general rendezvous 250,000 foot, 50,000 horſe, 130 chariots armed with ſcythes, 300 ſhips, and 100 gallies. *Nicomedes*, as he was on his march to take poſſeſſion of an important poſt, was attacked by the forces of *Mithridates*, and after an obſtinate engagement entirely defeated, with the loſs of the greateſt part of his men. *Nicomedes* being thus driven out of the field, *Mithridates* diſpatched part of his army to fall upon *Aquilius*. The *Roman* legate, hazarding a battle, was entirely defeated, with the loſs of 10,000 men, and ſaving himſelf by ſwimming over the river *Sangarius*, arrived at *Pergamus* with a ſmall body of horſe, the reſt of his army being totally diſperſed. Upon the news of this double overthrow, the other *Roman* generals abandoned their poſts, and left *Mithridates* maſter of the field. The fleet alſo diſperſed, and the greater number of the ſhips were either taken or ſunk by the king's admirals.

Defeats the *Roman* generals,

and over-runs all *Aſia*.

Mithridates did not neglect to improve his preſent advantages, but immediately over-ran all *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Aſia Proper*, *Caria*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Bithynia*, and whatever other countries in *Aſia* either belonged to, or had ſided with the *Romans*. He was received every where with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and ambaſſadors came flocking to him from all parts, his kind treatment of the *Aſiatic* priſoners on the one hand, and his known averſion to the *Romans* on the other, making them confide in him as a ſure deliverer. The inhabitants of *Laodicea* on the *Lycus*, at his deſire, ſent *Q. Oppius*, the *Roman* governor of *Pamphylia*, to him in chains, and ſoon after the *Leſbians* ſent *Manius Aquilius* to him in fetters, with many other *Romans* of diſtinction. As he had been the chief author of the war, *Mithridates* led him about with him, either bound on an aſs, or on foot, coupled to a public malefactor, and when he arrived at *Pergamus*, cauſed him to be publicly whipt, afterwards to be put upon the rack, and then to be put to death, by pouring melted gold down his throat. The free cities of *Aſia* now opened their gates to *Mithridates*, who was received at *Magneſia*, *Mitylene*, and *Epheſus* with loud acclamations. His generals too were attended with like ſucceſs, and voluntarily contributed ſuch large ſums of money to defray the expences of the war, that he was enabled to maintain ſeveral numerous armies for the ſpace of five years, without levying any taxes on his ſubjects.

As

As many *Romans* were diſperſed all over *Aſia*, *Mithridates* reſolved to rid himſelf of them at one time by a moſt cruel and barbarous method. He accordingly diſpatched private letters in *Aſia* to all the governors and magiſtrates of the cities where the *Romans* reſided, enjoining them, on pain of death and utter deſtruction of their country, to cauſe all the *Italian* race, women and children not excepted, to be murdered on the 30th day from the date of his letters, and to let their bodies lie unburied in the open fields. One moiety of their goods was to be forfeited to the king, and the other beſtowed as a reward on the aſſaſſins. Whatever ſlave murdered his maſter was to receive his liberty; and one half of the debt was to be remitted to the debtor that ſhould kill his creditor.

Orders all to be maſſacred. Bef. Ch. 88.

As moſt of the *Aſiatics* bore a mortal hatred to the *Romans*, and were moreover animated by the promiſe of an ample reward, the king's orders were without delay put in execution. The inhabitants of *Epheſus*, where *Mithridates* then reſided, dragged ſuch as had taken ſanctuary in *Diana*'s temple from the very ſtatue of the goddeſs, and put them to death. The *Pergamenians* diſcharged ſhowers of darts upon them, as they embraced the ſtatues in the temple of *Æſculapius*. The *Trallians* were the only people on the continent, who could not find in their hearts to embrue their hands in the blood of their innocent gueſts; but as the king's orders were peremptory, they hired one *Theophilus*, a *Paphlagonian*, to diſpatch the few *Romans* that lived among them. Many *Romans* were ſaved on the floating iſlands of *Lydia*, called *Calaminæ*, where they concealed themſelves, till ſuch time as they found an opportunity of eſcaping out of *Aſia*. Nevertheleſs, 150,000 *Roman* citizens were maſſacred that day, according to *Plutarch* and *Dion*, but according to others, only 80,000 *.

After this bloody and inhuman maſſacre, *Mithridates* embarked, with part of his forces, in order to reduce the adjacent iſlands. The *Coans* received him with great joy, and delivered up to him *Alexander*, a young *Egyptian* prince, whoſe father *Alexander* had been driven from the throne of *Egypt*. *Mithridates* gave the young prince an education ſuitable to his birth, but kept for himſelf the vaſt treaſures which belonged to him. From *Cos* the king ſteered his courſe to the iſland of *Rhodes*, where all the *Romans* who had eſcaped out of *Aſia* found a ſanctuary. The *Rhodians*, having aſſembled their fleet, ſailed to meet that of the king, and though inferior in number, repulſed the ſhips of *Mithridates*, the king himſelf, by an accident, being very near taken priſoner. He made a ſecond attempt to invade the iſland, but was again forced to retire with diſgrace.

Reduces ſeveral iſlands in the *Archipelago*.

* Appian. in Mithr. Cic. in orat. pro lege Manil. & pro Flac. Memnon in excerpt. Liv. lib. lxxviii. Vell. Pater. Flor. Appian. Plin. lib. ii. Dion. legat. Plut. in Syll.

Mithridates, having laid aſide all thoughts of reducing *Rhodes*, entruſted his generals with the command of his armies, and retired to *Pergamus*, there to ſettle the civil government of *Aſia*.

He ſends an army into *Greece*, and makes himſelf maſter of *Athens*. Bef. Ch. 87.

Archelaus, commander in chief of all his forces, was ſent into *Greece* with an army of 120,000 men, where he got poſſeſſion of *Athens*, and either put to the ſword, or ſent to *Mithridates*, all thoſe who favoured, or were ſuſpected to favour, the *Romans*. *Metrophanes*, another of the king's generals, entering *Eubœa*, laid waſte the whole country; but as he was ſailing off with a great booty, the governor of *Macedonia* coming up with him, ſunk ſome of his ſhips, and took others, putting all the priſoners to the ſword. *Mithridates*, upon the news of this loſs, ſent his ſon *Ariarathes* with a powerful army into *Macedonia*, which he ſoon reduced, together with the kingdom of *Thrace*. The generals which he ſent into other quarters were no leſs ſucceſsful; ſo that when the *Romans* returned into *Greece*, no leſs than twenty-five nations paid him homage, according to *Aulus Gellius*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Quintilian*.

The *Romans* were, at this time, involved in a civil war, which was carried on with great animoſity; but being informed that *Mithridates* deſigned to invade *Italy*, and had even been invited thither by the *Italians*, who had revolted from them, they began ſeriouſly to deliberate on the means of oppoſing ſo powerful an enemy. *Lucius Sylla*, being appointed general, put to ſea with five legions and a few cohorts, and landing in *Attica*, detached part of his forces to lay ſiege to *Athens*. After a long ſiege, the particulars of which we have formerly mentioned, he made himſelf maſter of the place, when he put to death all thoſe who had bore any employment under the king, or any ways violated the conſtitutions which the *Romans* had eſtabliſhed after the conqueſt of *Greece*.

Sylla recovers *Athens*,

As the fleet of *Mithridates* ſtill remained maſters of the ſea, *Sylla* ſent *Lucius Lucullus*, his lieutenant-general, to *Rhodes*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Cyprus*, where he collected a fleet that enabled the *Romans* to act offenſively by ſea. Soon after, *Taxiles* joining *Archelaus* with an army from *Macedonia*, engaged the *Romans* near *Chæronea*, when the king's troops were entirely defeated, with the loſs of 110,000 men, 10,000 of them having only eſcaped. The whole *Roman* army conſiſted but of 15,000 foot and 1500 horſe, and only twelve of them were ſlain in the action, as *Sylla* himſelf witneſſes in his commentaries. *Sylla*, ſoon after, in two other ſucceſſive engagements, gained two ſignal victories, in which the king's generals loſt upwards of 100,000 men, the *Romans* giving no quarter to men who had treated their fellow citizens after ſo barbarous a manner in *Aſia*.

and defeats his army in *Greece*.

In the laſt battle *Archelaus* lay three days ſtript and naked among the dead, till he found a veſſel, which carried him over into *Eubœa*. *Sylla* having plundered *Bœotia*, becauſe the inhabitants had favoured the enemy, took up his winter-quarters in *Theſſaly*, deſigning to paſs over into *Aſia* in the beginning of the ſpring, and drive from thence not only *Mithridates*, but alſo his

rival *Flaccus*, whom the ſenate had, in oppoſition to him, appointed governor of that province. According to *Livy*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Salluſt*, and *Strabo*, the great ſucceſs of *Sylla* in *Greece* was owing to the treachery of *Archelaus*, but *Sylla* and *Dio* endeavour to clear him from all ſuſpicion of betraying his truſt *.

Flaccus the conſul, in the mean time, being joined by the *Roman* allies in *Aſia*, had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Byzantium*, and from thence proceeded to *Bythinia*; but ſome differences happening betwixt him and his legate *Fimbria*, great part of his troops declared for *Fimbria*, who ſeizing him at *Nicomedia*, whither he had fled, cauſed him to be put to death. Upon the death of *Flaccus*, *Fimbria* took upon himſelf the command of all the *Roman* forces in *Aſia*, beſieged and took a great many towns, but at the ſame time practiſed ſo many cruelties, that he rendered himſelf every where odious. *Mithridates*, perceiving that the minds of the *Aſiatics* were alienated from the *Romans* by the cruelty of *Fimbria*, ſent a numerous army into *Aſia*, under the command of his ſon *Mithridates*, and three other experienced generals, *Taxiles*, *Diophantes*, and *Menander*. *Fimbria* hazarded a battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy, till night parted the two armies, when the *Romans* withdrew to the oppoſite ſide of a river to entrench themſelves. Meanwhile a dreadful ſtorm ariſing, *Fimbria* laid hold of that opportunity, and fording the river in the dead of the night, made ſuch havock of the enemy, as they lay in their tents, that only the commanders, and ſome few troops of horſe, eſcaped.

Flaccus ſent by the *Romans* into *Aſia*.

Fimbria, his legate, uſurps the command,

and defeats the troops of *Mithridates*.

Fimbria purſued them night and day without intermiſſion, entered *Pergamus* ſword in hand, and hearing that both *Mithridates* and his ſon had fled from thence a few hours before his arrival, he continued the purſuit, and would have taken the king a priſoner, had he not thrown himſelf, with a conſiderable body of horſe, into *Pitane*. *Fimbria* immediately inveſted the place by land, and diſpatched a meſſenger to *Lucullus*, who commanded the *Roman* fleet in thoſe parts, entreating him to block up the city by ſea; but *Lucullus*, being ſwayed by a party grudge more than by the good of the republic, refuſed to comply with his requeſt, though he might thereby put an end to a war which afterwards coſt the people of *Rome* ſo much blood and treaſure. The ſiege was continued by *Fimbria*; but before he could make himſelf maſter of the place, the king's fleet appeared, and, to the eternal diſgrace of *Lucullus*, carried off *Mithridates* to *Mitylene*. *Fimbria*, ſoon after the king's departure, took the place by ſtorm, and reducing moſt of the cities in *Aſia*, ſet large fines on ſuch as did not voluntarily ſubmit. The *Trojans* offered to ſubmit to *Sylla*, who promiſed to haſten into *Aſia*, and ſent a meſſenger to *Fimbria*, warning him not to moleſt thoſe who had

He recovers the greateſt part of *Aſia*.

* Liv. lib. xxxii. Aur. Vict. de vir. illuſt. c. 76. Salluſt. hiſt. lib. iv. Strab. lib. xii. & xvii. Plut. in Syll. Dio. legat.

ſubmitted to him. This embaſſy firing *Fimbria*'s haughty temper, he thereupon laid cloſe ſiege to *Troy*, and on the eleventh day took the city by ſtorm, when he put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, not ſparing even thoſe who had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Minerva*. He levelled the walls with the ground, ſet fire to the houſes and temples, and reduced the city to a heap of aſhes. He racked and murdered, in a moſt barbarous manner, thoſe who had been employed on the embaſſy to *Sylla*, and did not leave one perſon alive in the whole city that he could meet with.

Mithridates has an interview with *Sylla*.

Mithridates being thus preſſed by *Fimbria* in *Aſia*, and by *Sylla* in *Greece*, and his fleet being entirely defeated in two ſea engagements by *Lucullus*, charged *Archelaus* to conclude a peace with *Sylla*, who being very deſirous to return to *Rome*, where the adverſe faction prevailed, hearkened willingly to the propoſals made by *Archelaus*. *Sylla* propoſed as a preliminary, that *Mithridates* ſhould forthwith withdraw his garriſons from all the places that were not poſſeſſed by him before the war broke out, and that he ſhould alſo deliver up his fleet. *Mithridates* had an interview with *Sylla* at *Dardanus*, a city of *Troas*, and deſired that ſome alterations might be made in the articles propoſed; but the *Roman* general ſo terrified him with his paſſionate and threatning ſpeech, that he at length conſented, without exception, to all he required, and peace was concluded on the following terms: that *Mithridates* ſhould content himſelf with his paternal dominions; that he ſhould reſign *Bithynia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and releaſe without ranſom all the captives and priſoners he had made during the war; that he ſhould pay to the *Romans* two, or, according to *Memnon*, 3000 talents, and deliver up to *Sylla* 80 ſhips and 500 archers; laſtly, that he ſhould not any ways moleſt ſuch cities or perſons as had revolted from him during the war, and ſided with the *Romans*.

A peace concluded. Bef. Ch. 85.

Sylla, having now no other enemy to contend with, marched to *Thyatira*, where *Fimbria* lay entrenched, and ſummoned him to deliver up the army, as having taken the command upon him againſt the known laws of *Rome*. *Fimbria*, finding himſelf unable to oppoſe *Sylla*, ſuborned a ſlave to paſs into his camp as a deſerter, and there to ſtab him. The aſſaſſin, however, betraying himſelf through fear, *Fimbria*, who was abandoned by his troops, ſtole away to *Pergamus*, where he ſtabbed himſelf in the temple of *Æſculapius*; but the wound not proving mortal, one of his ſervants diſpatched him at his requeſt, and afterwards killed himſelf.

Sylla rewards the *Aſiatics* who had adhered to the *Romans*.

Sylla, having now an uncontrouled power in *Aſia*, declared the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Lycians*, *Magneſians*, and *Trojans*, whoſe city he rebuilt, a free people, and friends of the people of *Rome*; but on the other cities he laid heavy fines, condemning them to pay, in one year's time, 20,000 talents, and quartering his ſoldiers in the houſes of ſuch as had ſhewn any diſaffection to the *Romans*. By theſe impoſitions moſt of the inhabitants of *Aſia* were

were reduced to beggary, eſpecially the *Epheſians*, who had, above others, exerted their hatred againſt the *Romans*. *Sylla*, when he ſet ſail for *Italy*, left behind him in *Aſia*, *Lucullus*, with the character of quæſtor, and *Muræna* with that of prætor, conſigning to the latter the two legions that had ſerved under *Fimbria*.

Mithridates reduces the nations who had revolted from him.

Mithridates, returning into *Pontus*, reduced thoſe nations that had revolted during the war, beginning with the *Colchians*, who, upon the approach of his army, offered to ſubmit, provided he would appoint his ſon *Mithridates* king over them, which was no ſooner granted than they returned to their duty. The king, however, ſuſpecting, from the requeſt of the *Colchians*, that their revolt had been owing to his ſon's ambition, cauſed him to be put to death, without any regard to his eminent ſervices during the war. Soon after, under pretence of reducing the *Boſphori*, who had alſo revolted, he began to make ſuch preparations by ſea and land, as raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in the *Romans*. *Archelaus*, who was accuſed by the king of having granted more to *Sylla* than he ought to have done, flying for refuge to *Muræna*, and aſſuring him that theſe vaſt preparations were not deſigned againſt the *Boſphori*, prevailed upon him to be beforehand with the king in making war.

Muræna invades his territories.

Mithridates, being informed that he was on his march thro' *Cappadocia* to invade *Pontus*, ſent ambaſſadors to put him in mind of the peace; but *Muræna* replied, that he knew nothing of any articles, for *Sylla* had ſet down nothing in writing. He then began to waſte and plunder the country on the frontiers of *Pontus* towards *Cappadocia*, without ſparing even the temples or the treaſures conſecrated to the gods, and afterwards poſſeſſed himſelf of 400 villages belonging to the king, on the eaſt ſide of the *Halys*. *Mithridates* ſending ambaſſadors to *Rome* to complain of his hoſtilities, one *Callidius* returned with them, and, in a public aſſembly, commanded *Muræna*, in the name of the ſenate, to forbear moleſting a friend and ally of the *Roman* people; but as *Callidius* brought no decree, and called him aſide to a private conference, it was ſuppoſed that he adviſed him to continue the war. *Muræna* paid no regard to his public declaration, but made an attempt upon *Sinope*, the place where the king reſided, and the royal treaſures were kept, from whence, however, he was repulſed with loſs. *Mithridates* at length taking the field, ſoon after broke into the *Roman* camp, and forced them, with great ſlaughter, to ſave themſelves by flight over the mountains into *Phrygia*. Many of the cities of *Aſia*, upon this unexpected victory, again declared for *Mithridates*; but *Sylla*, in the mean time, being declared dictator, recalled *Muræna*, and appointed *Gabinius* to reconcile *Mithridates* and *Ariobarzanes*. An accommodation was accordingly effected, *Mithridates* giving his ſon, about four years of age, as an hoſtage to the *Cappadocian*.

Is put to flight by *Mithridates*,

After this accommodation, *Mithridates* ſubdued the *Boſphori*, and appointed *Machares*, one of his ſons, king of that country.

who reduces t

He then led his army againſt the *Achæans*, a *Greek* nation bordering on the *Colchi*; but was repulſed by them, with the loſs of the greateſt part of his army. On his return to *Pontus*, he made great preparations for another expedition into their country; but being informed of the death of *Sylla*, he thought it afforded him a proper opportunity for the recovery of thoſe countries which he had formerly reſigned. Having therefore induced his ſon-in-law *Tigranes* to invade *Cappadocia*, he himſelf entered *Paphlagonia* with an army of 120,000 foot, diſciplined after the *Roman* manner, 16,000 horſe, and 100 armed chariots. *Paphlagonia* readily ſubmitting to him, he marched from thence into *Bithynia*, which he alſo made himſelf maſter of, and then reduced the province of *Aſia*, which being oppreſſed with moſt exorbitant taxes, looked upon him as a deliverer. *Sertorius*, who commanded for the *Romans* in *Spain*, and was an enemy of *Sylla*, had ſent him *M. Marius*, or *Varius*, who had diſciplined his army. *Mithridates* now cauſed this *Roman* to walk before him with the conſular enſigns, by which means many cities ſided with him, without knowing that they revolted from the *Romans*. *Julius Cæſar*, in the mean time, who was then at *Rhodes* ſtudying oratory, gathered together what troops he could, and falling upon the king's forces, drove them quite out of *Aſia*.

Again invades the *Roman* territories.

Lucullus ſent againſt *Mithridates*. Bef. Ch. 74.

The ſenate, finding a new war unavoidable, committed the management of it to *Lucullus* the conſul, who had formerly been legate to *Sylla*. *Cotta*, the other conſul, was ſent with a fleet to guard the *Propontis*, and defend *Bithynia*. *Lucullus* brought one legion into *Aſia*, where he found four others, which having been inured to the luxury of that country, were at firſt very mutinous and refractory. While *Lucullus* was diſciplining his troops, *Mithridates* ſent a powerful army into *Cappadocia*, under the conduct of *Diophantus Mathorus*. In *Pontus*, *Marius* and *Eumachus*, two generals of great experience, commanded another army, and he himſelf was at the head of a third, conſiſting of 150,000 foot, 12,000 horſe, and 100 armed chariots. His fleet was compoſed of 400 ſhips of 30 oars, beſides a great many ſmaller veſſels.

Mithridates gains a victory over the *Romans*, and burns their fleet.

Mithridates directed his march firſt to *Chalcedon*, where *Cotta* lay with the *Roman* fleet. His two generals, *Marius* and *Eumachus*, defeating *Rutilius*, the legate of *Cotta*, and ſeveral other *Roman* commanders being routed by his troops, he ordered his admiral to ſail into the harbour of *Chalcedon*, and fire the *Roman* fleet, which he did accordingly, and carried off 60 of them. According to Memnon 8000 *Romans* were ſlain in this attack by ſea, and 4500 taken priſoners, beſides 5300 of the land forces, all *Italians*, who were either killed or taken priſoners, whereas *Mithridates* loſt in all but 730 men.

On the news of this defeat, which ſeemed to threaten the loſs of all *Aſia*, *Lucullus* immediately marched againſt the king; but as he found his forces very numerous, he declined an engagement, and kept on the defenſive. *Mithridates*, finding that he could

could not draw *Lucullus* to a battle, marched off in the night, and besieged the city of *Cyzicum*, which was greatly attached to the *Romans*, and in the defeat at *Chalcedon* had lost 3000 citizens. *Lucullus* attacked the king's army as they marched off, killed 10,000 of his men, and took 13,000 prisoners, and afterwards encamped on a rising ground within view of *Cyzicum*. *Marius*, the *Roman*, who had hitherto served *Mithridates*, now treacherously betrayed him, and advising him to withdraw his forces from an important pass, informed *Lucullus* that the pass was deserted. The *Roman* general thereupon seized an eminence, which cut off the communication betwixt the camp of *Mithridates* and the country. The army of *Mithridates* were soon reduced to such great straits for want of provisions, that they were obliged to feed on human flesh; but the king, being kept ignorant of their distress by his officers, continued the siege both by sea and land with great resolution. However, a great detachment of his army, which he sent to conduct a convoy of provisions from *Bithynia*, being cut off by the *Romans*, and the plague prevailing in his camp, he raised the siege, and sending off the greatest part of his army by land, he himself retired with the rest by sea. *Lucullus* overtook his army near the *Æsopus*, where he cut 20,000 of them to pieces, and made a great number of prisoners. According to *Eutropius*, the king lost in this siege 100,000 men; but *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Orosius* make his loss, during the campaign, to amount to 300,000 men.

Cyzicum besieged by *Mithridates*.

His army is blocked up by *Lucullus*.

He raises the siege with great loss.

Lucullus, after defeating the king's troops at the *Æsopus*, returned to *Cyzicum*, and from thence marched with his army along the coast of the *Hellespont*. Having equipped his fleet at *Troas*, he put to sea in chace of *Marius*, *Alexander*, and *Dionysius*, three of the king's generals, who were roving up and down the sea with a fleet of 50 ships, and 10,000 land forces on board. He attacked them near the island of *Lemnos*, took 32 ships, and put great part of the land forces to the sword. Next day the three generals, being discovered in a cave, were dragged from thence, and brought to *Lucullus*, who, after upbraiding *Marius* with fighting against his country, caused him to be put to death.

Lucullus gains a victory at sea.

Lucullus, hearing that *Mithridates* had appeared on the coast of *Bithynia*, steered his course thither; but the king, having timely notice of his design, made what haste he could to gain *Pontus*, and arrived at *Heraclea* on board of a pyrate, with whom he was forced to trust himself, his fleet being dispersed by a violent storm, by which he lost great numbers of his ships, and the flower of his troops. The *Romans*, at the same time, were very successful by land, *Triarius* having reduced *Apamea*, and the important city of *Prusias*. From *Prusias*, *Triarius* marched to join *Cotta*, who lay encamped near *Nicomedia*, where *Mithridates* himself then resided. Before the two armies joined, the king found means to make his escape first to *Heraclea*, which was betrayed to him by one *Lamachus*, and thence to *Sinope*.

His generals successful at land.

Lucullus marches into *Pontus*,

Lucullus having reduced almoſt all *Bythynia* and *Paphlagonia*, penetrated into *Pontus*. In this expedition he ſuffered greatly at firſt from flying parties of the enemy, but much more for want of proviſions; ſo that he was under a neceſſity of forcing 30,000 *Gallatians* to follow the army, each of them carrying a ſack of corn on his back. But as he marched on, ſubduing every place thro' which he paſſed, he at laſt met with ſuch plenty, that an ox was ſold in the camp for a drachma. *Lucullus* having refreſhed his troops, employed them for ſome time in waſting and deſtroying the country; which occaſioned ſome diſcontent among them, as they wanted to be in poſſeſſion of the cities, where they expected rich plunder. At length he inveſted at the ſame time *Amiſus*, *Eupatoria*, and *Themiſcyra*. *Eupatoria* was ſoon taken, but *Themiſcyra* made a moſt vigorous defence before it ſurrendered. *Lucullus* ſat down before *Amiſus* himſelf; but he did not preſs the ſiege, pretending that he wanted to give *Mithridates* an opportunity of aſſembling another army, that he might defeat him the more compleatly. *Mithridates* accordingly arrived within a few miles of *Amiſus*, with an army of 40,000 foot and 4000 horſe; which *Lucullus* being informed of, he left *Muræna*, the ſon of that *Muræna* who had ſerved under *Sylla*, to carry on the ſiege with two legions, and marched againſt the king. The cavalry of *Mithridates* attacking thoſe of the *Romans*, and defeating them with conſiderable loſs, the king was ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that he drew up his army in battalia for ſeveral days ſucceſſively; but finding that *Lucullus* declined an engagement, began to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking him. *Lucullus*, that he might not be forced to an engagement, decamped in the night, and being conducted thro' the paſſes by a *Greek* named *Apollodorus*, encamped in a very ſtrong poſt. *Mithridates* ſtill kept near him with his army, and ſoon diſtreſſed him for want of proviſions.

and takes ſome ſtrong places.

A large detachment of the *Romans*, however, which was ſent out to cover a convoy, defeating two of the king's generals, and conducting the convoy in triumph to the camp, *Mithridates* reſolved to retire. This reſolution he no ſooner imparted to his nobles, but they began privately to ſend away their moſt valuable goods; which the ſoldiers finding out, they crowded to the gates of the camp, and fell to plundering the baggage, killing thoſe that had the charge of it, without ſparing even their maſters. The troops, at the ſame time, ſtruck with a panick, ruſhed in confuſion out of the camp, and fled with precipitation. *Mithridates* was carried out of the camp with the preſſing of the crowd; but mounting on horſeback juſt as the *Romans* came up, he fled with a ſmall retinue, firſt to *Cabira*, and thence into *Armenia*, to *Tigranes* his ſon-in-law. *Lucullus* allowed his army to plunder the king's camp, and afterwards reduced the city of *Cabira*, and ſeveral other towns and fortreſſes, wherein he found great treaſures. *Mithridates* remembering

The army of *Mithridates* mutinies.

His camp taken and plundered.

mombering in his flight that he had left his ſiſters, wives, and concubines at *Pharnacia*, ſent *Bachidas*, an eunuch, thither, who put them all to death, according to his orders.

Lucullus purſued *Mithridates* for ſome days; but being informed that he was fled to *Tigranes*, he returned againſt *Amiſus*, which he at length made himſelf maſter of, by ordering the general aſſault to be given at that time of the day when it was cuſtomary for the ſoldiers to quit the works and refreſh themſelves. *Callimachus* the governor, who was a very expert engineer, and had defended the place with great bravery, finding it now untenable, ſet it on fire, and in the confuſion eſcaped. The *Romans* could not be prevailed upon by *Lucullus* to extinguiſh the flames, being ſo intent upon plundering the place. As the city was originally a colony of *Athens*, and many of the citizens were *Athenians*, who had lately abandoned their own country, *Lucullus*, before he left the place, repaired the ruins in great meaſure, and ſuffered the inhabitants peaceably to enjoy their houſes and lands.

The cities and fortreſſes of *Pontus* ſubmit to *Lucullus*.

Mithridates having now abandoned his own kingdom, his governors from all parts ſubmitted to the conqueror. Among theſe was the grandfather of *Strabo* the geographer, whom the king had diſobliged by putting to death *Tibias* his couſin-german, and his ſon *Theophilus*. He was a man of ſuch credit, that it was no ſooner heard he had abandoned the king's party, but fifteen other commanders delivered up to *Luculius* the places they had been entruſted with. *Triarius*, at the ſame time, intercepted a fleet coming from *Sertorius* in *Spain*, with ſupplies for the king, and took or ſunk ſixty of the ſhips off the iſland of *Tenedos*.

Triarius gains a victory at ſea, and takes *Heraclea*.

Meanwhile *Cotta*, after having long in vain attempted to make himſelf maſter of *Heraclea*, ſent orders to *Triarius* to block up the place by ſea, while his army carried on the attacks by land. *Triarius*, upon his arrival, defeating the *Heraclean* fleet, ſoon reduced the place to ſuch great ſtraits, that the third part of the garriſon died for hunger. The governor of the place being reſolved to purchaſe his own ſafety at the expence of the townſmen, ſoon after delivered up one of the gates to the *Romans*, who entering the city ſword in hand, exerciſed all manner of cruelty on the helpleſs inhabitants. *Cotta* hearing that the city was taken and plundered by *Triarius*, flew into a paſſion at ſeeing himſelf bereaved both of the rich booty and the glory of having reduced a place which had kept him employed two whole years, and marching in all haſte to the city, fell upon the *Romans*, who were buſy in plundering. *Triarius*, by promiſing *Cotta* and his men an equal ſhare in the booty, put a ſtop to the ſcuffle; but ſoon after marching out to recover ſome forts which the garriſon of *Heraclea* had ſeized, *Cotta*, in his abſence, plundered the city anew, rifled and ſtripped the temples, put all the citizens he could meet with to the ſword, and having ſecured all that was worth carrying away on board his ſhips, ſet fire to the city in ſeveral places, and reduced it to a heap of

aſhes.

aſhes. He had ſcarce got out of the harbour, when part of his ſhips being over-freighted with the ſpoils of the city, ſunk, and many others were daſhed by a violent north wind on the ſhore.

Lucullus reduces ſeveral nations on the borders of *Pontus*.

Lucullus, in the mean time, had reduced the *Chaldeans*, *Tibarenians*, and the inhabitants of *Armenia Minor*, and having ſent *Appius Claudius*, his wife's brother, ambaſſador to *Tigranes* to demand *Mithridates*, during his abſence he ſettled the affairs of *Pontus*, which he made a *Roman* province. *Tigranes*, tho' threatned with a war by *Claudius*, refuſed to deliver up *Mithridates*; and after the departure of the ambaſſador, he ſent for his father-in-law, and condeſcended to ſee him for the firſt time, after he had reſided a year and eight months in his dominions. In a private conference held by the two kings, it was agreed that *Tigranes* ſhould march againſt the *Romans*, and *Mithridates*, with 10,000 horſe, return into *Pontus*, to renew the war in that kingdom.

He defeats *Tigranes* in *Armenia*.

Lucullus, in the mean time, reſolving to penetrate into *Armenia*, left *Epheſus*, where he had ſpent the winter, and marched againſt *Sinope*, on the *Paphlagonian* coaſt, which ſtill held out for the king. Having quickly taken the place, he from thence proceeded to *Armenia*, and entirely defeated *Tigranes*, before he was joined by *Mithridates*. The two kings having joined after the battle, *Mithridates* encouraged *Tigranes* to raiſe new forces, which were accordingly aſſembled from all quarters, and the management of the war was committed to *Mithridates*. The king of *Pontus* having formed an army of 70,000 foot and 35,000 horſe, trained them up during the winter after the *Roman* diſcipline, and in the beginning of the ſpring left part of them with *Tigranes*, and marched with the reſt into *Pontus*,

Mithridates recovers ſeveral places.

where he recovered many important places, and defeated *M. Fabius*, whom *Lucullus* had appointed governor of that province. *Mithridates* being elated with this ſucceſs, which was chiefly owing to the unexpected revolt of the *Thracians* in the *Roman* ſervice, beſieged *Fabius* in the city of *Cabira*; but upon the approach of *Triarius*, he raiſed the ſiege, and withdrew to *Cappadocia*. *Triarius* followed him, and was attacked by him with great reſolution. The battle was for a long time doubtful; but a bridge, over which the barbarians paſſed to the attack,

He is defeated by the *Romans*.

breaking down, thoſe who were engaged with the *Romans* ſaw themſelves cut off from any farther ſupplies and began to give way, and the *Romans* charging them with vigour, they betook themſelves to flight.

During the winter *Mithridates* raiſed new forces, and receiving alſo conſiderable ſupplies from *Tigranes*, took the field early in the ſpring, in hopes of driving the *Romans* quite out of *Pontus*, before *Lucullus* could come to their aſſiſtance. He marched againſt *Triarius* and *Sornatius*, and offered them battle; but finding that they declined an engagement, he inveſted a caſtle where the *Romans* had left all their baggage; which ſo provoked them, that they in a manner forced *Triarius* to lead them out of their camp. When both armies were on the

point

point of engaging, they were prevented by a violent ſtorm. *Triarius*, however, hearing that *Lucullus* was approaching, reſolved to hazard an engagement, in hopes of having the honour of reducing the enemy.

Accordingly next morning he attacked the king's camp, He gains when after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, the *Roman* foot was forced another to give way, and was driven into a moraſs, where they were victory ſurrounded, and great numbers of them cut to pieces. Their over the horſe was likewiſe put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaugh- *Romans*. ter, till a *Roman* centurion in the king's ſervice, pitying his countrymen, attempted to kill *Mithridates*. The king's life was ſaved by his breaſt-plate: but as he received a deep wound in the thigh, and the retreat was immediately ſounded, the *Romans* thereby found an opportunity to eſcape, and left their camp to be plundered by the enemy. The centurion was immediately cut in pieces, and upwards of 7000 *Romans* were ſlain in the battle, and among them 150 centurions and 24 tribunes; the greateſt number of officers that had been loſt in any engagement to that day. *Mithridates*, that he might not be expoſed to ſuch dangers for the future, cauſed all the *Romans* in his ſervice to be put to death.

Notwithſtanding this victory, *Mithridates* induſtriouſly avoided coming to an engagement with *Lucullus* till the arrival of *Tigranes*, who was then on his march to join him with a powerful army. In all probability, however, if he had attacked *Lu-* The *Ro-*
cullus, he might have gained a ſecond victory, as the *Roman* *man* army
general had for ſome time loſt all authority among his troops, refuſes to
who had conceived a great averſion to him, becauſe his chief obey *Lu-*
attention had been to enrich himſelf, and put them upon hard *cullus*.
ſervice. As the diſcontents in the *Roman* army were well known at *Rome*, *Pompey*'s party were encouraged thereby to accuſe *Lucullus*, and at length were ſo ſucceſsful as to prevail with the ſenate to recall him, and appoint *Manius Acilius Glabrio*, conſul for that year, in his room. *Glabrio*, on his arrival in *Bithynia*, gave notice by public criers to all the cities, that the ſenate had diſcharged *Lucullus*; who thereupon was abandoned by the greater part of his army, and forced to retire into *Galatia*. The two kings laying hold of that opportunity, recovered the beſt part of *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Armenia Minor*. *Glabrio* making but a faint oppoſition to the progreſs of the enemy, the *Romans* were diſſatisfied with his conduct, and committed the management of the war to *Pompey*, who was *Pompey*
alſo appointed governor of *Cilicia* and *Bithynia*, and continued declared
in that unlimited power by ſea, with which he was inveſted when general.
he firſt ſet out againſt the pirates in *Cilicia*.

Pompey having juſt then ended the war with the *Cilician* pirates, took upon him the command of the army in *Aſia*, requiring the allies of the *Roman* people to join him with all poſſible expedition. Before he took the field, he renewed the alliance with *Phrahates* king of *Parthia*, and ſent friendly propoſals to *Mithridates*, who at firſt ſeemed inclined to give ear to them,

them, and diſpatched ambaſſadors to *Pompey* to treat of peace. The *Roman* general required him to lay down his arms, and deliver up to him all thoſe who had revolted from the *Romans* during the war. This demand was no ſooner known in the king's camp, than the deſerters, who were very numerous in his army, betaking themſelves to their arms, threatned to put *Mithridates* himſelf to death. He appeaſed them by aſſuring them, that he had ſent ambaſſadors not to treat of peace, but only to take a view of the enemy's ſtrength; obliging himſelf at the ſame time by a ſolemn oath, in the preſence of the whole army, never to enter into any treaty of friendſhip with the *Romans*, nor to deliver up to them ſuch as had ſerved under him.

He invades *Pontus* and *Armenia Minor*.

Pompey finding his propoſals rejected, advanced againſt the king with an army of 30,000 foot and 20,000 horſe, or 30,000, according to *Appian*; but after he had entered *Pontus*, finding that he could not by any means draw the king to a battle, he marched into *Armenia Minor*. *Mithridates* followed the *Romans* at ſome diſtance, and encamping on a hill over againſt them, reduced them to ſuch diſtreſs by intercepting their convoys, that they were obliged to remove to a more convenient place; the king cutting off many in their rear, and haraſſing them with frequent attacks, till he fell into an ambuſcade laid by *Pompey*, whoſe perſonal courage and prudent conduct on that occaſion, confirmed the king in his reſolution not to hazard an engagement. The king ſtill keeping near the *Romans*, and encamping on a ſteep and craggy mountain, *Pompey*, who could not draw him to an engagement, ſurrounded his camp with a deep ditch, no leſs than fifteen miles in circuit.

Mithridates beſieged in his camp.

Mithridates ſuffered himſelf and his army to be encloſed without the leaſt oppoſition; in conſequence of which conduct, his troops, after being beſieged 45 days, were reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that they were forced to live on their dead horſes. *Mithridates*, at laſt, forming a reſolution of breaking thro' the *Roman* lines, put to the ſword all thoſe who were ſick or diſabled, and in the dead of the night attacked the guards, and overpowering them with his numbers, got ſafe into the open fields, continuing his march all night towards *Armenia Major*, where he was expected by *Tigranes*.

Pompey, by break of day, marched after the king, and having, with much ado, overtaken him, found him encamped on a hill, to which there was but one aſcent, which was ſtrongly guarded. When night arrived, the *Romans* again began their march, and proceeding forwards, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the eminencies and defiles thro' which the king was to paſs, in order to gain *Armenia*. *Mithridates* thinking that *Pompey* had returned to his former camp, about the duſk of the evening entered a narrow valley, ſurrounded on all ſides by ſteep hills, on which the *Romans* lay concealed. The *Roman* general, at the entreaty of his officers, reſolved to attack the enemy that night; and it was agreed that all the trumpets ſhould at once ſound

the

the charge, that this ſignal ſhould be followed by an univerſal ſhout of the whole army, and that the ſoldiers ſhould make what noiſe they could, by ſtriking their ſpears againſt the braſs veſſels that were uſed in the camp. The king's army, at this ſudden and unexpected noiſe, which was echoed again by the mountains, imagined at firſt that the gods themſelves were come down to deſtroy them. Being attacked on every ſide by the *Romans*, they betook themſelves to a precipitate flight; but were again driven back into the valley, where for many hours they were expoſed to the enemy's ſhot, without being able either to attack them, or defend themſelves. *Mithridates*, on this occaſion, loſt 10,000 men, according to *Appian*; but 40,000, according to *Eutropius* and other authors. On *Pompey*'s ſide there fell between 20 and 30 men, and two centurions.

He is totally defeated by *Pompey*.

The king himſelf, at the head of 800 horſe, broke thro' the *Roman* army; but being cloſely purſued, he was abandoned by his eſcort, and travelled all night, attended only by his wife, and one or, as *Plutarch* calls her, his concubine, his daughter, and an officer. At day-break he fell in with a body of mercenary horſe and 3000 foot, who were marching to join him; and by them he was eſcorted to the caſtle of *Sinoria*, ſituated on the borders of the two *Armenias*. After rewarding thoſe very liberally who had accompanied him in his flight, he took 6000 talents from his treaſures which were lodged in that caſtle, and withdrew into *Armenia*, ſending ambaſſadors before him to acquaint *Tigranes* with his arrival. *Tigranes* however, being on the point of concluding a ſeparate peace with the *Romans*, clapt his ambaſſadors in irons, ſo that *Mithridates* was obliged to leave *Armenia* and retire to *Colchis*.

He eſcapes, and withdraws into *Armenia*, and from thence into *Colchis*.

Pompey continued for ſome time on the ſpot where the battle was fought, and cauſed a city to be built there, which he named *Nicopolis*, and peopled with ſuch of his ſoldiers as were old or diſabled. As many people flocked to this city from the neighbouring countries, it became in a ſhort time a very conſiderable place. *Pompey* ſent ſeveral parties after *Mithridates*, but marched with his army againſt *Tigranes*, who, as we have mentioned in the hiſtory of *Armenia*, quickly ſubmitted to him.

Pompey purſues *Mithridates* thro' many barbarous nations.

The *Roman* general, after ſettling the affairs of *Armenia*, began his march in purſuit of *Mithridates* thro' thoſe countries that lie about mount *Caucaſus*. The *Albanians*, *Iberians*, and other barbarous nations who attempted to ſtop his march, were put to flight; but the exceſſive colds nevertheleſs obliged him to delay his purſuit, and to winter near the river *Cyrus*. Early in the ſpring he purſued his march; but was employed the greateſt part of the ſummer in reducing the *Iberians*.

Meanwhile *Mithridates*, having wintered at *Dioſcurias*, between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, where he was joined by ſuch of his troops as had made their eſcape from the late unfortunate battle, continued his flight thro' the *Achæans*, *Zygians*, *Heniochians*, *Cercelans*, *Moſchi*, and *Colchians*. *Pompey* having reduced

reduced the *Iberians*, took the ſame route, directing his courſe by the ſtars, and carrying with him even proviſions of water to ſupply the army in the vaſt deſarts thro' which he paſſed. He ſpent two years in warring with theſe nations, and was often in danger of loſing both his life and his army. At laſt he overcame them all; and hearing nothing of *Mithridates*, whom he believed to be dead, he marched back into *Armenia Minor*, and after refreſhing his army for ſome time, proceeded to *Pontus*, to reduce ſome ſtrong holds which were ſtill garriſoned by the king's troops. The ſtrong caſtle of *Symphori* was delivered up to him by *Stratonix*, one of the king's concubines, upon no other terms than that he would ſpare her ſon, in caſe he ſhould fall into his hands. She likewiſe diſcovered to him great treaſures hid under ground, which he with great generoſity beſtowed upon her, reſerving for himſelf only ſome veſſels to ſet off his triumph. Having taken another ſtrong fort, he found in it great ſtore of gold, ſilver, and other valuable things, which he afterwards conſecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Here looking over the king's manuſcripts, he diſcovered where the reſt of his treaſures were concealed, what troops he could raiſe, what ſums were yearly paid to him by his ſubjects and tributaries, and ſeveral other articles, whereby he could make a true eſtimate of his whole power and wealth. Amongſt other manuſcripts he found ſome books of phyſic, wrote by *Mithridates* himſelf, which he deſired *Lenæus*, a learned grammarian, to tranſlate into *Latin*.

Mithridates again appears at the head of a numerous army,

Pompey having thus reduced all *Pontus*, marched into *Syria*, with a deſign to recover that kingdom; but while he was employed in this expedition, news was brought him that *Mithridates* had appeared unexpectedly in *Pontus* at the head of a conſiderable army, and ſurprized *Panticapæum*, a famous empory at the mouth of the *Euxine* ſea. Underſtanding the articles on which *Straionix* had delivered up the caſtle of *Symphori*, on his arrival before the place he cauſed her ſon to be put to death in her view, and his body to be left unburied. About the ſame time he ſent ambaſſadors to *Pompey* to treat of a peace; but the *Roman* general inſiſting that he ſhould come and treat with him in perſon, he laid aſide all thoughts of an accommodation.

and recovers ſeveral places.

Having a conſiderable army under his command, he quickly reduced ſeveral places of great importance. Soon after *Caſtor*, whom he had appointed governor of *Phanagorium*, killing one of the king's favourite eunuchs, and dreading the royal reſentment, ſtirred up the inhabitants to a revolt. Four of the king's ſons held the caſtle for ſome time; but the fortreſs being ſet on fire by the rebels, they were forced to ſurrender before the king could arrive to their relief. *Caſtor* ſent the four princes, with one of the king's daughters, to the *Romans*, and perſuaded moſt of the neighbouring cities, which were oppreſſed with heavy taxes, to join in the rebellion.

Mithridates,

Mithridates, finding that he could not rely on his own subjects, ſent ambaſſadors to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the *Scythians*, ſending along with the ambaſſadors his daughters to be given in marriage to thoſe *Scythian* princes who would aſſiſt him. The ambaſſadors were eunuchs, and being hated by the ſoldiers who eſcorted them, they were by them put to death; after which the ſoldiers delivered up the daughters to the *Romans*. *Mithridates* could not yet be induced to ſubmit to the *Romans*, tho' *Pompey* promiſed him honourable conditions provided he would come and treat with him in perſon. In his preſent deſperate ſituation, he endeavoured to ſtir up the princes of *Aſia*, eſpecially the *Parthians*; but finding them awed by the great opinion they all had of *Pompey*, he had recourſe at laſt to the *European Gauls*; and having ſent ſome of his truſty friends to engage them in his favour, he took leave of his own kingdom and began his long march, deſigning to paſs thro' *Boſphorus Cimmerius*, *Scythia*, *Pannonia*, and joining the *Gauls*, paſs the *Alps* and invade *Italy*. This deſign was no ſooner known in the army, but the ſoldiers began openly to complain and mutiny, and the chief commanders did all that lay in their power to divert him from it; but all their perſuaſions were to no purpoſe; for he was ſo unalterably fixed in his reſolution, that he put thoſe to death who with moſt warmth remonſtrated againſt it, not ſparing even one of his own ſons.

He ſolicits the aſſiſtance of the *Scythians*.

He reſolves to march into *Gaul*.

Not long after, when they were encamped at *Boſphorus Cimmerius*, on their march into *Scythia*, *Pharnaces*, the king's favourite ſon, whom he had appointed to ſucceed him, obſerving the general diſcontent that reigned in the army, formed a deſign of uſurping the crown, not doubting but the ſoldiers would ſtand by him if he declared againſt the intended expedition into *Italy*. The *Roman* deſerters immediately eſpouſed his cauſe, and the following night he engaged moſt of the chief commanders in his party, and by their means the greater part of the ſoldiery. Accordingly next morning thoſe who had declared in his favour, with a loud ſhout proclaimed *Pharnaces* king.

Pharnaces his ſon revolts.

The army declare him king.

Mithridates, who had taken up his quarters in the city, being awaked by the noiſe, ſent to know what had happened in the army; and being informed of their mutiny, he mounted on horſeback, and went out, attended by his guards, to appeaſe the tumult. His guards, however, forſaking him, and his horſe being killed under him, he fled back into the city, which was immediately inveſted by the rebels. *Mithridates*, having in vain endeavoured to move his ſon to compaſſion from the walls, thanked, in a very obliging manner, thoſe who ſtood by him to the laſt; and retiring to the apartment of his wives and concubines, firſt took poiſon himſelf, and then preſented it to them and to his two favourite daughters, who not long before had been betrothed to the kings of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*. To the women it proved immediate death; but on the king, who from his infancy had inured his conſtitution to poiſonous potions, it had himſelf.

Mithridates attempts in vain to poiſon himſelf.

had so slow an operation, that thro' fear of falling into the rebels hands, he was forced to have recourse to his sword; but the wound he gave himself did not procure immediate death. The rebels breaking into the town, found him wallowing in his blood, but still alive and in his senses; which being told to *Pharnaces*, he sent some of those who were about him to dress his wounds, with a design to deliver him up to the *Romans*.

Is dispatched by a *Gaul*. Bef. Chr. 64. But in the mean time a *Gaul*, who served in the army, entering the king's room in quest of booty, and observing him struggling on the ground with the pangs of death, drew his sword, and at his request put an end to his agonies.

Thus died *Mithridates* at *Panticapæum*, in the 60th year of his reign, a prince endowed with eminent virtues, which would have put him upon a level with the best of kings, had he not stained them with no less vices. He was an experienced commander, but more to be admired for the greatness of mind with which he bore his misfortunes, than for the many victories he gained. He is said to have written in the *Greek* tongue a learned treatise of botanics. *Pliny* tells us, that he had extraordinary skill in physic, and was the inventor not only of mithridate, but of many other useful medicines. But nothing gives us a greater idea of this prince than the joy which the *Romans* shewed when they first heard the news of his death. *Pompey* having notice of his death when on his march to *Jerusalem*, instantly caused a mount to be raised of the saddles of those who were near him, from whence he harangued his army, who received the news of the king's death with joyful shouts, and solemnized the following day with feasts and sacrifices throughout the camp. When his letters were read, the senators were so overjoyed, that they appointed, at the proposal of *Cicero*, then consul, twelve days for returning due thanks to the gods.

Pharnaces, when he heard of his father's death, caused his body to be preserved in brine, with the design of presenting it to *Pompey*, who had promised to return to *Pontus*, and there settle matters to his satisfaction. On his arrival at *Sinope*, he was met there by ambassadors from *Pharnaces*, acquainting him, that their master had forbore the title of king till his will and pleasure should be known. The same ambassadors delivered up to *Pompey* those who had taken *Manius Aquilius* the *Roman* legate, and brought with them also all the prisoners, hostages, and deserters, and the body of *Mithridates*, with his rich apparel and arms. Both officers and soldiers flocked to see the king's body, which *Pompey* caused to be interred with the utmost pomp and magnificence in the burying place of the kings of *Pontus*.

Pompey bestows the kingdom of *Bosphorus* on *Pharnaces*.

Pompey bestowed the kingdom of *Bosphorus* on *Pharnaces*, and honoured him with the title of a friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. *Pharnaces* being thus acknowleged king of *Bosphorus*, sent orders to all the garisons of *Pontus* to submit themselves, with the castles and treasures which they were entrusted with,

to

to *Pompey*, who by that means amaſſed an immenſe booty, the particulars of which are ſpecified by *Appian* and *Pliny*.

Pharnaces II.

Pompey had no ſooner left *Aſia*, than *Pharnaces* fell unexpectedly upon the *Phanagorenſes*, a people of *Boſphorus*, whom the *Romans* had declared free, becauſe they had revolted the firſt of all from *Mithridates*, and by their example induced others to abandon the king's party. Being defeated by *Pharnaces* in a battle, they delivered up themſelves and their city to him. The civil war ſoon after breaking out between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, *Pharnaces* laid hold of that opportunity to recover the provinces which his father had formerly poſſeſſed. He overran *Pontus*, *Colchis*, *Bithynia*, *Armenia*, and the kingdom of *Moſchis*; but *Cæſar*, in the mean time, having got the better of *Pompey* and his party, appointed *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* governor of *Aſia*, and enjoined him to make war on *Pharnaces*. *Domitius* ordered *Pharnaces* to withdraw his troops from *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*; but the king refuſing to comply with his demand, he marched into *Cappadocia*, which he recovered without oppoſition. Soon after, however, he was defeated at *Nicopolis* in *Armenia* by *Pharnaces*, and obliged to retire into *Cappadocia*, and from thence into the province of *Aſia*. The king after defeating *Domitius*, reduced *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, but was repulſed from *Armenia* the Leſſer by *Dejotarus*.

recovers part of his hereditary dominions.

Bithynia and *Cappadocia* ſubmit to him.

He then began his march for the province of *Aſia*; but hearing that *Aſander*, whom he had appointed governor of *Boſphorus*, had revolted, and that *Cæſar* had ſettled the affairs of *Egypt* and was advancing into *Armenia*, he diſpatched ambaſſadors to him to ſue for peace. *Cæſar* courteouſly entertained the ambaſſadors; but in the mean time purſued his march with all poſſible expedition, and arriving on the confines of *Pontus*, ordered all the troops that were quartered in the neighbouring provinces to join him. *Pharnaces*, upon his approach, again diſpatched ambaſſadors to him with a crown of gold, offering him his daughter in marriage, and promiſing to do whatever he ſhould require. *Cæſar* inſiſted, as the conditions of peace, that *Pharnaces* ſhould retire without delay from *Pontus*, ſhould return all the captives and hoſtages, whether *Romans* or their allies, and reſtore the goods of the *Roman* citizens and publicans which he had ſeized ſince he had firſt taken up arms. *Pharnaces* acquainted *Cæſar* that he agreed to the conditions; but finding that *Cæſar*'s affairs called him into *Italy*, he required a long time for the performance of what was ſtipulated betwixt them, ſtarting daily new difficulties, in hopes that the *Roman* general would in the mean time be obliged to depart.

Is defeated by *Cæſar*.

Cæſar, no longer able to brook the king's deceitful behaviour, attacked his camp, and quickly routed his army, *Pharnaces*, however, making his eſcape while the *Romans* were plundering his camp. *Cæſar* divided the rich booty and the ſpoils of the camp among his ſoldiers; and becauſe *Mithridates* had erected a trophy near that place as a monument of his victory over

Triarius, he ſet up another over-againſt it, to tranſmit to poſterity his victory over *Pharnaces*. Having quickly recovered all the places which *Pharnaces* had poſſeſſed himſelf of during the war, he reſtored them to the allies of the people of *Rome*, declared *Amiſus* a free city, and appointed *Mithridates Pergamenus* king of *Boſphorus*.

Pharnaces, after the departure of *Cæſar*, was beſieged in *Sinope* by his lieutenant *Domitius*, to whom he ſurrendered the town upon no other conditions than that he ſhould be ſuffered to retire into *Boſphorus* with the ſmall body that attended him.

He attempts to recover the kingdom of *Boſphorus*.

Being joined by a band of *Scythians* and *Samaritans*, he attempted to recover the kingdom of *Boſphorus*, which was ſtill poſſeſſed by *Aſander*, by whom he was defeated and ſlain, after he had held the kingdom of *Boſphorus* fifteen years, according to *Appian*, and ſeventeen according to others.

Marc Anthony, a few years after the death of *Pharnaces*, conferred the kingdom of *Pontus* upon his ſon *Darius*, for his ſervices during the civil war.

Darius.

Darius did nothing during his reign worth mentioning, and

Polemon I.

was ſucceeded in the kingdom by *Polemon* the ſon of *Zeno*, a famous orator of *Laodicea*, who obtained the crown from *Anthony*. He attended *M. Anthony* in his expedition againſt the *Parthians*, and being then taken a priſoner by the enemy, he was ſent by the king of the *Medes* to conclude a peace with the *Romans*; in which embaſſy he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that *Anthony* added the kingdom of *Armenia* to his other dominions. After the battle of *Actium*, tho' he had declared for *Anthony*, he was received into favour by *Auguſtus*. He defeated *Scribonius*, who upon the death of *Aſander* had uſurped the kingdom of *Boſphorus*, and alſo reduced the kingdom of *Colchis*, which was beſtowed upon him by *Agrippa*. He was afterwards defeated, taken priſoner, and put to death by the *Aſpungitani*, a people bordering on the *Palus Meotis*.

Polemon II.

Upon his death, his ſon *Polemon* II. was by the emperor *Caligula* raiſed to the throne of *Boſphorus* and *Pontus*. The emperor, however, afterwards obliged him to exchange the kingdom of *Boſphorus* with part of *Cilicia*; and *Nero*, with his conſent, reduced *Pontus* to the form of a province. He fell in love with *Berenice*, daughter of *Agrippa* king of *Judæa*, and in order to marry her, embraced the *Jewiſh* religion: but as ſhe became ſoon tired of his riotous way of living, and returned to her father, ſo he renounced his new religion, and again embraced the ſuperſtitions of paganiſm. *Polemon* dying without iſſue, the antient kingdom of *Pontus* was parcelled out into ſeveral parts, and added to the neighbouring provinces; only *Pontus Polemoniacus* retained the dignity of a diſtinct province. During the civil diſcords between *Veſpaſian* and *Vitellius*, one *Anicetus*, firſt a ſlave and afterwards freedman to king *Polemon*, took up arms with a deſign to reſcue the kingdom of *Pontus* from the *Roman* bondage; and great multitudes joining him,

him, he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Trapeſund*, a city founded by the *Greeks* on the *Pontic* coaſt. *Veſpaſian*, however, ſending a body of troops into *Pontus* under *Verdius Gemmius*, he prevailed with *Sedochus* king of the *Lazians* to deliver him up and all his followers who had taken ſanctuary in his dominions. *Pontus* continued a province of the empire from this time till the reign of *David* and *Alexis Comneni*, who being driven from *Conſtantinople* by the *French* and *Venetians* under the command of *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*, ſettled the one at *Heraclea*, and the other at *Trebiſond*. *Alexis Comnenus* erected here a new empire, which comprehended great part of *Pontus*, and was known by the name of the empire of *Trebiſond*. About 250 years after *Mahomet* II. ſubjected the empire of *Trebiſond* to that of *Conſtantinople*, in which abject ſlavery *Pontus* has ever ſince continued *.

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* Appian. in Mithridat. & bel. civil. Plut. in Pomp. in Cæſar. in Anton. in Lucul. in Syll. Dio. l. xxxvii. Strab. l. ix. Joſeph. ant. Oroſ. Flor. Eutrop. Memnon. Tacit. hiſt. l. iii.

The END *of the* THIRD VOLUME.